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CHINA. No. 5 (1870).

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR

EXPENDITURE

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IN

CHINA, JAPAN, AND SIAM.

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Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1870.

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Correspondence respecting Diplomatic and Consular Expenditure in China, Japan, and Siam.

No. 1.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May 5*, 1869.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of the Estimates for services in China during the year ending March 1870, which has been submitted to Parliament.

You will observe that in this Estimate provision is not made, as heret fore, for the salaries of the Minister, Secretary of Legation, and Chinese Secretary, and the First and Second Secretaries, amounting in the aggregate to 8,100*l.* Provision is made for these salaries in the General Estimate for Diplomatic Services now, for the first time, submitted to Parliament.

In other respects the Estimate differs but slightly from that of the previous year. The differences in salaries consist in the reduction of the salary for the Consul at Newchwang from 1,300*l.* to 900*l.*; and in the division of the Interpreters into three instead of two classes, involving an increase on their account of 300*l.* a-year, but effecting, as regards salaries, a diminution on the whole Estimate of 100*l.* a-year.

My principal object, however, in writing to you on the present occasion is to intimate to you the desire of Her Majesty's Government that you should make the most searching inquiry into the expenditure on account of the several Consulates, with the view of ascertaining whether it may not be possible to bring it within narrower limits, or at all events whether it might not be distributed in a different manner so as to make it suffice for the expanding demands of commercial development: and, if possible, you will send your report so that it may reach this country not later than the 1st of December.

The commercial interests of this country in China may perhaps, more than in any other country, admit of a distinct classification between the manufacturing and productive interests of Her Majesty's dominions and the shipping interests. The former include the direct import and export trade, carried on indeed in British shipping; and the latter, the employment of British shipping, whether on English or Chinese account, in the coasting trade of China. The former is, of course, the most valuable, as affecting both interests; but the latter, though involving only one of these, is of very great importance as affording lucrative employment to the British commercial marine and the British seafaring population. Each, however, requires Consular protection in China, the latter perhaps in a greater degree than the former, inasmuch as the class of persons connected with shipping is the most numerous and least safely to be left without control, if it is desired to avoid occasion of collision with the native authorities and people at the ports which they frequent, and which control we are bound, both morally and by Treaty, to exercise.

Our intercourse with China is thus subject to a condition differing in a very essential point from the condition under which intercourse is carried on generally with other countries, and which involves a considerable expenditure, namely, that at every port to which British trade and shipping are admitted, there must be a duly appointed Consular officer, qualified to deal impartially with questions which may arise, as having no personal interest in their solution, and of sufficient judgment and discretion to admit of the magisterial duties, whether of a civil or criminal nature, which he is called upon to perform, being safely entrusted to his hands.

In dealing, therefore, with this state of thing with a view to economy, the first point to be considered is, whether the British trading and shipping interests at the different ports where Consular officers are now stationed, are of that amount as to make it worth while to incur the expense of maintaining them, or whether the alternative of breaking up the Consulate, and with it putting a stop to British trade at any particular port, may not be resorted to.

In reviewing the British trade at the ports in China, a doubt has been suggested whether the aggregate amount at all the ports, as stated in the annual returns, gives a correct notion of the value of the trade; by this I mean, whether the trade is not estimated as if it were entirely a direct trade, and the ports all primary ports of entry, instead of a large portion of it, especially at the smaller ports, consisting of merely re-exports from the larger ports, and therefore, as regards the former class of ports, being merely a secondary trade; for instance, whether assuming a direct import trade, say of 20,000,000 at Shanghae, of which 10,000,000 are afterwards distributed in British vessels as re-exports to smaller ports, the two sums would be reckoned as distinct in themselves, and figure in the Consular Returns as a total trade of 30,000,000 divided between the ports.

I should be glad to receive from you some information on this point, though it may not have a very direct bearing on the necessity of maintaining any particular Consulate, for in any case, whether primary or secondary, it would be a British trade; while the shipping engaged in it, in so far as they are British shipping, would acquire, equally with the British shipping engaged in the coasting trade, either on British or Chinese account, British Consular protection and control.

Another point to be taken into consideration in deciding whether a port should be retained or abandoned, is how far the latter course could be adopted without giving rise to well-founded complaint, that having first encouraged the formation of British establishments at a given port, Her Majesty's Government by closing such port wilfully inflicted an injury on the owners of those establishments.

The expediency of withdrawing a Consulate from a port, and thereby abandoning it as a place of trade, suggests a further doubt how far such a course is prudent. Her Majesty's Government cannot forget that for many years after the port of Foo-chow-foo was open to British trade, it was opened to no purpose. But fortunately a small Consular Establishment was kept up, and the right to frequent the port maintained; and it appears by the last return that the aggregate amount of direct British import and export trade at that port was during the last year 5,890,036*l.*, finding employment for British ships, entered and cleared, to the number of 574, with a tonnage of 274,441 tons. The same promises to be the case at Chin-kiang, where the Consulate was hardly abolished; and the port made an outport of Shanghae, when the prospect of a large trade has been opened, and you have found it necessary to advocate the re-establishment of an independent Consulate at the port.

Still, and notwithstanding these warnings, I wish you to consider whether it might not be advisable and practicable to suppress the Consulates at some of the smaller ports, and either by doing so reduce the general expenditure, or take advantage of the saving so effected to open other ports more promising, and especially the one in the Island of Hainan, to which we have already a Treaty right of access, of which from motives of economy we have never availed ourselves, but which, looking to the position of the island and its immediate vicinity to very important districts of China not yet opened up to foreign intercourse, might form the seat of a most valuable and important trade.

In your recent correspondence on the revision of Treaties you have alluded to the importance of obtaining the consent of the Chinese Government to the establishment of landing-stages on the Yang-tsze-kiang. I do not quite understand what is contemplated by this measure, though I am inclined to suppose that the idea is to afford facilities for Chinese purchasers of goods at the open ports to land them at various places from steamers passing up the river, not at places of trade to which foreign merchants would resort, but as places from which the goods may more readily be conveyed by their Chinese owners into the interior of the country; and consequently there would be no question of placing a Consular officer at such landing-places, which would entail great expense, with, as far as at present appears, no commensurate advantage. You will have the goodness to furnish any explanation on this point.

Another point for consideration is whether, on vacancies occurring, the rates of salary assigned to officers of the ranks of Consul and Vice-Consul should be maintained on their present footing. Her Majesty's Government are aware that the expense of living in China is high as compared with other countries, and has hitherto been kept up by the liberal expenditure of British merchants for their personal living and for the establishment of clerks and others they have been in the habit of maintaining on rates of salary,

coupled with allowances, on a scale very far beyond what Her Majesty's Consular servants, even of the higher grades, have received from Her Majesty's Government. There is reason, however, to suppose that matters have of late much changed in this respect, and the mercantile establishments are now kept up on a more economical footing. If this is the case, prices generally will probably have fallen; but Her Majesty's Government would desire to ascertain from you whether they have done so to such a degree as would warrant a corresponding reduction in the salaries of Her Majesty's Consuls and Vice-Consuls, not indeed to the prejudice of the holders of the present offices, but in the event, as in the recent case of Newchwang, of an opportunity being afforded by the occurrences of vacancies for revising the rates of salary at the several ports.

And this brings me to the question of special and temporary allowances.

These allowances, amounting in the aggregate to 2,400*l.* a-year, were granted at your recommendation and that of Sir Frederick Bruce, to various persons employed in the Consulates at Shanghae, Hankow, Kiu-kiang, and Foo-chow-foo, to enable them to meet the increase in the cost of living occasioned by special circumstances, which at the time you laid before Her Majesty's Government. They have been continued without remark since the date at which they were granted, as there was no ground for supposing that the circumstances which led them to be granted had materially changed. But Her Majesty's Government are disposed to think that the causes to which I have adverted as tending to produce a diminution of the cost of living in China may have operated so favourably as regards the expenses of individuals in the public service as to render these exceptional allowances no longer necessary. Her Majesty's Government have, nevertheless, continued these allowances for the present financial year; but they will not be continued beyond its term, and so you will inform the holders of them, unless it should prove, on full inquiry, that they are indispensable. I must trust this inquiry to you; but whatever may be the result of it, and whatever decision may be taken on your report, Her Majesty's Government will expect to receive from you every year, before the 1st of December, a report as to whether any temporary allowances that may have been granted, ought to be continued.

As regards the allowance of 200*l.* a-year to the Consul at Tien-tsin to assist him in the expenditure which he might incur for the maintenance of travellers to and from Peking, who might, from their position, reasonably count on his hospitality, I wish to be informed exactly as to the class of persons to which this hospitality is extended. Foreigners of distinction, and officers of rank in Her Majesty's Naval and Military Service, Her Majesty's Envoy and Secretary of Legation, the Judge of the Supreme Court, could probably not be left to take the chance of such accommodation as they might procure in a Chinese town; but there seems no reason why persons travelling on business or pleasure should find quarters in Her Majesty's Consulate at Tien-tsin, and be entertained at the public expense. I make these observations subject to revision, after receiving your report.

I should wish also to be informed on what ground you recommended a similar grant to the Consul at Che-foo, which you will see has not been conceded, and that you would reconsider your recommendation with reference to what I have just said as regards Tien-tsin.

I fear there can be no hope of any reduction being made in the numbers of Interpreters and Assistants now borne on the establishment, looking to the fact that, not to mention Consuls and Interpreter who have lately died, the number of public servants in China of all classes, exclusive of those attached to the Supreme Court, now absent on leave, on account of sickness or for reasonable indulgence after many years' continuous residence in China, is no less than eleven, divided as follows:—viz., one Secretary of Legation, two Consuls, one Vice-Consul, two Interpreters, and five Assistants; and that a premature diversion of the Student Interpreters from their studies of the language would be destructive of the very object for which they are appointed. The number of these should be fifteen; but casualties of one kind or other so frequently occur that it is difficult to maintain them at the full number. But at all events I am aware that only a very few of the Senior Students who may have completed two years' residence at Peking can be available for employment in the Consulates to supply deficiencies occasioned by the absence of Assistants.

I am aware that you are desirous that the number of Assistants should be increased to enable you to meet unexpected calls for assistance at different Consulates; and which even the new arrangement, which seems to work satisfactorily, by which you are enabled to move about the junior members of the service, from Interpreters downwards, as demands for their assistance may arise at the several Consulates, has not enabled you to provide for, without having recourse to the very objectionable practice, if it could be avoided, of

engaging temporary assistance. Persons engaged for a time are more expensive while employed, and the money spent on them produces no subsequent advantage to the public service, with which their connection ceases when their temporary employment comes to an end. Admitting, however, that occasions may arise when you have no alternative but to sanction the engagement of temporary assistance, I wish you to understand that no such assistance must be sanctioned for more than three months at a time; so that the Consuls may be fully aware that nothing but a special emergency will be held sufficient to warrant it, and that they must satisfy you every three months that such emergency continues to exist.

Without, however, any intention to disturb the existing arrangement as regards the junior classes of the Service being considered available for general employment at any Consulate as they may be wanted, I should wish, as you were informed in my despatch of the 31st of January, to receive from you a statement, made up to the 31st of December in each year, of the actual distribution of the general staff in China at that date, with a list of the names and positions of officers who may be absent on leave.

The aggregate amount estimated for Writers and Linguists at China is stated at 2,800*l.* a year. I should be glad to receive from you a statement showing the exact nature of the duties performed by each class, the numbers employed in the Mission and at each Consulate, and the salaries paid to each individual. Her Majesty's Government must necessarily rely on you, both as regards the numbers employed and the salaries paid to them. I trust that you will carefully revise the former, and consider whether the remuration to each and all of them is not more than sufficient to insure capable and trustworthy persons in situations which I apprehend, from the designations affixed to them, require to be filled by persons possessing such qualifications.

Another item of expenditure stated in general terms in the Estimate, is that for wages and allowances to gaolers, constables, watchmen, boatmen, porters, coolies, and others. Her Majesty's Government can have no means of judging for themselves, either as to the numbers required in the several Consulates in each class, or as to the wages which, looking to the price of the necessaries of life, should be paid to them. They can only rely on you to control the expenditure under those heads as far as possible, admitting that for the interest and credit of the public service a fair rate of wages should be paid, sufficient for subsistence, and which should leave no pretext for eking them out by abusing the position which their employment in the service of a British Consulate might doubtless enable them to do.

I should wish, however, as in the case of the Writers and Linguists, to receive from you an annual return specifying the number of persons in the several classes employed in each Consulate, with the rate of wages given to each individual, and distinguishing, more especially in the case of gaolers and constables, whether the parties are British subjects, distinguishing those of European or colonial origin from those of Asiatic origin or of other European or of Chinese nationality.

The expenditure under the head of contingencies should also be considered by you, and any charges in excess of the annual allotment for expenses of such a character, which, as far as I can yet judge, will be productive of great economy, should be carefully considered before they are submitted for the sanction of the Secretary of State.

I have gone through these details in order that you may clearly understand what Her Majesty's Government require of you. They are fully alive to the importance of British trade with China, and they are aware that the protection and control which, for its preservation and development must be extended to it, are, from the character of the country, necessarily costly as compared with the protection acquired for British trade in more orderly countries. But they desire that no more expenditure should be incurred for this purpose than is absolutely necessary, and they look to you to assure them of the extent of that necessity.

There is one special point, indeed, on which I should be glad to have your opinion, arising out of the altered character which the trade is assuming and is likely to possess to a still greater degree. I mean the tendency that it appears to have to pass out of British into Chinese hands, in the same way as in the Levant it has in great measure passed out of British into Greek hands. Now, however this change may affect the interests of British merchants, it will probably as in the Levant, tend to a larger development of trade in British goods; but the question will arise to what extent Consular protection will be needed to protect that trade in Chinese hands. As long as British shipping is employed in distributing British goods, however owned, to Chinese ports, it would indeed be scarcely consistent with prudence or with our international engagements towards China to withdraw the protection and control which, irrespective of trade properly so called, the British Consular authorities now exercise in behalf of British

shipping; and my principal reason for adverting to the possible alteration in the character of the trade is to elicit an expression of your opinion both as to the extent to which it has now proceeded and as to that to which it is likely to proceed, and as to the effect it may eventually have on our Consular establishments.

I have abstained from any detailed observations in regard to Consular buildings and matters connected with them, inasmuch as I consider the subject to be one to be especially dealt with by the Board of Treasury, under whose sole orders Major Crossman is acting. I will only remark that I should wish you to make all Her Majesty's Consular servants understand that they must incur no expense unauthorized by him, except in cases of the utmost emergency admitting of no delay, and even in those cases they should put themselves in immediate communication with Major Crossman, and conform themselves strictly to his views and wishes as soon as they can be ascertained.

I, however, wish you to send me with your Report an account of the rents paid at each of the Consulates during the year 1868, and also of the expenditure on Consular buildings and furniture.

I have deferred till the close of my letter the question of medical assistance and Consular chapels.

On the first point the Board of Treasury entertains a very decided opinion that, as a general rule, it should be placed under great restrictions.

The appointment of a medical officer to the Mission at Peking rests not only on the consideration of the large number of British public officers—the Minister and his Diplomatic Staff, the Student Interpreters, and the escort—assembled at that place, but also on the political value at which the presence of such an officer, attached to the mission and available at the orders of the Minister to afford medical relief to Chinese patients may rightly be estimated.

But as regards the outports the latter consideration does not have the same degree of importance, and the only points to consider are: first, whether a medical practitioner whose services are, as in other countries, remunerated by his patients, will find sufficient employment to induce him to establish himself without any fixed Government allowance at any particular port; secondly, whether the charges which, to make out a livelihood, he levies on his patients are such as the junior members of the service, with their small salaries and continually recurring illnesses, can conveniently meet,—the practice in mercantile establishments being to provide all their members with medical assistance; and thirdly, whether the charges which such a practitioner would make for attending the British servants of the Consulates—British seamen and British subjects in distress—would be more than might be limited by a fixed annual payment, in consideration of which medical attendance and medicines would, as far as the patients go, be gratuitously rendered. I wish you seriously to consider these points, and to set forth in a detailed Report, accompanied by estimates, your opinion upon the question of providing, or not, medical assistance for the Consulates at a fixed rate of payment.

I should wish you to accompany this Report with a return for the year 1868, showing the numbers of British subjects, distinguishing those of European or Colonial origin from those of Asiatic origin, confined in the lock-ups or gaols of each Consulate, with the average length of confinement in each case, and also with an account of the moneys expended in medical assistance at the different Consulates for the same year.

The remaining question is that of Consular chapels. It is not unattended with difficulty, but at the same time it requires to be very closely looked at, to avoid incurring an expenditure on Government account in excess of what the public should be called upon to defray.

I am aware that a larger amount of salary than is required at ordinary places, either in the Old or New World, may be required to secure the services of competent Chaplains in China. But, on the other hand, the wealth of British mercantile establishments is doubtless far greater than what it is in most countries. This consideration should regulate the amount of assistance to be given in any case, and in some it would militate against giving any assistance at all. Now, I wish you to consider this subject very carefully. I am sorry to say that the accounts for chapels are, as a general rule, very insufficiently rendered, and items are inserted in them which are wholly inadmissible, such as for residences, and repairs of them, income-tax and insurance, for the Chaplains. The only expenditure which under any circumstances can be defrayed in part by the public is what may be incurred for the maintenance and hire of places for the celebration of divine worship, and for the Chaplain's salary, and the incidental expenses of the chapel. The congregations are too much in the habit of calculating on receiving from Government the full amount of contributions made by British residents. You will undeceive them in this respect. In no case will Her Majesty's Government hereafter grant more than sufficient

to eke out the local contributions from whatever source they may proceed; and even that they may do so much, Her Majesty's Government must be satisfied that communities have themselves contributed what, in proportion to their means, may be considered a fair sum. You will see that the sum proposed to be voted by Parliament for the present year is less by 1,000*l.* than that voted in the previous year. This will serve to show you that Her Majesty's Government expect that the British communities will exert themselves to provide out of their own resources for their church establishments, and that every grant to be hereafter made will be subjected to the strictest scrutiny. For such a scrutiny I wish you to lose no time in preparing the several congregations. You will point out to them that although hitherto Her Majesty's Government have willingly assisted, as they were enabled by law to do, in meeting the expenditure on account of chapels, they consider that the congregations may now fairly be called upon to provide for it themselves; and that the congregations must not look henceforth to aid from Government to provide them with what they ought and may be able to provide for themselves. You will also, as regards your own position, examine closely into the affairs of the several chapels, and consider how far they really stand in need of Government assistance; and you will furnish me with a full and detailed Report on the whole subject, together with an account of the public expenditure on churches and chaplains during the year 1868.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 2.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 12, 1869.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of the Estimates for services in Japan during the year ending March 31, 1870, which has been submitted to Parliament. You will observe that in this Estimate provision is not made as heretofore for the salaries of the Minister, Secretary of Legation, Second Secretary, and Japanese Secretary, amounting in the aggregate to 5,900*l.* Provision is made for these salaries in the General Estimate for Diplomatic Services now, for the first time, submitted to Parliament.

In other respects the Estimate, as far as salaries are concerned, differs but slightly from that of the previous year. The differences in salaries consist in the reduction of the salary of the Consul at Nagasaki from 1,000*l.* to 900*l.*; in the re-instatement of a salary of 400*l.* a-year for a Dutch Interpreter, Mr. Dohmen's salary in that capacity and of that amount having not been included in the Estimate for the last year in consequence of his having previously entered into the service of the municipality, which he has since quitted; and in the reduction of 100*l.* a year from the allowance granted to Assistants for acting as Interpreters, in consequence of provision requiring to be made for three only instead of four such allowances. The general result is an increase in the whole estimate on account of salaries of 200*l.* a year.

My principal object, however, in writing to you on the present occasion is to intimate to you the desire of Her Majesty's Government that you should make the most searching inquiry into the expenditure on account of the several Consulates with the view of ascertaining whether it might not be possible to bring it within narrower limits; and I should wish to receive your report on this subject, if possible, not later than the 1st of December next.

I do not, indeed, anticipate that you will be able to recommend any reduction either in the number or in the rate of pay of Consuls or Vice-Consuls. The ports at which they are stationed are all of considerable importance, and the arrangement by which the Consular duties at Yokohama and Yeddo, as well as those between Hiógo and Osaka, are made interchangeable between the Consuls and Vice-Consuls at the respective places is the most economical that can be adopted, since otherwise it would be necessary to place a full Consul at each of the five ports.

The social circumstances and the general expense of living in Japan, as compared with China, have admitted of the rates of Consular and Vice-Consular salaries in the former country being fixed on a lower scale than in the latter; and I do not expect any suggestion from you that they may admit of being reduced.

As regards the junior members of the Establishments, I am aware that it is your opinion that they are not sufficiently numerous, even if they were never absent from their

posts, to admit of being reduced in number; and I fear that at the present time, when not a few of them are absent on leave, you may have some difficulty in providing for the necessary requirements of the public service without prematurely diverting from their studies the Student Interpreters, whom it is so essential to enable to pursue their studies in the Japanese language.

The retention of the three gentlemen whose services as Dutch Interpreters were formerly required, on the salaries paid to them in that capacity, but their employment as Assistants, has fortunately afforded you a degree of assistance which you could not have dispensed with. Their salaries, with one exception, are those of First Class Assistants; but it is not intended to appoint any more Dutch Interpreters; and if openings should be afforded for employing the three gentleman in question otherwise, without thereby increasing the numerical strength of the establishment as it now stands, it would be desirable to supply their places by increasing and recasting the classes of Assistants properly so called.

The salaries of the officers who combine with other duties those of Interpreters for the Japanese language are in the aggregate the same as those assigned to the Third Class Interpreters on the China establishments, as also are the classification and salaries of the Assistants the same as those of the like class of officers in China. In regard to either of these two classes of officers, therefore, I cannot anticipate that you would suggest any reduction in their rate of pay.

The Student Interpreters in Japan are four in number, and the prospective wants of the public service could not be provided for with less.

I fear, therefore, that under such circumstances any reductions either in the numbers or the pay of the Consular establishments in Japan cannot be anticipated; and I can only hope that you may be able so to economize your present staff as to admit of its sufficing not only for present wants, but even for prospective wants, unless indeed the trade with Japan should assume such dimensions as may render additional assistance necessary, or political considerations, to which I will not do more than allude, should render it important to occupy with a Consulate an additional port in the north of Japan.

Largely as the trade has already developed itself,—the aggregate trade of foreign nations amounting last year, according to the Returns that you have sent home, to nearly 8,000,000*l.*, of which the British portion is, however, not distinguished, as it should have been, and numerous as are the shipping engaged in it, amounting last year in numbers, taking those entered and cleared together, to 1,661, with a tonnage, entered and cleared, of 1,071,195 tons, of which the British share in ships was in number 895, and in tonnage 367,463 tons,—it cannot be doubted that the return of peace, the consequent establishment on a firm basis of the power of the Mikado, the growing disposition of the Government and people of Japan to maintain friendly relations with foreigners, the opening of the important marts of Hiogo, Osaka, Yeddo, and Neegata to foreign trade, and the vast productive capabilities of the country, will in a very short space of time lead to an increase of trade, the value of which cannot now be even estimated.

The interesting Reports of Dr. Willis of his journeys through a very limited portion of the country, and the accounts given by such of the Consular officers who, on various services, have traversed other portions of it, all tend to encourage the expectation that British industry will find a valuable opening in Japan, while the products of the country will enter largely into the consumption of British markets.

Her Majesty's Government desire that every protection and encouragement, by which it can be promoted and regulated, should be given to this growing trade; they are anxious, indeed, that the public revenue of this country should be burthened as little as possible in carrying out this important object: but while insisting upon carrying out economy wherever it can be enforced, without sacrificing important interests, they will give due consideration to any representations that you may make with the view of placing the Consular establishments on a footing commensurate with the wants for which it is required to provide.

Reverting to the expenditure on the Japanese establishment as now existing, I must allude in the first instance to the question of temporary assistance.

The present arrangement by which, as in China, you are able to move about the junior members of the service from one Consulate to another, as demands for assistance may arise, appears to work satisfactorily and to render them generally more available than if they were positively attached to the several Consulates; but I should wish you to continue to furnish me, on the 31st of December in each year, with a statement of the actual distribution of the different members of the establishments at that date, accompanied with

a list of the names and positions of those who may be absent on leave. I believe that you rarely have occasion to engage the services of temporary clerks. I will therefore merely observe that the employment of such persons is, as a general rule, objectionable, inasmuch as they are more expensive while employed, and the money spent on them produces no subsequent advantage to the public service, their connection with which ceases when their temporary employment comes to an end. Admitting, however, that occasions may arise when you have no alternative but to sanction the engagement of temporary assistance, I wish you to understand that no such assistance must be sanctioned for more than three months at a time, so that the Consuls may be fully aware that nothing but a special emergency will be held sufficient to warrant it, and that they must satisfy you every three months that such emergency continues to exist.

I do not, indeed, mean by the foregoing observations to discountenance the employment, when required, as occasional copyists at a small rate of daily remuneration, of any men of the escort who may be qualified to act as such, and who may be encouraged to general good conduct by the expectation of obtaining in this manner some recognition of it.

As regards the other persons employed either in the Mission or in the Consulate at weekly or monthly wages, whether as gaolers, constables, watchmen, boatmen, coolies, porters, and others, Her Majesty's Government can have no means of judging for themselves, either as to the numbers required in the several Consulates in each class, or as to the wages, which, looking to the prices of the necessaries of life, they should receive. They can only rely on you to control the expenditure under those heads as far as possible, admitting that for the interest and the credit of the public service a fair rate of wages should be paid sufficient for subsistence, and which should leave no pretext for eking them out by abusing the position which their employment in the service of a British Consulate might doubtless enable them to do.

I should wish, however, to receive from you an annual Return, specifying the number of persons in the several classes employed in the Mission and in each Consulate, with the rate of wages given to each individual; and further specifying, more especially in the case of gaolers and constables, whether the parties are British subjects, distinguishing those of European or Colonial origin from those of Asiatic origin, or of any other European or Asiatic nationality.

The expenditure under the head of contingencies should also be carefully watched over, and any charges in excess of the annual allotment for expenses of such a character, which, as far as I can judge, will be productive of great economy, should be carefully considered by you before submitting them for the sanction of the Secretary of State.

I do not think it necessary to enter into any details as regards Missions and Consular buildings, and matters connected with them, inasmuch as I consider the subject to be one to be especially dealt with by the Board of Treasury, so long as Major Crossman is on the spot.

I will only observe that I should wish you to make all Her Majesty's Consular servants understand that they must incur no expense unauthorized by him, except in cases of the utmost emergency admitting of no delay; and even in those cases they should put themselves into immediate communication with Major Crossman, and conform themselves strictly to his views and wishes as soon as they can be ascertained. I, however, wish you to send me with your Report an account of the rents paid at the Missions and at each of the Consulates during the year 1868, and also of the expenditure on buildings and furniture.

Before I conclude I must advert to two other points, namely, medical assistance, and Consular chapels.

On the first point the Board of Treasury entertains a very decided opinion that, as a general rule, it should be placed under great restriction.

The appointment of a medical officer to the Mission rests not only on the consideration of the large number of public servants, the Minister and Diplomatic Staff, the Student Interpreters, and the escort immediately connected with it, but also on the political value of the presence of such an officer attached to the Mission, and available at the orders of the Minister to afford medical relief to Japanese patients.

But as regards the outports the latter consideration does not apply to the same extent, and the points to be considered are, first, whether a medical practitioner, whose services are in other countries remunerated by his patients, will find sufficient employment to induce him to establish himself without any fixed Government allowance at any particular port; secondly, whether the charges which, to make out a livelihood, he levies on his patients are such as the junior members of the service, with their small salaries, can conveniently meet; and thirdly, whether the charges which such a practitioner would

make for attending the British servants of the Consulates, British seamen, and British subjects in distress, would be more than might be limited by a fixed annual payment, in consideration of which medical assistance and medicines would, as far as the patients go, be gratuitously rendered. I wish you seriously to consider these points, and to set forth in a detailed Report, accompanied by Estimates, your opinion upon the question of providing, or not, medical assistance for the Consulates at a fixed rate of payment. You will accompany your Report with a Return for the year 1868, showing the number of British subjects, distinguishing those of European or Colonial origin from those of Asiatic origin, confined in the lock-ups or gaols of the several Consulates, with the average length of confinement in each case, and also with an account of the moneys expended for medical assistance in the different Consulates for the same year.

The remaining question is that of Consular Chapels. It is not unattended with difficulty, but at the same time it requires to be very closely looked at to avoid incurring an expenditure on Government account in access of what the public should be called upon to defray.

As a general rule I would lay down, that where a community is wealthy enough to bear the whole expense for public worship it should do so; but when that is not the case, the assistance of the Government should be limited to what may be sufficient to eke out local contribution from whatever source derived, and when it is shown to their satisfaction that the communities seeking assistance have themselves contributed what, in proportion to their means, may be considered to be a fair amount. I am afraid the British communities are too much in the habit of calculating on receiving from Government the full amount of contributions raised among themselves. On this point you will undeceive them; and you will also make them clearly understand that the only expenditure to assist in meeting which public money can be granted, is that incurred for the maintenance and hire of places for the celebration of divine worship, for the Chaplain's salary, and for the incidental expenses of the Chapel. But under no circumstances can any assistance be given for the building, purchase, or repair of Chaplain's houses, or any expenses in connection with them.

What I have now stated will enable you to show to the British communities that Her Majesty's Government hope they will exert themselves to provide out of their own resources for their church establishments, and that every grant to be made hereafter will be subjected to the strictest scrutiny; but I should wish you, moreover, yourself to examine into the affairs of the several Chapels which may seek assistance from public sources, and consider how far they really stand in need of it, and you will furnish me with a full and detailed Report on the whole subject, together with an account of the public money expended on Churches and Chaplains in Japan during the year 1868.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 3.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 13, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 23rd of February, inclosing the Trade Returns for the year 1868, which will be published as soon as they can be printed. It would have been more satisfactory if, in those Returns, British had been distinguished from foreign trade; but I will say no more on this point, as the forms in which such Returns should be made, transmitted to you in my despatch of the 31st of December last, will serve to guide the Consuls when drawing up their Reports in future years.

There is one point, however, to which my attention has been called, and in regard to which I should wish Her Majesty's Consuls should be instructed, not merely to rely on information to be obtained from Japanese sources but to seek it in every reliable quarter. It is very important to ascertain the exact value of Japanese produce however imported into this country for the British market. Much of these products, and especially silk, reaches the country through indirect channels, and appears not as imports from Japan, but as imports from Shanghae and other ports in China, from Hong Kong, and even, when forwarded by the overland route, from Egypt. For instance, it is stated in private mercantile returns that in 1867 and 1868 respectively, the real amount of Japanese silk introduced into the British market was 8,000 or more bales, of the value of 1,000,000*l.* sterling or more; while the official accounts of the Board of Trade for

1867, account for an importation in 1867 of only about 3,000 lbs., of the value of about 5,000*l.* sterling.

It is probable that the same discrepancy would be found to exist in the real and reputed value of the Japanese products imported into this country.

It is very desirable to obtain accurate information in this respect. The Japanese Custom-house Returns probably record only the primary destination of the goods as entered for exportation, and take no notice of the fact that on arriving at that destination they will forthwith be transhipped in bulk to another port. Such a system prevents any, even approximate, estimate being arrived at of the real value of the Japanese export trade with this country; and in saying this country, I would include British possessions generally, though in any Return to be made a distinction should, if possible, be made between produce destined for the English market properly so called, or for the Indian or Colonial market.

Her Majesty's Consuls, if their attention is drawn to this subject, may possibly be able to obtain these details, which would be so valuable, from the shippers of goods either directly or indirectly intended for the English market; and in order not to interfere with the forms of Returns which they are required to furnish, and which being similar to those to be furnished by the Consuls in China it would be inconvenient to depart from, Her Majesty's Consuls in Japan might either specially in their Annual Reports, or by Supplementary Tables, convey the precise information to which I have now referred.

There is another point to which I would wish to call your attention, which was adverted to in the correspondence some years ago, but on which it does not appear that any Report was received from Japan: I mean the various forms that paper is made to assume; in some cases even the form, it is said, of wearing apparel. A Report on this matter would be curious and instructive, and in elucidation of it you might expend a sum not exceeding 100*l.* in obtaining specimens for the inspection of Her Majesty's Government, together with a description of the manner in which the paper is first manufactured, and afterwards worked into the form that it is made to assume.

But not only as regards those products of Japan which now enter into the European trade, but as regards any other products of the soil or industry of the country calculated for the European market, would Her Majesty's Government be glad to receive from you the fullest information. We have much to learn of the productive capacity of Japan; and it is very probable that a people so ingenious may have contrived to turn to good and profitable account, products, whether natural or artificial, which have not yet entered into foreign commerce, but which, if known, might form a very important element in it.

In proportion as it may be shown that the trade with Japan is not only a valuable trade at present, but holds out the prospect of becoming of greater value from year to year, will Her Majesty's Government and Parliament be disposed to afford, without grudging, the expenditure for Consular protection and control which would appear to be satisfactorily incurred if attended with such results.

I will only further observe, that in a despatch or trade Return received from you some short time ago, allusion was made to the disposition shown by the Japanese to employ agricultural machinery. A special report on this point might be of great interest to firms engaged in the manufacture of such machinery, the extended use of which in Japan would not only be directly beneficial to the industry of this country, but by rendering cultivation cheaper and more productive, would increase the exporting means of Japan in commodities to be sold for foreign markets.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 4.

Sir R. Alcock to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 27.)

(Extract.) *Peking, October* 29, 1869.

IN continuation of my other despatch of this date,* I proceed to consider the points more directly bearing on the Estimates for Services in China.

I have made the most searching inquiry into the expenditure of the Consular Establishments in China, and directed a copy of the Statements and Returns sent by the respective Consular Officers in answer to my Circulars to be forwarded direct to the Foreign Office, so that the whole of the data supplied, and to which I shall have occasion

* Presented to Parliament, China, No. 3, 1870, together with part of this despatch.

to refer in the course of this Report, will be available for reference, and supply means of forming an independent judgment.

Having in my previous despatch shown the whole movement of the foreign trade in China, its nature and value, I need only refer here to the results in their bearing on the estimates. We have, it appears, a British trade amounting in exports and imports to 36,290,378*l.** to deal with. There is further a carrying trade of Chinese produce and a distributing trade along the coast of foreign goods and articles entering into the foreign trade, the first estimated at 8,500,000*l.*, and the second at 10,900,000*l.* The proportion of this carried under the British flag, and consequently giving profitable employment to British shipping, cannot be accurately ascertained; but, from special causes, it is probably much less than it ought to be, considering our preponderating share in the trade and capital employed in China. Despite all adverse conditions, it may safely be assumed that British interests are very largely engaged in this carrying trade.

It has been observed that our commerce with China will bear no comparison in magnitude or importance with the trade carried on by Great Britain with many other countries, notably with the United States of America and with France, or even with India,—and as a consumer of British goods China ranks below many of the smaller States of Europe and our own Colonies.

This is true enough in some respects. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to limit our view to the mere value in sterling which it represents, as an estimate of its importance, or the existing amount, as any indication of its prospective value. It is a trade with a constant tendency to increase, and as the delegates of the Chamber of Commerce clearly show in their Report on the trade of the Upper Yang-tsze, at the average rate of 3,500,000*l.* annually in the import of British manufactured goods alone. "And of the 7,000,000*l.* or 8,000,000*l.* worth of goods now annually exported from Great Britain to China, the sum of 2,500,000*l.* is retained in England to pay spinners, weavers, packers, shipping carriers, and numerous other classes of persons incidentally employed about the making up and exporting of the goods," while it yields another 500,000*l.* sterling to British shipowners in the shape of freights. The United States of America have also a direct interest in our commerce in these regions, and consequently in the maintenance of friendly relations with us here and elsewhere, as their greatest customers for raw cotton—whereof some 5,000,000*l.* worth is taken to be worked up for the China market. They receive a larger sum for the raw material which they supply to England than the English do for their labour in working it up, and shipping it to China. The reporters say very truly, therefore, that the commercial interests of these nations in China cannot be separated. "Even a trade of 7,000,000*l.* in our manufactured goods becomes a matter of some importance to a country which, as they will observe, can only feed its population by finding markets in Foreign countries for the products of their working power."

China, moreover, supplies Great Britain and her Colonies with an article not at present attainable from any other country, the failure of which would probably cause more privation to the bulk of the British population than that of any other single article of food, if we except bread and meat.

Tea has long ceased to be a mere luxury, though it ranks among the first in that category, for it has become to the middle and poorer classes a necessary, often supplying the place of more solid food, and a healthy stimulus to the exhausted frame, more certain and beneficial in its effects than any other product at present known can afford. It also yields to the British Exchequer a revenue of 5,500,000*l.*; no inconsiderable proportion of the whole of the indirect taxation of the country.

Finally, China takes from India from 60,000 to 70,000 chests of opium, making allowance for the quantity smuggled from Hong Kong, worth some 40,000,000 taels, or say 10,000,000*l.*, which in its turn yields to our Indian Empire a revenue of no less than 9,000,000*l.* by the latest returns. All this vast capital, employment of labour and revenue, are involved in the protection and maintenance of our commerce and friendly relations with China.

However small or insignificant, therefore, our trade with China may seem to be by the side of the more colossal commerce with the United States, France, or India, counted by mere numerical value of imports and exports, there are other respects in which it yields to none of these in importance. I doubt, for instance, whether the United States and France together contribute so large a sum to the revenue of the British Empire as 14,500,000*l.*, which China does singly by the tea she exports and the opium imported.

As a market for the produce of our looms and manufacturing industry generally, China ranks very low. Its people are but poor consumers comparatively; and it may be supposed that we could very well dispense with their aid. But under other auspices and

* Imports, 19,659,249*l.*; Exports, 16,631,129*l.*

more favourable conditions, neither of which seem altogether hopeless, the Chinese Empire might within the next twenty years offer a vast field of commercial activity, which would soon lead to a consumption of manufactured goods ten times as large as any at present existing. We cannot wisely confine our views therefore to the present, and ought not, by a shortsighted economy or any mistaken policy, to risk all that is prospective.

With these few preliminary remarks, the relevancy and importance of which will, I trust, be evident, I proceed at once to the various considerations of expenditure and efficiency which the estimates raise.

Taking for granted that it is both the interest and the policy of Great Britain to encourage British manufactures and the profitable employment of our shipping, giving occupation to a large maritime class, and that some protection and surveillance is essential in China for the security and development of trade and shipping, the main question is narrowed to one of cost in connection with efficiency. It is of course the interest of the country to obtain a maximum of efficiency for a minimum cost, and to this end it is essential that no Consulates should be maintained which are not indispensable, and that those kept up should not be on a larger scale or with a higher rate of expenditure both in salaries and contingencies than is absolutely required to insure efficient service to the extent required.

Your Lordship has accordingly informed me that "the first point to be considered is whether the British trading and shipping interests at the different ports where Consular officers are now stationed are of that amount as to make it worth while to incur the expense of maintaining them, or whether the alternative of breaking up the Consulate and with it of putting a stop to British trade at any particular port may not be resorted to."

I can the more readily supply an answer under this head, that I have each year since my arrival in 1865, carefully considered the whole question. In 1867 accordingly I suggested the abolition of the Consular Establishment at Chin-kiang after a personal inspection, because it appeared to me that the British trading and shipping interests did not justify the expenditure incurred.

The act was much criticised by the mercantile community, but it was not the less certainly indicated as a proper measure of economy at the time, not only from the total absence of any valuable trade, but any prospect of increase. Subsequent changes in the course of trade, and the restoration of the city, have induced me since to recommend the reappointment of a Consul on the equally valid ground that the value of the trade has very suddenly increased, and now gives great promise of making it worth our while, and otherwise necessary, to have an efficient establishment on the spot.

The rapid increase of trade, more especially since the steps taken when Mr. Consul Medhurst was sent up to Nanking on the Yang-chow business, with instructions at the same time to demand redress for continuous barrier exactions at a station above Yangchow, as shown in Mr. Allen's Trade Report, and the prospective opening of Wuhu on the opposite bank, between Chin-kiang and Kiu-kiang, would either of them furnish good and sufficient reasons for replacing a Consul at the former port, and I must press my recommendation therefore.

The breaking up of a Consulate, and with it putting a stop to British trade at any particular port, is a measure which should only be resorted to after mature consideration, and I have nothing to reproach myself with in the advice to resort to it in 1867, although I now deem it desirable to re-establish what I then destroyed under different circumstances. In most cases there are vested interests in houses and land to be taken into account. Interests, also, in existing trade, whatever it may be, and the probability of the traffic increasing at some later period—a prospect which in many cases will be contingent on a Consular establishment being retained on the spot—must not be lost sight of. Foochow and Ningpo are both cases in point.

Nevertheless, taking all these into consideration, I have arrived at the conclusion that the whole of the interests connected with the Island of Formosa, with its four ports, either present or prospective, are not such as to make it worth while to persevere in keeping up Consular establishments which cost annually some 4,000*l.* per annum, as will be seen by the inclosed return.

This is indeed something under the actual cost, which may be estimated at 4,200*l.*, while the cost to the country, if we take into account the additional expense of ships-of-war visiting the ports, in coal, &c., cannot be estimated at less than 5,000*l.* The whole foreign trade does not amount to 200,000*l.* annually after a ten years' trial. The returns of last year make it only 160,859*l.* This, and a paltry export trade in camphor and sugar, and a very small import of foreign goods, are all the inducements Formosa offers for retaining an establishment in one of the unhealthiest places in China, entailing an expenditure of 5,000*l.* a-year, and incessant risk of embroilment.

We are the only Treaty Power that goes to the expense of a Consul or Consular Establishment at any of the ports. The sea-coast is alone under the authority of the Chinese Government, and the whole of the interior is still inhabited by savages. The scattered colonists from the mainland on the sea-board are but one degree removed from barbarism, and offer no hope of being consumers of foreign manufactures. The natural products of the island, consisting chiefly of camphor, sugar, and rice, can only furnish scant supplies for a coasting trade.

There are other reasons besides economy that would suggest the expediency of such a step. The climate is most trying and unhealthy, and both physically and morally it destroys the energies and health of those sent to reside there more than any other place in China, The isolation is complete; the communication with the mainland most irregular and uncertain; the people and the authorities are both very ungovernable and violent, rendering conflicts with one or both from time to time all but inevitable. Only recently the papers speak of two of the mercantile residents having been attacked and wounded; how seriously I do not know, as none of the details have reached me.

The value of any houses or land held by British subjects must be very small. The trading interests I estimate at next to nothing. The number of British subjects at each port, independent of those employed in the Imperial Customs and our own establishment, at the end of last year did not exceed nine, that is six at Takow and Taiwan (four mercantile and two missionaries) and three at Tamsuy. As regards Her Majesty's Government's property in houses or land, we have fortunately only one building, a Vice-Consulate at Tamsuy, and this the Chinese Government might be willing to take over. The two or three houses there and at Takow, built by British subjects, and the property chiefly of bankrupts, Dent and Co., McPhail and Co., and others,—might also be transferred at a reasonable price.

The only argument against such a measure, and the total stoppage of our trade by the withdrawal of Consular establishments, is that, as a matter of policy, it is open to the objection that it may appear to the Chinese a step backward, and thus become a dangerous precedent, teaching the Chinese that if they only make the place sufficiently disagreeable, or by hindrances to trade worthless to us, they will ultimately succeed in driving the foreigner away from all the ports, I do not deny that this argument has a certain cogency, but I do not think this one objection should prevail against all other considerations. In the present instance it is a question only of degree. I do not, therefore, hesitate to advise the abandonment of Formosa, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be completed, on grounds both of economy and policy. We must set the gain in annual saving against any possible or contingent disadvantage in another direction.

The only question, I think, should be the possibility of obtaining something in return from the Chinese. If they would give Ichang on the Yang-tsze as a Treaty port in exchange, I do not think there can be any doubt that both parties would be great gainers. And Formosa has been so fruitful in troubles and complications in the past, and so likely to breed more in the future, that the Yamên could hardly fail to hail with pleasure any disposition on our part to withdraw from the island. It does not seem impossible, therefore, that they might listen to overtures of this nature.

Independent of this great reduction of establishments I am unable, after the most careful survey of the different ports, to recommend any material changes.

The inclosed return of the whole of our establishment in China, Diplomatic and Consular, gives in a tabulated form what it now is, and shows what I conceive it should be, as soon as vacancies enable your Lordship to make the further changes I am about to propose..

The only direction in which I consider reductions can be effected with any due regard to efficiency and the requirements of our commerce, it will be seen, is chiefly in extra allowances, and not, except in one or two cases, in salaries or numbers. The middle class of salaries will not bear to be touched, and the lower salaries are barely sufficient for existence. The numbers of these junior officers, so far from admitting of reduction, must be increased, even as a measure of economy, if we are to maintain an establishment capable of doing the work without perpetual recurrence to temporary assistance from without, which is often bad and always expensive. I have more than once within the last two years made the same report. The experience of the four years preceding amply proves the necessity for more hands.

If the suggestions I have to offer are accepted, they will involve both an increase in numbers, and, in a limited degree, an increase of salaries, as regards two or three of the Consulates. A considerable economy will result on the whole, if all the arrangements can be carried out, but not otherwise.

The present establishment of the Legation at Peking consists of the Minister, a

Secretary of Legation and Chinese Secretary in one, two Second Secretaries, an Assistant Chinese Secretary, an Accountant, and a Surgeon, with a small allowance of 200*l.* given to a member of one of the missionary bodies, who is a resident at Peking, and does duty in the capacity of Chaplain. I can propose no change or reduction in this Staff, either as to numbers or salary, unless it should be determined to reduce the salary of the Envoy on any change taking place. If Mr. Wade, at any time, should cease to hold the double appointment of Secretary of Legation and Chinese Secretary, it might be provisionally tried to dispense with the first post, and give a Chinese Secretary a salary of 800*l.*, which would effect a saving of 400*l.* per annum. That, I think, might be practicable, though of questionable expediency.

I have worked with a Staff of this strength during the past three years, often very hardly pressed, but the work has been done, without unduly interfering with the studies of the Student Interpreters; and I am happy to say I leave no arrears. Three Secretaries in the Chancellerie, however, are by no means too many for the ordinary work; and it might be well always to have a First Secretary in Peking. But I am not disposed to attach much importance to the latter. It will be for your Lordship and the Treasury to determine, when the time comes, whether there shall be a Secretary of Legation, causing an increase of 400*l.*, assuming that he would receive 800*l.*, if the two offices now conjoined be separated, and the Chinese Secretary another 800*l.*, instead of the 1,200*l.* now paid to the joint occupant, or only two Second Secretaries, with a saving of 400*l.* per annum.

It has already been determined to reduce the Legation escort from six to four men, with a Sergeant; and I see no objection to this being provisionally tried also, by which there will be a saving of some 332*l.*, and a certain economy of fuel and light, of say 20*l.* By death and dismissal the force has been reduced to even less than this for several months; and the loss of the Sergeant among the number has been felt rather than the diminution of the number. In the meantime, a considerable saving has resulted in the present year.

In another direction, I think, a saving of 500*l.* per annum might be effected, without detriment, if not with certain advantage. By auditing the Consular accounts at Peking, and dispensing with the services of the Auditor-General at Hong Kong, his salary would be saved. Now that Mr. Rennie is understood to be either changing his post or retiring, such a change might be effected at once, without entailing any hardship upon individuals. In that case, either Mr. Pirkis, the present Clerk in the Auditor-General's Office, might be transferred to Peking on his present salary of 400*l.*, to assist the Accountant, or one of the Assistants from the Consulates on a similar salary, might supply the necessary aid to the Accountant.

I believe besides a considerable economy, that there would be a positive advantage in such a change. In any audit at Hong Kong there is frequent necessity for reference to the Minister. This causes much loss of time and correspondence; for although the Auditor-General forwards on to England the accounts, with his queries attached, they cannot be finally audited at home until the Minister's answers are received. In addition to this, the Minister can exercise a better control over the Consul's expenditure than any other person.

I conferred with Mr. Rennie when he was at Peking, in 1867, on the practicability of such a change, and although to his own prejudice, pecuniarily speaking, he agreed that there was no insuperable obstacle, and many advantages might be anticipated from it. The question of supplying funds alone suggested any difficulty; but as the Minister can always estimate the average expenditure of each Consulate as well as the Legation, and has authority to draw upon the Commissary-General at Hong Kong, it would be perfectly feasible to arrange with that officer to remit quarterly to the several Consulates under a warrant from the Minister; or in some cases, as at New-chwang and Tien-tsin, half-yearly, a fixed sum, leaving a sufficient margin for any unforeseen or extraordinary expenditure.

This is the more easy, as since the improvement which I suggested of allowing a fixed sum for contingencies at each Consulate has taken effect, the most irrepressible and elastic kinds of expenditure have been under control.

I pass on to the Consular Establishment. I have already said that I cannot propose any reduction in numbers, and must urge the necessity for some increase. The salaries will admit of redistribution; to some of the Consuls bringing an increase, to others a decrease. But in all cases I recommend the abandonment of the system of allowances in aid. If there be any exception to this rule, it might be Tien-tsin; but even there I should prefer some equivalent addition in salary, to meet what are confessedly exceptional and unavoidable expenses from its being the port of Peking, through which all officials and distinguished visitors proceeding to the British Legation as guests must pass on their way

hither. I think some rule might with advantage be laid down by authority from the Foreign Office, defining to what extent Her Majesty's Government expect the Consuls to offer hospitality, as a means of enabling the latter to avoid unreasonable demands upon a limited income by those who have no real claim on the Consul.

After careful consideration of all that the several Consuls have urged as to the expensive conditions of living at the ports—and no one has better represented this, and the circumstances which make it hard for Consular officers to meet the exigencies of their position in China than Mr. Consul Pedder, to whose despatch and Memorandum I would call particular attention—I cannot avoid the conclusion that the allowance system is bad. Where the necessity for addition is satisfactorily shown, it would be better that the salary should be reconsidered. It is further open to the objection, that it often raises expectations which cannot be realized, and creates a feeling of hardship at the other ports where allowances are denied. Nearly an equally good case, it will be seen by the Reports, can be made out for all; and I think it better, therefore, that no distinction of this kind should be perpetuated.

I would recommend accordingly, that at the close of this financial year all extra and temporary allowances should cease, provided it be found possible to make such modifications in the salaries as shall seem necessary. For of the 2,775*l.* now divided very unequally among six out of the thirteen ports with doubtful expediency, some portion will be required to meet reasonable claims. Some economy, certainly, may be effected, but a portion should, I am satisfied, be appropriated to improve the salaries in various directions, in order to equalize the position of the same grade of officers at the different ports.

The return already given of the existing establishment and salaries of Consuls and Vice-Consuls, and proposed additions and reductions, will suffice to show where I think there should be an increase of salary after a scrutiny into all the circumstances at each port, which I have conscientiously made. In some I have suggested a prospective reduction, when any vacancy or change in the occupants of the post should give the opportunity, which will go far to meet in the end any present increase. To the Consuls and Vice-Consuls specified the additions would amount to 1,650*l.*, the reduction to 750*l.*, giving an increase of 950*l.*, or, assuming the withdrawal of all extra allowances to the amount of 2,775*l.*, leaving an economy of 1,825*l.* The two classes on which the expenses of living press the most severely are:—

1. The Consuls who must entertain and otherwise maintain a social equality with those over whom they should exercise a certain personal influence as well as a legal authority—or the latter will avail them very little to maintain peace and order in the communities committed to their charge, and avert troubles and complications, one of the most important of their functions; and,—

2. The Assistants, not because they lie under any necessity to spend money in entertaining, but from the difficulty of living decently on incomes ranging from 300*l.* to 400*l.* a-year, where all the necessaries of life are dear and many luxuries almost, if not quite, necessaries in China, are for the most part unattainable with limited means. Between the dishonesty of their servants and the extortionate charges of storekeepers and purveyors of every kind, all the reports agree that a bare living is only to be secured on 300*l.* per annum.

If it were possible, therefore, I should like to see 50*l.* per annum added to the salaries of all the Assistants, though it would involve an increased expenditure of 1 000*l.* I am convinced it would be well bestowed in the public interest. It is better to reduce numbers to the utmost possible extent consistent with the necessary work being done, than to effect reductions in salary below the point at which a junior can decently maintain himself in the place where he must live. I believe it is better and wiser to overwork a man than to starve him, or reduce him to such straits that his life is made miserable. The hard work he will bear cheerfully and with less damage to his health and morale than the petty shifts to which he may be driven by too straitened means. For these and other reasons, suggested by long experience and observation at the ports, too numerous to be mentioned in detail, I venture to urge favourable consideration for these junior classes. They have a hard struggle the first five years, and many break down under it, lose health and heart, or do worse for themselves and the credit of the Government they serve; of which we have had but too many examples of late.

The expediency of providing some plain solid furniture for the public rooms and for the officers of the Consulates has been suggested; but at present I deem it most essential to provide such furniture for the quarters of the junior officers—that is, for a bed-room and sitting-room. Although I have often urged both measures in vain, and have little hope of better success now, I feel bound to state my conviction that it would be good economy and public money might be worse spent. The first expense need not lead, as it has

[redacted], to continual demands for renewal, though the first outlay, it cannot be denied, [redacted] make a considerable item in the estimates where some twenty or thirty persons [redacted]ave to be housed. Mr. Pedder's memorandum, in answer to my circular, supplies some strong arguments in favour of such liberality, by showing the serious losses and difficulties which the absence of a provision of this kind entails upon all the members of the Consular Establishment in China, and on none more fatally than on the juniors subject to frequent removals in the public interests.

To conclude with the subject of allowances or extra aids, I may as well take in this connection—doctors and medical attendance. In point of fact, looking to the necessity, at all the ports, and at whatever price, of providing medical attendance for constables, gaolers, prisoners, and destitute sailors or British subjects, I believe that there would be a positive economy in the end; if Her Majesty's Government were to contract for a fixed sum at every port, according to the circumstances of each locality, for medical attendance on all three classes—gaolers, constables, prisoners, and distressed British subjects—for all of whom the Government is compelled to provide. In doing so, to include the Consular establishment, consisting of two or three officers, most frequently unmarried, would add little or nothing to the terms, while it would prove a great saving to the officer. To be attached to the Consulate and receive a fixed salary is, except perhaps at Shanghae, a great object to a medical practitioner at any of the ports, and for that reason a very moderate remuneration is willingly accepted. A salary of 100*l.*, with one or two exceptions, would probably secure all that is needed.

The inclosed return shows the total expenditure incurred this past year, and amounts to the large sum of 2,634*l.* 13*s.* 8½*d.*, but a very unusual share of this—more that one-third—was due to altogether exceptional and unavoidable circumstances at Peking, owing to the sudden death of Dr. Powles, the unauthorized appearance of a naval surgeon in the depth of winter, and his subsequent illness, thus entailing double and triple expenses, since during part of the time a third physician was on his way out to supply the place of the deceased. Apart from this, and putting Peking aside as provided for by an expenditure of 600*l.* per annum for a surgeon, the whole expense for the ports during 1868 may be taken at 1,650*l.* Nearly one-third of this, including no allowance for the members of the Consulate, is charged to Shanghae for prisoners, distressed British subjects, &c., leaving some 1,100*l.* for all the other ports. If a sum of from 100*l.* to 150*l.* per annum were to be allowed for expenditure, under the head of medical attendance, at each port, with a discretionary power to the Consuls, under the Minister's control, to contract on the best terms attainable for a doctor's services, to include all the establishment, together with distressed British subjects or sailors, prisoners, &c., and in no case, except at Shanghae, to exceed 150*l.*, some 1,500*l.* would, I believe, cover the whole expense. I am satisfied Her Majesty's Government would, by such arrangements, pay no more on the whole than now that the establishment is partially provided for at a few ports; little more than if all allowances now granted were withdrawn and medical assistance left to be sought and paid for as occasion required, for the prisoners and others. The only difference would be, that the Consular officers would be saved a large drain on their income, and an expense, in case of sickness, which they can very ill afford. The returns desired, of gaolers, constables, European servants, and prisoners, are herewith inclosed.

It has been inferred that medical missionaries are widely spread throughout the Provinces of China. I believe the fact to be that there are none in the interior, except one at Peking, and only five at the ports, including Dr. McGowan, a ci-devant missionary doctor, and now following other avocations:—one at Hankow; one at Shanghae (Dr. McGowan); one at Swatow; one at Amoy; one at Taiwan or Takow.

If the Consular Establishments at the thirteen ports, therefore, are to rely upon such assistance as these can render, if willing, those at eight of the ports must resign themselves to utter deprivation and its consequences. The plain truth is, what has been already stated, that at all the minor ports there is the greatest difficulty in securing medical assistance or offering sufficient inducement to a competent practitioner to settle where there are only very small foreign communities, as in Formosa, Chefoo, Ningpo, Canton, and others. This can only be done by the few residents engaging to contribute annually a sum sufficient to make it worth a medical man's while to settle at the port, reckoning upon a certain addition from ships in port. Each individual subscription may thus amount to a sum wholly disproportioned to the means of a Junior Consular Officer, or even a Consul at a secondary port. I contend that these are conditions of so cogent and exceptional a nature that a Government should see neither the prisoners in their gaols nor the members of the Service,—also in duresse and compelled for the Public Service to live where they would not be if they had any choice,—die or fall into a state of incurable disease from the want of medical assistance. And they can only do this by furnishing the

funds. By no other means could medical assistance have been secured at New[redacted] where one of Her Majesty's Consuls lately died. If Europeans at the open ports are [redacted] deprived of medical aid altogether, it is simply because the anticipation is so dreadful that they are willing to pay largely to secure it; and the price is larger than Consular Officers with a fixed and limited income can pay.

I pass on to another class of allowances or contributions in aid of churches and chaplains, to which great exception has also been taken, as excessive or unnecessary. The inclosed return shows that these amounted in the last year to 1,931*l.* 11*s.* 10½*d.*

At the only four ports where any contribution has been made, I believe the fact to be as stated in the several Reports from the ports, that no chapel or chaplain will be maintained if all Government aid be withdrawn. How far Her Majesty's Government may feel under obligation to avert this result, or provide for the spiritual interests of the few British residents at each, by making a contribution of from 200*l.* to 300*l.* per annum, it is for Her Majesty's Government to determine.

I have now disposed of the principal heads on which I have been instructed to report, but before I proceed to sum up the conclusions arrived at, I must endeavour to supply some further explanation in reference to my grounds for recommending the several reductions or additions specified in regard to each port in the Return No. 2, in order to afford your Lordship in detail all the information which may be required.

I will first, however, observe that the returns demanded respecting writers and linguists in China, wages and allowances to gaolers, constables, watchmen, boatmen, porters, coolies, and others, herewith inclosed, are, I believe, all that can be desired with respect to accuracy and clearness. I have made careful investigation as to the number of these employés, their employment, and rates of wages, and have satisfied myself that, beyond such limited reductions as have been effected at Shanghae and at Canton,* there is no large economy practicable at present consistent with efficiency. I am not quite satisfied yet that some diminution in the number of office messengers at Shanghae may not be effected, and in constables also; but, on my approaching inspection of the ports, I propose to make still closer scrutiny personally and on the spot.

I have watched also with great care the result of the experiment by which the contingencies were consolidated, so to speak, and a fixed sum allotted to each Consulate annually; and not only are the accounts greatly simplified by the process, with great saving of labour and expense in making them up and transmitting them, but the result is most satisfactory in every other respect. Less money is spent, and, except in a very few instances, the Consuls have well understood that they were not at liberty at their discretion to exceed the amount fixed, by treating as extraordinary, items fairly to be considered as usual contingencies.

As to the expenses incurred for rent, insurances, and for repairs or new buildings, I have considered my duty was limited to giving Major Crossman, the officer selected by the Treasury to superintend such works, the most effective and cordial support in controlling all expenditure under these heads on the part of Consular officers, and generally advising with him as to the extent of accommodation and the new buildings required. The inclosed circular which Major Crossman lately sent to me for approval, will show how strictly his authority in all such matters is enforced.

The two Returns for 1868 and 1869, herewith inclosed, show that there has been a reduction of more than 1,000*l.* under these heads; and the rents must unquestionably diminish in the proportion in which the Treasury will allow the necessary funds for building in order to accommodate the Consular establishments at each port in our own premises, instead of being obliged to pay exorbitant rents to landlords. Much as the value of house property has decreased in the last few years to those who desire to sell, rents still seem disproportionately high at many of the ports. The more rapidly the accommodation is provided by our own capital, therefore, the quicker will be the disappearance of these heavy items from the estimates.

As to the numerical strength of the establishment, consisting of thirteen Consuls, five Vice-Consuls, eleven interpreters, and twenty assistants, forty-seven in all, and the possibility of still further reducing the number, this can only be effected by reducing the number of ports. The disestablishment of Formosa is a step in this direction, and that will liberate a Consul, a Vice-Consul, and two Assistsnts. But that number will be required for Wenchow and Wuhu, if the Convention just signed should be approved and carried into effect. I have more than once solicited your Lordship's attention to the inadequacies of the present Establishment as regards Assistants, and the consequent impossibility of avoiding the employment of temporary clerks. I can only repeat this statement. It is

* Shanghae, 2 Writers, 89*l.* 5*s.*; Canton, 1 Writer, 35*l.* 14*s.*

[redacted]ain to attempt to determine the necessity for an establishment at a port by [redacted]ting the number of British residents, or the amount of fees paid by shipping, or even [redacted]f measuring the number to be employed by a calculation of the amount of work so many residents and ships, and so much trade, are likely to create in the year. It is not an arithmetical question at all. Four or five indiscreet or ill-conditioned residents may do more mischief in a week or a month, if not under efficient and wise control, in such a country as China than Her Majesty's Minister or the Foreign Office can repair in a year. Our shipping pay few fees, and these are small in amount, but their masters and crew are not the less troublesome on that account; nor can their interests and the interests of commerce be allowed to take care of themselves because the fees are small. Our engagements with the Chinese Government compel us to exercise jurisdiction and surveillance: and where no Consular authority is resident, experience has shown that trade soon comes to a standstill from hindrances of every kind, either created by the authorities directly or with their tacit sanction. It is true, as has been observed, that many other Treaty Powers do not feel under this necessity, or acknowledge the obligation of incurring expense to look after their subjects or trade, and either find resident merchants who will take that duty upon themselves without charge, or leave their subjects to their own devices, which are not generally very laudable under such circumstances.

All residents in China are so familiar with the facts that nearly the same opinions would be found stereotyped. Other Treaty Powers either have no trade, or, if like the United States of America and the North German Confederation, they have some interests at stake, they are slow to incur expenses, and profit, advisedly and largely, by the certainty that at every open port there will be a salaried Consul and efficient establishment under the British flag, and a British authority to appeal to in case of necessity. If these were withdrawn, one of two things must result. Either each Power would be compelled to make some better provision for itself, or foreign trade relations, both political and commercial, would soon fall into a state of irretrievable ruin. Merchants cannot, and in a country where exterritorial rights are reserved, ought not to exercise judicial and political powers while engaged in trade. Merchants, though glad to avail themselves of the advantages of a Consular Commission from a foreign Power, are the first to admit that the practice leads to great abuses. And the Chinese Government has repeatedly remonstrated against it. During the recent negotiations with the Austrian Mission, the Chinese Plenipotentiaries refused for a long time to sign a Treaty without a clause distinctly renouncing all right to appoint merchant Consuls. The idea of co-operative action, by which salaried Consuls might be appointed and paid in common by the Treaty Powers, on some sort of cosmopolitan principle is not practicable: and still less is the suggestion to invest the foreigners in the Imperial Customs with jurisdiction and Consular Powers. Nothing of the kind could possibly be carried into effect.

As to the extent of the establishment being wholly contingent on the amount of estimated work in the year, or whether one officer and not two, or a junior instead of a senior would not suffice; these are not questions which can be resolved in the way proposed. As a general rule it is always undesirable to have one officer only at any port; in case of illness or temporary absence there is no one to supply his place. There are many small affairs with native officials and with others which it would be better the Consul should not have to transact in person. And finally, if an establishment is to be kept at a port it must be such as will suffice for all legitimate demands upon it. Work is not spread evenly over a year. Without supplying always sufficient occupation to fully employ two or three officers, it yet may be such that more than one or even two persons must be always available.

So in regard to the total number: it is quite useless attempting to work the establishment so short handed, that whenever illness or the necessity for leave of absence arises there is no one to occupy the vacant place or remedy the deficiency. Provision must be made for an average proportion of non-effectives, as in an army; and this we know now cannot be taken at less that 25 per cent. The smallest number that can be worked with, to good purpose, at the several ports is 43 in active duty. To keep this number always in harness, that is always available for work whenever they are wanted, the establishment should not number fewer than 53, therefore, and to give that numerical force six more assistants are wanted, including in the number a permanent Shipping Clerk for Shanghae, where such an officer with familiar knowledge of shipping business and sailors, only to be acquired by long experience, is so much needed that I trust Mr. Tapp's services in that capacity, for which he has special qualifications, may be secured without further delay.

It is quite in vain to hope that this deficiency can ever be supplied by what is called a reserve of students at Peking. If they are perpetually liable in the midst of their

studies to be drafted to the ports, it is idle waste of money to send them to [redacted] the first instance to learn Chinese. There should be such a working staff at the [redacted] that no serious difficulty or delay should ever occur in supplying a substitute for any officer suddenly disabled or obliged to leave his post, and there is hardly a month that such a case does not occur, at one or other of the ports. It is obvious that if we only keep at each port the establishment barely sufficing for the daily work and requirements of the place, whatever these may be, the Minister must have a reserve somewhere, or be compelled to look outside for temporary assistance, on every account to be deprecated.

It is from these circumstances that I have urged the expediency of adding six to the number of assistants, giving Mr. Tapp a place among them as Shipping Clerk, under some special agreement as to salary, advancement, &c. And the other five should make Shanghae their head-quarters, as the best place for learning Consular work, and at the same time attending the Supreme Court, and, if not provisionally attached to it for work, subject to the direction and control of Her Majesty's Consul. If this were done an assistant might possibly be dispensed with at the Consulate. From this small reserve drafts could be made, as from a central depôt, and directed to whatever point assistance might be needed, with the least loss of time and expense to Her Majesty's Government. In this manner it would be possible to give all the juniors in the service an opportunity, in succession, of attending the Supreme Court, for a few months at a time. Hitherto it has been altogether impracticable, from want of hands to do the work of the Consulates.

In reference to the reductions and additions suggested in the foregoing sheets, and my reasons for each proposition, I will take the posts *seriatim* and state my grounds.

The Legation.

A reduction in the salary of the Envoy at Peking has been suggested on the next change of Minister.

Seeing that my absence on leave will practically effect a saving of 1,000*l.* at least, I have accordingly included as among the reductions present or prospective the above sum of 1,000*l.* I would not have it understood, however, that I agree in recommending such reduction. A British Envoy's expenses at Peking may certainly be kept within the 5,000*l.*, and so far as we know the total amount of salaries and emoluments received by the Ministers of France, the United States of America, Prussia, and Russia, it is probable that they are not more highly paid, and some do not receive so much, the United States' Minister for one. But I would observe in the first place that it is never fully known what are the exact emoluments or advantages derived by foreign Ministers from their appointments: Secondly, that what might be an object of desire to a foreign Diplomatist early in his career—either from what it actually gave in the present in promotion and salary, or would otherwise be expected to lead to in the future in both directions, I scarcely think a residence at Peking, the dirtiest and dustiest, as well as the dullest of capitals, in utter isolation and banishment from Europe for four or five years, would offer inducements for any member of the Diplomatic Service, except on promotion, voluntarily to seek the appointment at 5,000*l.*

It is difficult to compare things not alike in many essential particulars. Washington may not be a very pleasant place of residence, or in many other respects an agreeable post to occupy. Yeddo in Japan, Tehran in Persia, Rio de Janeiro, and Buenos Ayres in South America, may also have their drawbacks of a kind not altogether dissimilar, which are occupied by Ministers with equal or lower salaries. But this may be safely said, that the Mission of Peking will not generally be an object of desire, even at the higher salary of 6,000*l.*, to anyone having already attained the rank of Envoy, if he be allowed the option of declining, and remaining at any post in Europe with a lower scale of pay. For the life that must be led, and all the wear and tear it involves, I do not conceive 6,000*l.* is too much to secure the services of any able man towards the close of a long career. Whether 6,000*l.* or 5,000*l.* should be the rate must depend greatly upon circumstances, the status of the person selected, and other conditions, only to be determined therefore at the time of appointment, when these are known.

In reference to the other reductions, I have already offered all the explanation necessary.

Consular Service.

Canton.—A reduction in the salary of the Consul is obviously indicated whenever a vacancy occurs. Canton was, when the Treaty of Nanking was signed, regarded as the principal port, though soon overshadowed by the rapid increase of trade at Shanghae.

[redacted]fter this it was still treated as the senior Consulate, and allowed the highest [redacted]n the Service, 1,800*l.*

It was not until a vacancy took place by Dr. Bowring's promotion to be Governor of Hong Kong and Minister Plenipotentiary in December 1853 that any change was proposed. A reduction was then contemplated, but your Lordship was pleased, in consideration of past services, to offer me the post without change, if I preferred it, to Shanghae, having suffered so much in health by a nine years' continuous residence at that port, as to make some change imperative. I was informed at the same time that the old rate, being an increase of 300*l.* on the salary of the Consul at Shanghae, would be considered as continued on grounds applying to me personally, and, therefore, that if I remained at Shanghae, the same salary of 1,800*l.* would be paid to me there and deducted from the rate payable to any future Consul at Canton.

I have ventured to recall the circumstances, because I think it offers a precedent which I am very anxious to see followed in other instances. I am satisfied it would offer a means very often of recognizing the claims which long and faithful services give by an increase of salary on personal grounds, when it may be impossible to do it by transferring the individual to another or better paid port, or otherwise inexpedient, from special and local considerations, to make any change in the personnel of an establishment. There are three cases in point at this moment, where a measure of this kind alone could reconcile justice to the individual with a wise economy to the State as regards the scale of salary to be attached to the several Consulates. I allude to Shanghae, Amoy, and Ningpo, at all three of which there are Consuls who have over twenty-five years' service in China to plead for them, well meriting some special consideration, and a frank recognition of their merits in the way of increased salary, provided this can be done without fixing a rate of salary at the port to which it would not be entitled on any change, apart from personal claims.

Shanghae is the first. Mr. Winchester's long and faithful service is too well known to your Lordship to require any statement from me in confirmation. If he is to continue the occupant of the port, and the extra allowance of 500*l.* is to be withdrawn, as I recommend it should, I am strongly of opinion that it would be but an act of justice and sound policy to repeat the step taken in my own case in very similar circumstances, and add 300*l.* to the salary during his tenure, and expressly so limited. On any change, it would be open to revision, and I have placed it in my return at 1,600*l.*, which, exclusive of allowances and any special claims of the incumbent, I think would be no more than a fair rate of salary, keeping in view the importance of the trade, the large interests at stake, and the expenses of living.

Mr. Fittock, at Ningpo, is another instance. His services date from 1844. He was over twelve years in the junior ranks of the Superintendency and Consular services, on very small salaries; for years a Vice-Consul, up to October 1864; and, since then, he has been a Consul, at 900*l.*, increased the last three years by an allowance of 100*l.* a year.

I think his salary might very justly be made 1,000*l.*, but, in the event of change or a younger officer being promoted, then it might be reduced to 800*l.*, or certainly to 900*l.*

Mr. Pedder, at Amoy, is the third instance. I have for some time endeavoured to obtain an increase of 100*l.* per annum; and, on grounds of policy and economy, it would be difficult to conceive a stronger case.

A despatch of this officer, dated the 27th September, with inclosures, which I only received a few days ago, has, I trust, been sent direct in copy to the Foreign Office, and to it I would venture to draw your Lordship's special attention. A rough comparative statement, herewith inclosed, of the expenses of the Consulate during three years, from 1st April, 1866, to same date in 1869, during the first two of which he was absent, shows a clear saving of 1,000*l.* for establishment and ordinary controllable incidental expenses per annum, and he leads me to expect a still more favourable result of all his efforts to economize the public funds at the end of the financial year. The accounts for the Board of Trade show a similar proportionate reduction, though less in actual amount.

No one, but a Consul in China, who has devoted his best efforts to the same end perhaps, can fully realize how much of sacrifice is entailed by such labours—or the time, the thought, and contrivance required to insure success. The contrivances to save the public money invariably lead to considerable worrying from those who are restrained, and even from the Auditors, both local and at home, who come upon some novelty, and do not understand its drift.

A fair day's work in the office will not suffice for such ends, and, if Mr. Pedder had been content with this, he must have long ago had a First Class Assistant attached to the Consulate, at a cost 400*l.*, instead of a Portuguese Copying Clerk, on a salary of 103*l.*, leaving a clear saving in one item of nearly 300*l.*

If a Consul does not give up out of office to the anxious consideration of [redacted] ways and means, a large portion of his own time, often sorely needed for his own and to keep him out of debt, the incidental and special expenses mount up in a way little understood at the Treasury. This Mr. Pedder has done, to the great advantage of the public, far beyond what even appears in the accounts; and I have claimed for him, in recognition of such services, an increase of 100*l.* to a moderate salary of 900*l.*, at one of the unhealthiest ports in China, if we except Formosa perhaps. I trust their Lordships will no longer be unable to see sufficient reason for the proposed increase. If further argument were needed in support of this recommendation, I might refer to the terms of the Circular, and also the regulations on the subject of accounts, in which officers in charge of Consulates are assured that economy will be favourably viewed by Her Majesty's Secretary of State.

My own conviction is strong, that if a public recognition of the merits of an officer in this particular of saving and preventing unnecessary or avoidable expenditure, were made, in a shape too which would bring a real gain to the individual so distinguished, the public would gain more annually than will ever be saved by cutting down either allowances or salaries. No money can be better or more advantageously spent in the public interest than that which is judiciously applied to stimulate zeal and devotion to an irksome and unpopular task, and such must always be a course of petty retrenchments, and the vigilance necessary to prevent waste or extravagance.

Such services as Mr. Pedder's in the direction of economy would be cheaply bought at 500*l.* per annum extra, as far as the public purse is concerned, and I trust, therefore, that there will be no further hesitation in granting the 100*l.* asked.

The principle of recognizing in a tangible way personal claims in the Consuls for special services without increasing the permanent charges for each Consulate is so important in its application to the future of the Consular Establishment in China and a judicious economy, that I trust it will prove a sufficient apology for the length to which these explanations have extended, and an apparently discursive mode of treating the subject of salaries and allowances.

Returning now to Canton, it will be observed that I have proposed 1,200*l.* per annum as the fixed rate of the Consul's salary whenever a vacancy occurs.

The trade of this port is scarcely such as would justify any large expenditure. But the proximity to Hong-Kong and the political difficulties perpetually arising between the Colonial and Provincial authorities render it absolutely necessary that a Senior Consul, and one of sound judgment should be always on the spot. The presence of the Viceroy and all the high provincial authorities in the city renders this still more imperative. Serious complications might otherwise arise, full of danger to material interests and to the maintenance of good relations with the Government and people.

I have on more than one occasion submitted to your Lordship the expediency—I think, the necessity of a Vice-Consul being attached to this Consulate,—an officer capable of acting as joint Vice-Consul and Interpreter. And although I think such services as Mr. Mayers is capable of rendering would not be over-paid by 800*l.*, after ten years' service, I have only asked for an increase of 50*l.*, making his salary 750*l.* I have, to my great regret, not hitherto succeeded in obtaining this change, owing to the refusal of the Treasury to sanction it. As in the case of Mr. Pedder, he has been overworked,—doing the duty of both officers, and, in addition, saving the expense of an Assistant at 350*l.* or 400*l.* a year. To refuse a recognition of such services and a small accession of rank and salary is the worst economy. All zeal is discouraged, and an officer so treated becomes discontented, loses heart and good-will, and ends by doing his own work only, and that grudgingly and in a perfunctory manner. Good and zealous public servants willing to make both effort and personal sacrifices beyond the strict line of their duties will never be made without something of liberality in the appreciation of their work; and it is the public which suffers most when a sense of hardship and neglect enters into the minds of those who serve. I can only repeat the reasons given in other despatches why there should be a Vice-Consul attached to the Consulate of Canton. The Consul's residence in the city, which I entirely approve, would make it necessary if no other reason existed. But apart from this, I must state my conviction that there is if possible more need of a Vice-Consul at Canton than at Shanghae, and combining that office with the functions of a first class Interpreter, only entailing a trifling increase of 50*l.* additional salary, is the most economical way of providing for the wants of the port.

Swatow with Chao-chow-foo, now open and separated by a day's journey, renders some increase of establishment necessary. The post has hitherto been worked with an officer in charge and an interpreter or assistant. There ought to be all three, but I have not been able to spare them.

Alabaster's Report of the progress of trade since the opening of Chao-chow-foo [illegible], I think, have removed your Lordship's doubts as to the expediency of the latter step and the desirability of making due provision for its protection and surveillance. The population of the whole surrounding district is unruly and under no Governmental control. Trade can only be carried on at all, therefore, under circumstances demanding both firmness and prudence on the part of all the Consular establishment. There should always be a Consul, Interpreter, and one Assistant, if not two, available for the two places. And to secure the services of a Consul of long experience and ability, I do not think 900*l.* would be an excessive salary. I have therefore suggested an increase of 100*l.* here.

Amoy I have already dealt with. So long as Mr. Pedder is able and willing to work shorthanded with only a Portuguese clerk on a salary of 103*l.*, I am not disposed to interfere with him. There is ample work for a First Class Assistant, but that would entail an extra expense of 300*l.*, and we have none to spare for places where they can possibly be dispensed with.

Foo-chow.—The Consul at this port has 1,300*l.* per annum, and although the expense of living has been shown to be considerable, I do not think, when it is desired to reduce to the utmost, that sufficient ground has been shown for any increase either as regards the port or the present occupant.

The Vice-Consulate at Pagoda Anchorage will, I conceive, very well bear a reduction of 150*l.* I never contemplated a larger salary.

If *Wênchow* should be opened to trade I think a Consul will be required there; and a salary of 900*l.* may be provisionally assigned to the port. A Senior Assistant capable of acting as an interpreter is all the Staff that can at first be required.

Ning-po has already been disposed of.

Shanghae also.

Chin-kiang should, I think, be restored as a Consulate with a salary of 800*l.* An Assistant must be added.

If *Wuhu* be opened, it might be well to place a Vice-Consul there provisionally, nominally attached to Chin-kiang and subject to the Consul there, at a salary of 600*l.*

Kiu-kiang may be reduced by 100*l.* from the Consul's salary on any change.

Hankow.—The Consul here has 1,300*l.*, and it may be reduced 100*l.* whenever a vacancy gives the opportunity.

Che-foo.—The Consul has a salary of 900*l.* The port is a sort of half-way station to Peking, a general rendezvous of visitors as a watering-place. Men-of-war are frequently anchoring in the harbour. All these are causes of expense to a Consul, more especially when he is the only salaried Consul in the place. Upon these considerations and others fully stated in Mr. Markham's despatch on the subject, to which I beg to refer your Lordship for additional explanation, an extra allowance was applied for and submitted for consideration.

Under existing circumstances I am not disposed to recommend any change.

Tien-tsin.—The Consul has a salary of 900*l.*, and, on my recommendation, the present occupant has received an additional allowance of 200*l.* to meet expenses of entertainment consequent on his residence at a station which is on the high road to Peking.

The Treasury have taken exception to this, and your Lordship desires to be informed exactly as to the class of persons to which this hospitality is extended. Those designated in the despatch are, as a rule, the claimants. To which may be added Consular officers passing on their road to or from Peking on duty or leave. A good many stray travellers, too, find their way each year to Peking, generally provided with letters of recommendation either to the Consul or the British Minister. Many of these are of considerable social standing, and it must be very difficult, if not impossible, for a Consul to close his doors to them.

I do not think 200*l.* is an excessive estimate of the actual expense such visitors in the course of the year may entail; and I think it was not contemplated when the salary was fixed that these expenses should fall upon the Consul so exceptionally situated. I have proposed, therefore, that the amount of the allowance 200*l.* should be added to the salary to enable him to meet them. If this be objected to, the Consul may be required to keep a list of visitors he has felt constrained to entertain on public grounds, and some scale of compensation may be fixed as on board ships of war when a passage is ordered.

The Vice-Consulate at *Taku* is underpaid. It is a bleak and dismal place of residence all the winter. There are no residents, and, consequently, no society. The pilots have to be looked after, in winter more especially perhaps, when they are all idle. In summer there is a good deal of work with the shipping, shipmasters, and their crews. Living is expensive from the isolation and distance from all markets and places of supply. I think 100*l.* should be add d to make the salary 600*l.*

Newchwang.—The salary recently fixed for the Consul is 900*l.* Precisely the same

conditions as I have described in relation to Taku exist at the more northe[redacted] trade is small, though showing signs of increase. I believe, whether large or sm[redacted] evils would result from the withdrawal of Establishment either altogether or fitfully. mischief would obviously not be limited to that port, but extend its influence to all th[redacted] others, and damage our position generally. I think we have no alternative but to continue to maintain a small establishment, and, in that case, 900*l.* is, in my opinion, not excessive.

Having thus taken all the ports seriatim and in order from south to north, and discussed the question of extra allowances to Consular officers, contributions in aid to chapels and chaplains, and to doctors for medical attendance, it only remains for me to sum up the general results.

	£	s.
I propose to withdraw all existing extra subsistence allowances to Consular establishments, effecting a reduction of	2,775	0
To disestablish the ports of Formosa	4,200	0
To make a reduction, immediate or prospective, of salaries from the Consular establishment to the amount of	750	0
From the Diplomatic establishment	2,158	2
Total reductions	9,883	2

The allowances to chapels and chaplains as the Foreign Office and Treasury may determine.

The medical allowances to be regulated and fixed for each port except Shanghae.

To the debit side of the account an increase to salaries is proposed as follows:—

	£	s.
Immediate additions to salaries in Consular establishment	1,650	0
Including re-establishment of Chin-kiang, 800*l.*; and exclusive of Wên-chow and Wuhu, which, if opened, would add	1,500	0
A further increase to Consul at Shanghae (contingent)	200	0
	3,350	0
Add, proposed increase of 50*l.* to salaries of 20 Assistants	1,000	0
Add, for an increase in number, viz.—		
3 Second Class Assistants, at 400*l.*	1,200	0
3 Third Class ditto, at 350*l.*	1,050	0
	6,600	0
Balance of reductions proposed to credit	3,283	2

The reductions ultimately to be effected may not fully realize the expectations of the Treasury, but I believe more cannot be effected with any due regard to efficiency. Of course the proposed increase of salaries to the Assistants requires your Lordship's approval preliminarily, and is a subject for consideration, as indeed are all the other additions.

	£	s.
But the largest items are under this head of Assistants, adding to the existing staff, and increasing the pay of all, the whole amounting to	3,250	0
And the next is in like manner contingent on events not yet fully consummated. The re-establishment of Chin-kiang as a Consulate, and the opening of two ports representing an amount of	2,300	0
Making the total contingent estimates of increase	5,550	0
Total immediate increase on establishment as it is	850	0
Aggregate total of proposed increase	6,400	0
Against total decrease of	9,883	2
Leaving, as stated in Return, to credit	3,483	2

Being 200*l.* in addition, for Consul Winchester, beyond the proposed salary of 1,600*l.*

Of this total of proposed reductions, amounting to 9,883*l.* 2*s.*, the following items represent immediate reductions:—

	£	s.
On Diplomatic expenditure	2,158	2
Subsistence allowances	2,775	0
Total immediate	4,933	2

[redacted]llowing are prospective and contingent on vacancies occurring, so as to admit ...ctions proposed being effected:—

	£
Consul at Canton	400
Consul at Hankow	100
Vice-Consul at Pagoda Island	150
Consul at Kiu-kiang	100
	750
Disestablishment of Formosa	4,200
Total prospective	4,950

I believe I have now supplied all the information desired by the Treasury or your Lordship. I could have wished for more time to arrange and condense the various sections, but the late date at which many of the Consular returns reached Pekin has deprived me of all power to do more than rapidly to pass in review the chief heads, and give my conclusions. The general aim I have kept in view in the modifications suggested has been to combine efficiency with economy, and although I have proposed a large increase, I have at the same time indicated still larger reductions, and have swept off all extra allowances as bad in principle from the difficulty of so regulating their grant, that no sense of hardship or injustice should be created, and no false expectations or hopes be raised.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 4.

STATEMENT of Total Expenditure at the Formosan Ports.

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Taiwan	Salary of Consul	800	0	0			
	Salary of Assistant	400	0	0			
	Salary of Writer and Linguist ..	140	5	0			
	Wages of subordinate servants ..	277	19	0			
	Medical allowance	100	0	0			
	Rents	586	10	0			
	Allowance for office contingencies ..	75	0	0			
	Expenditure on travelling (estimate).	150	0	0			
	Extra special expenses (estimate) ..	20	0	0			
					2,549	14	0
Tamsuy	Salary of Vice-Consul	600	0	0			
	Salary of Assistant	400	0	0			
	Salary of Writer and Linguist ..	178	10	0			
	Wages of subordinate servants ..	234	12	0			
	Rents	36	9	0½			
	Allowance for office contingencies ..	40	0	0			
	Expenditure on travelling (estimate).	150	0	0			
	Extra special expenses (estimate) ..	20	0	0			
					1,659	11	0½
	Total	..			4,209	5	0½
Estimated Expense of ships of war in coal, &c.		..			1,000	0	0
Total		..			5,209	5	0½

Inclosure 2 in No. 4.

STATEMENT showing the Present Establishment as it is Distributed at the Different Ports, with Proposed Reductions or Increase of Salaries.

Place.	Establishment.	£	s.	Increase. £	£	Reduction. £	s.	£	s.
Peking	Minister	6,000	0	..		1,000	0		
	Secretary of Legation	1,200	0	..		400	0		
	Two Second Secretaries	900	0						
	Assistant Chinese Secretary ..	600	0						
	Accountant	500	0						
	Surgeon	600	0						
	Chaplain	200	0						
	Legation Escort	929	13	..		258	2		
	Auditor-General	500	0	..		500	0		
	Clerk	400	0						
	Writers	191	5						
								2,158	2
Canton	Consul	1.600	0	..		400	0		
	Interpreter	700	0	50					
	3rd Assistant	300	0	..					
					50			400	0
Whampoa	Vice-Consul	750	0						
Shanghae	Consul	1,500	0	100					
	Vice-Consul	750	0						
	Interpreter	600	0						
	1st Assistant	400	0						
	Two 3rd Assistants	600	0						
	Shipping Clerk	306	0	100					
	Temporary Shipping Clerk, 178*l.* 10*s.*								
					200				
Hankow	Consul	1,300	0			100	0		
	Interpreter	600	0						
	3rd Assistant	300	0						
								100	0
Foo-chow	Consul	1,300	0						
	Interpreter	500	0						
	3rd Assistant	300	0						
Pagoda Anchorage ..	Vice-Consul	750	0	..		150	0		
								150	0
Amoy	Consul	900	0	100					
	Interpreter	500	0						
	Temporary Clerk, 102*l.*								
					100				
Ningpo	Consul	900	0						
	Interpreter	500	0						
	Temporary Clerk, 306*l.*								
Chefoo	Consul	900	0	100					
	2nd Assistant and Acting Interpreter	450	0						
					100				
Tien-tsin	Consul	900	0	200					
	1st Assistant and Acting Interpreter	500	0						
	3rd Assistant	300	0						
					200				
Taku	Vice-Consul	500	0	100					
					100				
Chin-kiang	Consul	800	0	800					
	Interpreter	500	0						
					800				
Kiu-kiang	Consul	900	0	..		100	0		
	Temporary Clerk, 300*l.*								
								100	0
Newchwang	Consul	900	0						
	1st Assistant	400	0						
Swatow	Consul	800	0	100					
	3rd Assistant	300	0						
					100				
Taiwan	Consul	800	0						
	3rd Assistant	300	0						
Tamsuy	Vice-Consul	600	0						
	3rd Assistant	300	0						
Total Consular Establishment				..				4.200	0
Allowances at all the ports				..				2,775	0
Total					1,650			9,883	2

	£	s.
Total reduction	9,883	2
Total increase	1,650	0
Saving effected	8,233	2
Deduct further proposed increase in salaries and establishment*	3,250	0
Final result in reduction of Estimates	4,983	2

Inclosure 3 in No. 4.

Return of Medical Expenditure in China during the Year 1868.

Place.	Statement.	Amount. £	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Canton	Salary of doctor				106	5	0
Swatow	Ditto	100	0	0			
	Medical attendance on distressed British subjects ..	86	1	2½			
					186	1	2½
Amoy	Salary of doctor	106	5	0			
	Hospital expenses, &c.	6	6	5			
					112	11	5
Taiwan	Salary of doctor	..			100	0	0
Tamsuy	Ditto	..			63	15	0
Foo-chow	Subscription to hospital	..			120	0	0
Ningpo	Salary of doctor	..			70	0	0
Shanghae	Salary of gaol doctors	200	0	0			
	Hospital expenses of British subjects	235	11	1¼			
	Medicines for gaol	46	3	3¾			
					481	14	5
Kiu-kiang	Nil.						
Hankow	Salary of doctor (300 taels) about	..			87	7	0
Che-foo	Two *post-mortem* examinations	..			13	12	0
Tien-tsin	Salary of doctor	..			100	0	0
Taku	Ditto, from April 1 to August 20	..			23	9	9½
Newchwang	Ditto	..			200	0	0
Peking	Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Clark's expenses in coming from and returning to Che-foo	53	4	8½			
	Mr. Clark's salary	50	2	6¾			
	Salary to Chefoo doctor during Mr. Clark's absence ..	60	4	1¾			
	Gratuity to Dr. Bretschneider, of Russian Legation .	212	10	0			
	Dr. Bushell's salary, from February 19	519	4	7½			
	Ditto, travelling expenses in China	64	6	6¼			
	A still and leeches	10	5	3¾			
					969	17	10½
	Total				2,634	13	8½

	£
* Increase suggested in the salaries of 20 Assistants, of 50*l.* each	1,000
Increase in number of Assistants—	
Three of 2nd Class, at 400*l.*	1,200
Three of 3rd Class, at 350*l.*	1,050
Total	3,250

Inclosure 4 in No. 4.

RETURN of Constables, Jailers, and Subordinate Servants employed at Her Majesty's Consulates in China, 1869.

Consulate.	Nos.	Designation.	Nationality.	Annual Wages. £	s.	d.	Total Wages. £	s.	d.
Canton	1	Constable	Indian born British subject	127	10	0			
	2	Messengers	Chinese	45	18	0			
	1	Ditto	Ditto	20	8	0			
	1	Ditto	Ditto	17	17	0			
	4	Ditto	Ditto	61	4	0			
	1	Office coolie	Ditto	17	17	0			
	4	Boatmen	Ditto	71	8	0			
	4	Watchmen	Ditto	61	4	0			
	4	Chairbearers	Ditto	51	0	0			
Macao	1	Cemetery keeper ..	Ditto	15	6	0			
							489	12	0
Whampoa	1	Constable	English	127	10	0			
	5	Boatmen	Chinese	89	5	0			
	1	Watchman	Ditto	17	17	0			
							234	12	0
Swatow	1	Constable	English	127	10	0			
	1	Gaoler	Ditto	76	10	0			
	1	Messenger	Chinese	17	17	0			
	2	Gatekeepers	Ditto	30	12	0			
	2	Office servants ..	Ditto	30	12	0			
	3	Coolies	Ditto	38	5	0			
	1	Watchman	Ditto	10	4	0			
	1	Head boatman ..	Ditto	17	17	0			
	5	Boatmen	Ditto	76	10	0			
							425	17	0
Amoy	1	Constable	European, not a British subject	153	0	0			
	1	Gaoler	Ditto	127	10	0			
	2	Messengers	Chinese	35	14	0			
	7	Coolies	Ditto	71	8	0			
	8	Boatmen	Ditto	102	0	0			
							489	12	0
Taiwan	1	Constable	.. ..	102	0	0			
	2	Messengers	Chinese	33	3	0			
	1	Gatekeeper	Ditto	15	6	0			
	2	Watchmen	Ditto	25	10	0			
	4	Boatmen	Ditto	61	4	0			
	1	Tamsuy courier ..	Ditto	25	10	0			
	1	Taiwan ditto	Ditto	15	6	0			
							277	19	0
Tamsuy	1	Constable	.. ..	127	10	0			
	2	Messengers	Chinese	28	1	0			
	1	Gatekeeper	Ditto	12	15	0			
	2	Watchmen	Ditto	25	10	0			
	4	Boatmen	Ditto	40	16	0			
							234	12	0
Foo-chow	1	Constable	Indian British subject	127	10	0			
	2	Messengers	Chinese	40	16	0			
	5	Runners	Ditto	76	10	0			
	2	Gatekeepers	Ditto	28	1	0			
	1	Boatkeeper	Ditto	15	6	0			
	3	Watchmen	Ditto	43	7	0			
	1	Gardener	Ditto	12	15	0			
							344	5	0
Pagoda Island ..	1	Constable	German	127	10	0			
	1	Gatekeeper	Chinese	15	6	0			
	4	Boatmen	Ditto	61	4	0			
	1	Watchman	Ditto	15	6	0			
							219	6	0
Ningpo	1	Constable	British subject born at Penang	127	10	0			
	3	Messengers	Chinese	55	9	3			
	2	Coolies	Ditto	25	10	0			
	1	Gatekeeper	Ditto	12	15	0			
	2	Watchmen	Ditto	25	10	0			
	2	Boatmen	Ditto	25	10	0			
							272	4	3

Consulate.	Nos.	Designation.	Nationality.	Annual Wages. £	s.	d.	Total Wages. £	s.	d.
Shanghae	1	Head constable ..	English	153	0	0			
	1	2nd ditto	Ditto	114	15	0			
	1	3rd ditto	Ditto	107	2	0			
	1	4th ditto	Ditto	102	0	0			
	1	Compradore	Chinese	76	10	0			
	10	Office messengers ..	Ditto	216	15	0			
	1	Gatekeeper	Ditto	21	13	6			
	2	Office coolies	Ditto	40	16	0			
	4	Watchmen	Ditto	71	8	0			
	1	Gaol cook	Ditto	17	17	0			
	2	Ditto coolies	Ditto	30	12	0			
							952	8	6
Kiu-kiang	1	Constable	English	153	0	0			
	2	Messengers	Chinese	33	3	0			
	1	Gatekeeper	Ditto	15	6	0			
	1	Office coolie	Ditto	15	6	0			
	1	Watchman	Ditto	15	6	0			
							232	1	0
Chin-kiang	1	Constable	English	127	10	0			
	1	Messenger	Chinese	20	8	0			
	1	Watchman	Ditto	12	15	0			
	1	Office coolie	Ditto	5	2	0			
							165	15	0
Hankow	1	Constable	English	153	0	0			
	2	Sub-constables ..	Chinese	35	14	0			
	5	Messengers	Ditto	63	15	0			
	1	Gatekeeper	Ditto	12	15	0			
	2	Watchmen	Ditto	25	10	0			
							290	14	0
Che-foo	1	Constable	English	102	0	0			
	2	Watchmen	Chinese	30	12	0			
	4	Boatmen	Ditto	61	4	0			
	2	Messengers	Ditto	30	12	0			
	1	Gaol cook	Ditto	15	6	0			
	1	Gatekeeper	Ditto	15	6	0			
	2	Caretakers of Island of Kung-tung-t'ao	Ditto	30	12	0			
							285	12	0
Tien-tsin	1	Constable	English	127	10	0			
	1	Gatekeeper	Chinese	15	6	0			
	2	Messengers	Ditto	30	12	0			
	2	Watchmen	Ditto	30	12	0			
	1	Caretaker of cemetery ..	Ditto	15	6	0			
							219	6	0
Taku	1	Constable	English	127	10	0			
	1	Gatekeeper	Chinese	15	6	0			
	1	Messenger	Ditto	15	6	0			
	4	Boatmen	Ditto	51	0	0			
							209	2	0
Newchwang	1	Constable	English	178	10	0			
	1	Head servant	Chinese	38	5	0			
	1	2nd ditto	Ditto	30	12	0			
	1	3rd ditto	Ditto	45	18	0			
	3	Watchmen	Ditto	76	10	0			
							369	15	0
Peking	1	Care-taker of fire-engine.	English	25	10	0			
	1	Head groom	Ditto	25	10	0			
	2	Gatekeepers	Chinese	30	12	0			
	1	Fire-engine coolie ..	Ditto	15	6	0			
	2	Gardeners	Ditto	30	12	0			
	2	Office servants ..	Ditto	28	1	0			
	1	Ditto coolie	Ditto	12	15	0			
	2	Mounted messengers ..	Ditto	28	1	0			
	1	Carpenter	Ditto	17	17	0			
	5	Grooms	Ditto	70	2	6			
	4	Watchmen	Ditto	51	0	0			
	1	Pensioner	Ditto	10	4	0			
							345	10	6
		Total Expenditure ..	.. ..	..			6,058	3	3

Inclosure 5 in No. 4.

RETURN of Prisoners confined in the Consulate Gaols in China during the Year 1868

Consulate.	Total Number of Europeans.	Total Number of Asiatics.	Total Days.		Average Number of Days.	
			Of Europeans.	Of Asiatics.	Of Europeans.	Of Asiatics.
Canton	13	24	190	35	15	1½
Whampoa	15	..	111	..	7½	..
Swatow	36	8	668	71	19	9
Amoy	26	14	No return	No return	70	30
Taiwan	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tamsuy	..	..	..	..	..	..
Foo-chow	29	..	No return	..	20	..
Ningpo	8	..	115	..	14	..
Shanghae	266	55	No return	No return	40	21
Kiu-keang	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hankow	1	..	10	..	10	..
Che-foo	38	7	No return	No return	11	11
Tien-tsin	6	4	144	94	24	24
Taku	..	..	..	..	..	..
Newchwang	2	..	4	..	2	..

Inclosure 6 in No. 4.

RETURN of the Total Amount Paid on Account of Consular Chapels in China during the Year 1868.

Place.	Statement.	Sums Paid in 1868.			Total Amount.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Canton	Subscription for 1866	229	10	0			
	Ditto, for 1867	238	0	0			
					467	10	0
Foo-chow	Ditto, for 1866	225	5	0			
	Ditto, for 1867	291	2	6			
					516	7	6
Hankow	Ditto, for 1867	300	0	0			
	Chaplain's salary, 1868	293	2	8½			
					593	2	8½
Kiu-keang	Government contribution for 1867		..		154	11	8
Peking	Chaplain's salary for 1868		..		200	0	0
	Total		..		1,931	11	10½

The above detailed amounts represent the total expenditure in China on account of Chaplains during the year 1868. No money was paid for the year 1868 at any of the Consulates except at Hankow. The Chaplain at Peking drew his salary quarterly.

The contribution paid by the Consul at Foo-chow for the year 1866 has been passed by the Audit Office at Hong Kong, and had, doubtless a sufficient authority; but no communication reached Peking in regard to it.

Inclosure 7 in No. 4.

RETURN of the Writers and Linguists employed in China.

Place.	Statement.	Annual Salaries. Of Writers. £ s. d.	Of Linguists. £ s. d.
Canton	Head Writer	76 10 0	..
	Second ditto	51 0 0	..
	Copyist	35 14 0	..
	Head Linguist	..	89 5 0
	Second ditto	..	38 5 0
Whampoa	Linguist (including his rent)	..	48 9 0
Swatow	Writer	76 10 0	..
	Linguist	..	63 15 0
Amoy	Writer	76 10 0	..
	Linguist	..	51 0 0
Taiwan	Writer	76 10 0	..
	Linguist	..	38 5 0
Tamsuy	Writer	76 10 0	..
	Linguist	..	102 0 0
Foo-chow	Writer	76 10 0	..
	Linguist	..	63 15 0
Pagoda Island	Linguist	..	38 5 0
Ningpo	Writer	76 10 0	..
	Linguist	..	30 12 0
Shanghae	Head Writer	108 7 6	..
	Second ditto	65 0 6	..
	Third ditto	51 0 0	..
	Fourth ditto	38 5 0	..
	Head Linguist	..	382 10 0
	Second ditto	..	178 10 0
Chin-kiang	Writer	51 0 0	..
Kiu-keang	Ditto	76 10 0	..
Hankow	Ditto	102 0 0	..
	Linguist	..	51 0 0
Che-foo	Writer	76 10 0	..
Tien-tsin	Ditto	76 10 0	..
Taku	Ditto	76 10 0	..
Newchwang	Ditto	102 0 0	..
Peking	Head Writer	63 15 0	..
	Second ditto	51 0 0	..
	Third ditto. (Copyist)	38 5 0	..
	Fourth ditto. (Ditto)	38 5 0	..
	Total	1,637 2 0	1,175 11 0
Peking	Salaries of 15 Teachers for 15 Student Interpreters, at 38*l.* 5*s.* each, a-year	..	573 15 0
Total salaries paid to Writers		1,637 2 0	
Ditto, to Linguists		1,175 11 0	
			2,812 13 0
Ditto, to Teachers		..	573 15 0
Total		..	3,386 8 0

Memorandum as to the Nature of the Duties performed by the Writers and the Linguists.

A Writer is an educated Chinese whose literary attainments fit him to compose in the official or literary style of the Chinese language. Not only must he be a man whose knowledge of the written characters is extensive and his penmanship—to use a figure of speech scarcely applicable to Chinese writing—elegant, an accomplishment in China rather uncommon and much appreciated for its artistic merits apart from its usefulness, but a still more essential, in fact for a Writer in a foreign employment an indispensable, qualification is a thorough knowledge of the despatch style, which combines an ability as well to comprehend any language of a despatch that is received as to write Chinese composition in that style. It may possibly be imagined by persons ignorant of the Chinese language that a foreign interpreter should qualify himself so as to dispense with such assistance; and lest such an opinion may suggest itself on any occasion, it is as well to state that as yet not even the best scholars—not to mention such ordinary interpreters as the greater number of the British officials must be upon the majority of whom there devolves an amount of official routine work in a Consul's office, which in some instances leaves no spare time for

study—have been so confident in their own ability as to require only the services of a copyist. Now as every Consulate and Vice-Consulate with the exception of those at Whampoa and Pagoda Anchorage, is in constant communication with high Chinese officials, there must then be at each office one Writer at least with high qualifications for his post. In no country in the world so much as in China is deference paid to education, or do its effects produce such results, and it is scarcely necessary to say that one of these is the ability to write prose composition. An Interpreter says in the spoken language the ideas which he wishes to be embodied in his despatch, and it is the function of a Writer to express these in correct Chinese of the despatch style. An Interpreter once he reads his despatch is able of course to say whether his meaning is faithfully expressed.

The Linguists are men of very varied attainments, and it will be seen, on a reference to their salaries at the various ports, that their emoluments are very unequal. The proper function of Linguist is to interpret from the local dialect either into English or into Mandarin, as the case may be. Where he is an uneducated man and unable to converse in the official dialect, he will of course have to interpret in English, or it may happen that the Consul may not be able to understand the Mandarin dialect, and in that case the English language is again the medium of conversation. If on the other hand, the Consul is a Chinese scholar, and the Linguists proficiency in the Court dialect such as to enable him to speak it intelligibly, he need not know a word of English. Men of this class, however, are rare, and it is still more rare to meet with a native Chinese who can speak English decently. Where there are such, as for example, at Shanghae, they can command large salaries; and if the interests of the public require, as they do at Shanghae, well qualified Linguists, we must be prepared to give good salaries to able men. At every port in addition to his interpretorial duties, the Linguist is charged with other duties, as for instance, helping the Writers in the Chinese correspondence, or superintending the direction of the servants of a Consulate and the details of the petty expenditure, or perhaps combining all these duties; nor is it possible to lay down definite rules or to state exactly the duties of Linguists, since, inasmuch as they are men more or less versatile in their abilities, as the changing circumstances of any port require attention, the Consular officer in charge will as an invariable rule so organize his establishment as to gain what he considers to be the greatest good out of his available means. To illustrate my meaning, I extract from a despatch of Mr. Medhurst's, his statement of the duties of the Linguists at Shanghae:—

"Of the two Linguists, Yang Heding and Leong C. Weng, the first is a highly educated Shanghai man brought up in America, and the second a native of the British Colony of Penang. Yang Heding's duties are manifold, onerous, and very responsible. 1st. He is Consular Translator in the Shanghae and other dialects. 2nd. He is Interpreter to the British Assessor in the Mixed Court in the above dialects. 3rd. He acts as registrar in Land-office and British division of Mixed Court, and has supervision under Vice-Consul of the numerous deeds and documents connected with both those Departments. 4th. He is Copyist in the above Departments and offices for the superintendency of land survey. 5th. He has hitherto acted as Interpreter to the Supreme Court.

"The manner in which he has fulfilled his various duties has called forth the unqualified approval and commendation of every one under whose direction he has served.

"He is one of the most valuable servants connected with Consular services in China.

"Leong C. Weng, 2nd Linguist, is employed as Translator in the Cantonese and Fohkien dialects and in the Malay language.

"The very large shipping interest with which this Consulate has to deal, and the consequent disputes of Cantonese and west-coast sailors, and questions arising among the subjects of Her Majesty's Straits Settlements resident in Shanghae render his services most requisite and valuable."

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 8 in No. 4.

Circular addressed by Major Crossman, R.E., to Her Majesty's Consuls in China.

Legation and Consular Works Office, Shanghae,
September 16, 1869.

Sir,

BEING about to proceed to England on leave, I have the honour to inform you that, during my absence, Mr. R. H. Boyce, C.E., is authorized by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to sign all letters and take charge of all duties connected with the Legation and Consular buildings in China and Japan.

With the approval of Her Majesty's Minister in China, I would here point out the course to be pursued in the performance of necessary repairs where no representative of this office is present, viz.:—

Ordinary Repairs.—Where works or repairs are required, other than those of an absolutely urgent nature, not admitting of delay, a report should be made of their nature, and authority received before proceeding with the work in question, otherwise the claim for their performance will not be paid out of the funds in my charge.

Urgent Works.—Works of an urgent nature, such as repairs after storm or such like circumstances, where delay would lead to further injury if not to endanger the safety of the structure, should be performed at once: if, however, the damage is of large extent, temporary measures should only be resorted to, until the circumstance is communicated to this office and a reply received: under any circumstances a full detailed report, explaining the reasons for any expenditure incurred, or proposed to be incurred, should be sent to this office by the first opportunity.

Incidental Repairs.—Instances having occurred of claims being made against this office for repairs of glass, keys of doors, and of despatch boxes, matting on floors, hen houses, &c., it should be borne in mind that such services should be paid for either from private sources, or out of the sum allowed by Her Majesty's Government to each Consulate for incidental and contingent services; and, therefore, it is now notified that such or similar claims will not be paid out of the funds at my disposal.

Payment for Works.—Hitherto it has been my practice to issue money to be kept in hand to pay for small repairs, but as great inconvenience and trouble has in many cases been experienced in obtaining vouchers for the works thus paid for, it is hoped that for the future payment for all such authorized repairs and small works carried on under the direction of the Consul will be made from the Consular chest, such payments to be refunded by this office on the receipt of vouchers, in duplicate, made out in the proper official form. These vouchers should be forwarded so as to reach this office some ten days before the end of the quarter, to enable repayments to be made in time to prevent its appearing as a debit against this office in the Consular accounts.

Should any sum be paid in other currency than dollars, the amount to be entered on the vouchers in dollars only.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. CROSSMAN.

Approved:
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.
Peking, September 30, 1869.

Inclosure 9 in No. 4.

RETURN of Rents and Insurance paid by Her Majesty's Government during the year 1868.

Consulate.	Statement.	Amount Paid in 1868. £ s. d.	Total Amount. £ s. d.
Canton	Rent of yamên inside city	59 0 6	
	Rent of gate at yamén	4 5 0	
	Ground rent at Shameen	22 3 10½	
Whampoa	„ „ Whampoa	21 5 0	
	Rent allowance to constable at Whampoa ..	12 15 0	
	„ „ linguist „ ..	10 4 0	
Canton	Insurance	53 2 6	
Whampoa	„	23 14 1	
			206 9 11½
Swatow	Rent of Consulate at Chao-chow-foo ..	43 16 6¾	
	Insurance at Swatow	40 0 0	
			83 16 6¾
Amoy	Ground-rent (against 100*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* received) .	40 6 3	
	House rent	255 0 0	
	Lodging allowances	38 5 0	
			333 11 3
Taiwan	Rent of Consulate at Taku	510 0 0	
	„ „ Taiwan	42 10 0	
	Rent allowance to constable	12 15 0	
	„ „ temporary clerk at Taku ..	16 14 3½	
			581 19 3½
Tamsuy	Rent of old Consulate, one quarter	29 19 3	
	Rent of new Consulate site	3 6 0½	
			33 5 3½
Foo-chow	Ground rent of Consular lot	86 6 6¾	
	Interpreter's quarters, eight months ..	170 0 0	
	Premises inside city of Foo-chow	51 0 0	
	Quarters for two Assistants	255 0 0	
	Insurance of offices and Assistant's quarters ..	15 18 9	
			578 5 3¾
Pagoda Island ..	Rent of Vice-Consul's quarters	95 12 6	
	„ gaol premises	7 19 4½	
	„ Vice-Consul's offices	12 15 0	
			116 6 10½
Ningpo	„ Consulate	106 5 0	
	„ bungalow for interpreter	178 10 0	
	Lodging allowance to Interpreter during occupation of bungalow as offices	28 13 9	
			313 8 9
Shanghae	Rent of Assistant's quarters	433 10 0	
	„ Consul's house	333 15 4½	
	Ground rent paid to Chinese	18 8 2	
	Lodging allowance to Mr. Winchester (3½ months	195 7 3	
	Municipal taxes	254 4 6	
			1,235 5 3½
Kiu-kiang	Rent of Consulate and Interpreter's quarters ..	158 2 1	
	Insurance of Consular buildings	22 2 8	
			180 4 9
Hankow	Rent of Interpreter's and Assistant's house ..	321 3 1	
	Insurance on Consulate and Interpreter's house	53 0 7½	
	Lodging allowances	9 0 0¾	
			383 3 9¼
Chefoo	Rent of cottage for Assistant	..	104 2 6
Tien-tsin	Ground rent of Consulate	14 3 7¾	
Taku	Rent of Vice-Consulate	89 5 0	
			103 8 7¾
Newchwang ..	Rent	..	177 1 6
Peking	Rent of Legation	303 11 5	
	„ temples during summer	43 7 0	
			346 18 5
Total	.. .. ..	..	4,777 8 2

Inclosure 10 in No. 4.

STATEMENT of Rents and Insurance payable in China on the 30th September, 1869.

Consulate.	Statement.	Annual Payment. £ s. d.	Total. £ s. d.
Canton.. ..	Rent of Consular premises in Canton	63 5 6	
	Ground-rent at Shameen	22 3 10½	
	(This is the net amount which Her Majesty's Government lose on this holding.)		
	Insurance of Consulate	53 2 6	
Whampoa ..	Ground-rent of Vice-Consulate	21 5 0	
	(4 dollars a-month is paid to the Linguist for rent, but this has been taken into account in the statement of his pay.)		
	Insurance of Vice-Consulate	17 17 0	
			177 13 10½
Swatow ..	Rent of premises at Chao-chow-foo	72 0 0	
	Insurance of Swatow Consulate	33 4 1	
			105 4 1
Amoy	Rent of Interpreter's quarters	255 0 0	
	„ Temporary Clerk's ditto	38 5 0	
	„ Consulate-General	8 10 0	
	(There is also a sum of 149 dollars 71 cents paid to Chinese authorities opposite 521 dollars 25 cents received from land renters.)		
			301 15 0
Taiwan.. ..	Rent of Takow Consulate	510 0 0	
	„ Taiwan ditto	63 15 0	
	„ Constables' quarters	12 15 0	
			586 10 0
Tamsuy ..	Rent of Dutch fort, site of Vice-Consulate	3 6 0½	
	Quarters for Assistant	33 3 0	
			36 9 0½
Foo-chow ..	Rent of Consular lot	79 13 9	
	„ house inside the city	51 0 0	
Pagoda Island ..	„ gaol at Vice-Consulate	10 12 6	
	(The rent of the Consular lot is 31 dollars 25 cents the Chinese month, and it occasionally happens that there are 13 of these in one of our years.)		
	Insurance of old Consulate	15 18 9	
	„ new Consulate	31 17 6	
			189 2 6
Ningpo.. ..	Rent of Consulate	106 5 0	
	„ Interpreter's quarters	178 5 0	
			284 10 0
Shanghae ..	Ground-rent of Consular lot	18 8 2	
	Consul's house, 1,800 taels (about)	510 0 0	
	Rent allowance to 3 Junior Officers	459 0 0	
			987 8 2
Kiu-kiang ..	Insurance on Consulate	22 2 8	
	(27 dollars a-year is paid to the Chinese authorities for the concession, which is let to land renters for 128 dollars.)		
			22 2 8
Hankow ..	Rent of Interpreter's and Assistant's quarters	321 3 1	
	Insurance on Consulate and offices	53 0 7½	
	(130 dollars a-year is paid for the concession, which is let for 600 dollars.)		
			374 3 8½
Che-foo ..	Rent of Assistant's quarters	..	106 5 0
Tien-tsin ..	Rent of Consular lot	14 5 0	
Taku	„ of Vice-Consulate	89 5 0	
			103 10 0
Newchwang ..	Rent of Consulate, 410 taels (about)	130 0 0	
	Ground-rent of Consular lot	2 19 6	
			132 19 6
Peking.. ..	Rent of Legation	303 11 5	303 11 5
	Total	..	3,711 4 7½

Inclosure 11 in No. 4.

COMPARATIVE Statement of the Expenditure at the Amoy Consulate during the Three Financial Years undermentioned, for Establishment and Ordinary Controllable Incidental Expenses; together with the Expenditure during the same years on Board of Trade Account.

Years	Expenditure.		
	Consular.	Board of Trade.	Total.
	£	£	£
April 1, 1866, to March 31, 1867 ..	2,950	326	3,276
April 1, 1867, to March 31, 1868 ..	3,200	627	3,827
April 1, 1868, to March 31, 1869 ..	2,550	190	2,740

Remarks.

1. In the forgoing Return of "Consular" expenditure (Column No. 1) all disbursements for Transport, Church Establishment, and other special expenses, have been omitted, they being accidental and occasional or not subject to local control, and, therefore, preventive of a right comparison between year and year.

2. The expenditure on account of the Board of Trade is given in full, and has been turned into sterling at the Consular rate of exchange (4*s.* 3*d.* per dollar).

3. The Consular expenditure (column No. 1) is extracted from the accounts very roughly, and is, therefore, not strictly exact; but the error can hardly be more than from 5*l.* to 10*l.* on either side, so that the respective amounts given are sufficiently accurate for comparison.

(Signed) W. H. PEDDER.

Inclosure 12 in No. 4.

Memorandum by Mr. Pedder as regards proposed Economy in Rents at Amoy.

IN despatches of 3rd and 9th instant, I have indicated some of the reductions that will be made in our total Consular expenditure when the new offices, &c., are built. They will amount in rent and wages to about 350*l.* a-year.

Still further reductions may be possible, but this can only be ascertained upon trial, as they will depend on successful contrivance and combination. I shall be able to carry out the reforms and alterations I have in view better than I can explain them beforehand, and, if I am successful, the results will need no explanation.

(Initialled) W. H. P.

Inclosure 13 in No. 4.

RETURN of Money expended in China on Repairs and Furniture, exclusive of any sums spent by Major Crossman.

Place.	Amount.		
	£	*s.*	*d.*
Canton. (Return unintelligible)	..		
Swatow	59	1	6
Amoy	36	6	0
Taiwan	2	14	9
Tamsuy. (No return)	..		
Foo-chow. (No expenditure)	..		
Pagoda Anchorage. (No return)	..		
Ningpo	5	3	8½
Shanghae	8	15	11
Ditto, at Chinkiang	82	8	1½
Kiukiang	32	10	5
Hankow	24	6	8½
Che-foo	40	11	7
Tien-tsin	46	5	1½
Taku	32	17	1¼
Newchwang	91	19	2
Peking	14	7	11
Total	477	8	0¼

The Return for Peking does not include the amount paid on account of the Cemetery, or for the Student Interpreters' Furniture, as reported to the Foreign Office in despatches Consular of May 7 and 18, respectively.

No. 5.

Sir R. Alcock to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received January* 10, 1870.)

On board steam-ship "Plymouth Rock," in the Yang-tsze,
My Lord, *November* 17, 1869.

IN my despatch of the 29th October I purposely omitted any reference to the establishment of the Supreme Court. I conceived it would be better to defer my report on this part of the Estimates until I had the opportunity of conferring with Sir Edmund Hornby at Shanghae.

I have now carefully gone into the subject with him and the Assistant Judge, and the inclosed Memorandum, furnished by Sir Edmund, gives the result.

It appeared, both to the Judge and myself, that an Interpreter to the Supreme Court might be dispensed with, the duties being performed by officers attached to the Consulate. Also that the Assistant Judge and a Clerk might with advantage be transferred to Japan, where I can readily conceive the permanent residence of some legal official is much needed. This I am given to understand is also the opinion of Sir Harry Parkes, and that he has placed some proposition before your Lordship to combine the Legal and Consular offices in one person at Yokohama.

There would then be upon the whole Estimates for both countries a certain economy, although not to the extent apparent, by the substitution of a Law Secretary for the Assistant Judge and Clerk, since these would be transferred to Japan, and a Senior Law Secretary would be added to the China Estimates. Prospectively, however, it would appear there may be some economy effected whenever a vacancy occurs, both by a reduction of salary in the Judge and of house allowance to the Assistant-Judge, which last, if not considered as a part of his emoluments, is certainly in excess of what is required to secure proper house accommodation.

The establishment of a jail on a large scale will necessarily require during the ensuing year a very considerable addition to the Estimates for the maintenance of an efficient staff of warders, jailers, &c. I went over the unfinished building with Mr. Boyce, which promises to fulfil all the conditions of a good jail with regard to the accommodation, climate, and employment of prisoners in some profitable manner if they are judiciously managed. To effect this end, however, in conjunction with the primary and disciplinary objects there must be an effective and thoroughly trustworthy staff, and the following is proposed by the Judge:—

	£
A Governor at a salary of	400
No. 1 Warder	250
No. 2, ditto	200
Nos. 3 and 4, ditto, 150*l.* each	300
Assistant Warder or Gateman	100
	1,280

With quarters, light, and coal.

The cooks should be either prisoners or Chinese.

There seems good reason to hope that, with an average number of sixty prisoners, not only the cost of maintaining them might be defrayed out of the proceeds of their labour, but some portion of the above expenses might also be covered. I believe a Mr. Douglas, the present Governor of the Hong Kong jail, has demonstrated the possibility of such results being attained, and that he is desirous, on account of climate, of a similar situation at Shanghae.

In connection with this part of the question may fitly be considered the best means of meeting requirements for medical assistance and medicines, the charges for which at this port amount to a very large sum annually, as will be seen by the inclosed Memorandum. Although the total amounts are not paid by one Department of the State and appear under different Estimates, the result to the public is the same.

The charge for prisoners and constables is only 200*l.* per annum by a contract for attendance, but I fancy this does not include medicines. The officers of the establishment pay another 200*l.* out of their own incomes. And, exclusive of both, 6,161, 7,349, and 10,222 dollars in the last three years, represent the sums respectively paid by the public for seamen, deserters, and distressed British subjects. The largest portion of this expenditure is obviously for hospital expenses for the three latter classes.

I cannot help thinking that it might prove a good economy in the end to build a ward for twenty-five patients as an annex to the prison, and either attach a Consular Medical

Officer, with a dispensary, the medicines being sent from England, or to contract with some resident medical practitioner to give attendance and medicines for a fixed sum, and include the whole Consular establishment.

The public pays, as it is, something like an average of 2,000*l.* per annum. If they appointed a Medical Officer, with leave to enter on private practice, 500*l.* per annum would secure the services of a competent and well-educated officer. There would remain 1,500*l.* for medicines, service, and food for those in hospital, and, if good management could be secured, unless the number treated exceeded the present average, I cannot help thinking some economy might be effected. The present hospital charges are very heavy, and the Consul has no control whatever over them.

So far as the medical attendance is concerned, practitioners already present would not, I suspect, refuse 500*l.* per annum, and if the officers of the Consular Establishment were excluded, they would make no abatement. Because, among other reasons, it is the prestige of official employment, and the necessity of keeping others out of the field that would mainly influence them, not the exact amount—a few hundred dollars more or less.

I may conclude all I have to say on the Consular Establishment of Shanghae by reporting that Mr. Medhurst concurs with me in thinking that, by adopting a different system of delivering messages and letters in connection with the local post, four of the ten Messengers might be dispensed with, making a saving of 34 dollars per mensem. A Writer at 25 dollars has already been struck off. After the most rigid inquiry on the spot, I do not conceive any further reduction could be effected without prejudice to the efficiency of the whole Establishment. It will, on the other hand, be necessary to authorize an expenditure of some 20 dollars per mensem for coolies and gardeners to keep the grounds in some decent order, under the Consul's responsibility, and prevent the whole place looking wild and neglected and altogether discreditable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 5.

Memorandum by Sir E. Hornby respecting Economy in the Supreme Court.

I PROPOSE to dispense with the services of the Assistant Judge and of one Clerk, in consideration of being relieved from Japan.

This will diminish my expenditure by—

	£
The present Assistant Judge's salary and house allowance	1,950
Clerk's salary	306
	2,256

But, in lieu of these two officers, I shall require a Senior Law Secretary, at a salary of 750*l.* (increasing to 1,000*l.* by 20*l.* a year after the first three years), and a house allowance of 350*l.* a year.

Thus—

	£
Salary	750
House allowance	350
	1,100
Deduct this sum from the above mentioned	2,256
	1,100
	1,156

to be applied to the requirements of Japan.

(Signed) EDMUND HORNBY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 5.

Memorandum of Medical Expenditure, viz., Hospital and Medicines.

	1867.	1868.	1869.
	$	$	$
Seamen	8,064	6,024	4,400
Subjects	2,158	1,325	1,761
Total	10,222	7,349	6,161
	941*	941	941
	11,163	8,290	7,105

* This is the equivalent of 200*l.* per annum paid to Messrs. Sibbald and Johnston for attendance in the gaol, prisoners and constables. Nothing private to the officers is included.

	Taels.
Mr. Medhurst, per annum (special)	200
Mr. Forrest (separate)	150
Assistants	200
Mr. Tapp	50
Say 1,000 dollars.	600

No. 6.

Sir R. Alcock to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 10, 1870.)

My Lord, *Tien-tsin, November* 6, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 29th ultimo, I have the honour to inclose a communication from Mr. Consul Mongan, which tends to confirm the views I had expressed regarding the importance of this port, and the Consular establishment necessary for it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 6.

Consul Mongan to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *Tien-tsin, November* 2, 1869.

FROM the number of Reports and Returns that Her Majesty's Consuls in China have been called upon to make this year, in reference to their respective Consulates, it would appear that a general reconstruction of the service is in contemplation, and, in the event of such being the case, I have the honour to request that your Excellency will be so good as to lay before the home authorities this application, that my salary may be placed upon the same footing as that of Her Majesty's Consul at Foo-chow, which is now, I understand, 1,300*l.* a-year.

When Tien-tsin was first opened to foreign trade I was appointed Acting Consul, my salary in that capacity having been subsequently fixed by the late Sir F. Bruce at 900*l.* a-year, from the 1st April, 1861. On the 20th December, 1861, I was appointed Consul at this port, and continued afterwards to draw the same salary as I had previously drawn when Acting Consul; but at the end of 1862, when returning to England on leave, I found that the rate of salary for Tien-tsin, as provided for in the 1862-63 Estimates, was only 800*l.* a-year.

When I arrived in England, therefore, I addressed the Foreign Office on the subject, and my application to draw salary at the rate fixed by Her Majesty's Minister was acceded to. I inclose a copy of the reply which I received on that occasion, and would call your Excellency's attention to the passage in which Mr. Hammond says that Earl Russell had determined to place my salary upon the same footing as that of Her Majesty's Consuls at Foo-chow and Amoy, "in consideration of the opinion expressed by Sir F. Bruce as to the importance of the Tien-tsin Consulate, and the considerable and increasing trade of the

port, as shown by the Custom-house Returns" for 1861, which I had forwarded with my application.

Those Returns showed that the value of the imports and exports in that year, exclusive of treasure, was 1,688,323*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*; and the Returns for last year show that the value of the imports and exports at this port, exclusive of treasure, was 5,839,290*l.* 18*s.*; the value of the imports and exports at Foo-chow, in 1868, exclusive of treasure, having been 6,762,468*l.*, and at Amoy, 2,389,391*l.*

Thus the Returns of 1868 have verified the anticipations of 1861 as to the expansive capacity of the Tien-tsin trade; and they show, moreover, that the foreign commerce of this port exceeded in value that of Amoy by nearly 3,500,000*l.*, and fell short of that of Foo-chow by less than 1,000,000*l.* sterling. For a detailed account of its progress and prospects, however, which would be out of place here, I may refer to my annual Trade Reports for the last three years, as published in the Parliamentary Blue Books, as well as to a special Report upon direct trade with England that I addressed to your Excellency on the 26th July last; but I think I may safely say that a comparison of the statistics of the two ports would show that Tien-tsin, as a commercial mart, is soon likely to be as important to Great Britain as Foo-chow.

I would further beg to observe, in reference to the political status of Tien-tsin, that this is the only one of the open ports in China at which Russia has stationed a regular official Consul, and that the Consul of France and the Vice-Consul of the North German Confederation are also, not merchants, but French and Prussian officials. Of the two Chinese Superintendents of Foreign Trade, moreover, one is stationed at Tien-tsin, and it is also the station of a Salt Commissioner, a Taoutae, and other high Mandarins.

Personally I have been connected with this port for more than nine years, having first arrived here as an Interpreter attached to the expeditionary force under Sir Hope Grant in August 1860. When the port was opened in that year I was appointed Acting Consul, and in the following year I received Her Majesty's Commission as Consul; whilst for nearly two years after the opening of the port I had to discharge my Consular duties during an occupation of the city and suburbs by English and French troops, and when, at times, it was no easy matter to steer clear of difficulties between our own military authorities and the local mandarins.

That my services during this period were appreciated by the late Sir F. Bruce is shown by the inclosed extract from his despatch of the 24th of July, 1862, to my address, in which, referring to an application that I had just then made for leave of absence, he said:— "I am most reluctant to disturb the existing arrangements at the new Consulates, where, as at Tien-tsin, they work well, and where their smooth working is fairly attributable in great measure to the good sense and conciliatory demeanour of the Consul." At the close of 1862 I returned to England on leave of absence, and resumed charge of the Tien-tsin Consulate in April 1865, since which time, as your Excellency is aware, no difficulty of any consequence has arisen at the port.

I trust, therefore, that when this application is being considered, the fact of my being a Consul of nearly eight years' standing, and the fact that no difficulty which I have been unable personally to settle has arisen at Tien-tsin during the lengthened period that I have been in charge, will have some weight in procuring me a favourable reply.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. MONGAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 6.

Mr. Hammond to Consul Mongan.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 26, 1863.

I HAVE laid before Earl Russell your letter of the 11th ultimo, requesting that you may be allowed salary at the rate of 900*l.* a-year, as fixed by Sir F. Bruce on your appointment to be Her Majesty's Consul at Tien-tsin, instead of at the rate of 800*l.* a-year as provided for in the Estimates for 1862-63; and I am directed by his Lordship to state to you, that in consideration of the opinion expressed by Sir F. Bruce as to the importance of the Tien-tsin Consulate, and the considerable and increasing trade of the port, as shown by the Customs Returns forwarded by you, Lord Russell has determined, with the concurrence of the Board of Treasury, to place your salary on the same footing as that of Her Majesty's Consuls at Foo-chow-foo and Amoy, namely, to raise it to 900*l.* a-year, to date from your first appointment to the Consulate, on the 1st of April, 1861.

This arrangement will, of course, govern the amount of outfit allowance to be issued to you.

I am, &c.
(Signed) E. HAMMOND.

Inclosure 3 in No. 6.

Sir F. Bruce to Consul Mongan.

(Extract.) *July* 24, 1862.

IN reply to your despatch I have to state that I am most reluctant to disturb the existing arrangements at the new Consulates, where, as at Tien-tsin, they work well, and where their smooth working is fairly attributable to the good sense and conciliatory demeanour of the Consul.

By next spring I trust that several of the Students will be sufficiently advanced for me to be able, without inconvenience to the public service, to give you and others the leave which you have so fairly earned.

No. 7.

Sir R. Alcock to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 12, 1870.)

My Lord, *Canton, December* 26, 1869.

REFERRING to my despatch of the 29th October last, I beg, in continuation, to submit for your Lordship's consideration the inclosed able Report from Mr. Cooper, in charge of Taiwan, on the alleged tendency of trade to pass into Chinese hands and the influence this may have on our Consular Establishments. The influence of these in arresting or preventing such transfer, and of fostering and protecting trade is so clearly explained, that I deem it important Mr. Cooper's reply to my circular should arrive, if possible, before any final decision is taken as to the Estimates. I hope it may already have been forwarded direct, in accordance with my previous instructions; but to provide against all contingencies I have thought it better to forward the original, which only reached me recently on my way down the coast.

The important bearing of the facts upon the question of Consular Establishments in China will be too obvious to require any explanatory comment.

The history of the trade at Swatow and Kiu-kiang and the special influences at work to arrest or prevent the development of trade in foreign hands at the first, and to restore it to foreigners at the second, are very suggestive. It shows how easily and naturally the native dealers who supplant the foreigner under one set of conditions, may find it their interest under another, to invest their money in more profitable channels and leave the Foreign trade to revert to the original importers. Even the export trade which would naturally be developed at any one port, is often driven away by the injudicious trading or objectionable modes of conducting it on the part of the Foreign merchants. At Kiu-kiang, I think there is little doubt an export trade in tea suffered this fate by the practice of the foreign commission agents there purchasing it at long credit, while they draw on the Shanghae houses and recovered the cost price at once, which they retained for three months or more as so much capital. The Chinese teamen finding they could not get ready money for their produce at Kiu-kiang, naturally took it to a market, Shanghae or Foo-chow, where cash sales could be affected.

I inclose an article which appeared in the "North China Daily News," touching the alleged failure of Kiu-kiang as a port, and referring to some of the more apparent causes. The writer makes no allusion to the above, but as I believe, most influential cause. He refers, however, to many points of some interest and looks hopefully to steam navigation on the Poyang Lake as sufficient to give a new impetus to trade. Whether the introduction of a steam-tug as proposed in the Convention will supply this desideratum remains to be seen. The Article calls attention to one result, however, too often overlooked, that even when foreign trade in foreign hands decreases, its increase is not the less certainly promoted by the native brokers, who supplant the foreigner, and the gain to the British manufacturer is just as great as though he sold his goods by the intervention of foreign firms. And it is precisely in this connection that Mr. Cooper's report is valuable, for he points out very clearly how important is the influence which the British Consular Establishment at a port exercises in keeping the market open, by preventing action on the

part of Local Authorities calculated to stop all demands on the part of natives and thus destroy the trade.

I inclose two further despatches from Mr. Cooper supplying the answer to my Circular, and bearing on the same question and on the same estimates.

While on this subject I take the opportunity also of inclosing another extract from the "North China Daily News," showing the rapid, and to a considerable extent, unexpected increase in the trade of the port of Chin-kiang, and the demand for foreign goods. Much of this is undoubtedly due to the action taken last year by Mr. Consul Medhurst, under my instructions when at Yang-chow with the squadron, to remove the obstacles created by the Barrier officials on the Grand Canal a few miles higher up, and to the general influence of the manifestation made on that occasion of a determination to insist on the protection of British trade as well as life and property. That beneficial influence has not yet passed away, and it is to be hoped that means may be devised of making the effects permanent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 7.

Acting Consul Cooper to the Earl of Clarendon, September 16, 1869.

[See "China, No. 3 (1870): Reports on Consular Establishments in China," Inclosure 3 in No. 11.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 7.

Extract from the "North China Daily News" of September 11, 1869.

THE allusion which was made some time ago to Kiu-kiang as a "failure" has elicited vigorous refutations, both from the Commissioners of Customs and in the Report on the Yang-tsze trade lately published by the Chamber of Commerce. "A failure, in a certain sense," it is admitted, "Kiu-kiang certainly has been, but that was caused by the misconception of those who reversed the natural sequence of events, and erected the superstructure before the foundation had been laid." Kiu-kiang may not be a mine of wealth to resident foreign merchants; but a steadily increasing trade, which in 1868 amounted to 11,147,852 taels, cannot be called failure.

The most important feature in the trade of Kiu-kiang is, of course, its tea export, and this is first dealt with in the Customs Report, partly because of its preponderance, partly because "the resources of a country are the true basis of its prosperity, and the measure of its ability to import." The total value of the export trade, then, in 1868, was 7,683,993 taels, against 4,358,760 taels in 1867. And of this value 6,973,000 taels is represented by tea, against 3,949,000 taels in the previous year; paper, hemp, and grass-cloth being, in fact, the only other articles of appreciable value. Chinaware, for which the neighbourhood used to be famous, has fallen to 20,000 taels, from six times that quantity which was exported in 1865. The Returns of the foreign Customs can be no certain criterion of the export of most kinds of native produce, as quite as much, probably, leaves in natives junks as in vessels under the foreign flag, But Mr. Drew says, "there can be no doubt that the manufacture of this ware is on the decrease," though he is unable as yet to point out the cause. Many of the former workmen at the potteries have, it is said, removed to Canton, and others have turned to different pursuits. The tea trade of Kiu-kiang thus preponderates so enormously over other articles of export as to completely cast these in the shade. It is true that interest in the trade has almost entirely passed out of the hands of resident foreign merchants, Kiu-kiang having become little more than a shipping port for Chinese owners; but the transfer to Shanghae detracts in no degree from its value to foreign trade in the aggregate. Nor can a port which furnishes so large a contribution to the trade, and so much freight to foreign-owned steamers, be regarded as a failure.

Having followed the Commissioner of Customs through his logical process of exhibiting, first, the resources of the districts for which Kiu-kiang is an outlet, as a measure of their prosperity, and consequently of their capability as consumers, we will go on to see how far they fulfil their promise. The total values of the import trade show a gradual decline from—

	Taels.
1866	3,789,000
1867	3,551,000
1868	3,464,000

But the apparent decrease is due solely to a falling off in opium; which, as Mr. Drew remarks, could hardly be other than a cause of satisfaction to any one who desires to see the country grow in resources and commercial vigour—if it were clear that the decreased import implied decreased consumption. But though the import of foreign opium has declined steadily from—

	Piculs.
1865	2,488
1866	2,446
1867	2,202
1868	1,942

there can be little doubt the deficiency has been more than supplied by the native product. Setting aside opium, however, the import trade shows a steady improvement. Grey shirtings have risen from 60,000 pieces in 1865 to 220,000 pieces; that is, they have nearly quadrupled in the four years. *T*-cloths count, in 1868, 102,000 pieces against 47,000 pieces in the previous year; drills 11,000 pieces against 7,359 in 1867, and 100 pieces in 1865. The progress of woollen goods has been less rapid, but is still favourable. The import of camlets has doubled in the four years; that of long-ells has gradually risen from 16,000 taels in 1865 to 20,000 taels; lastings have declined; so have orleans. Lead and tin show a steady, though slow, increase; 12,200 piculs of the former, and 4,600 piculs of the latter having been imported in 1868, against 5,700 and 2,500 piculs respectively in 1865. Sugar is an important article of export; but the figures, though fluctuating slightly over an average of four years, do not show increase. It will be seen, therefore, that Kiu-kiang is by no means an inconsiderable importer, and is still greatly a-head of Chin-kiang, though its progress has been comparatively much slower, and the latter threatens very soon to overtake it, at its present rate of increase. The Chamber of Commerce delegates point out that the total of cotton goods imported into Kiu-kiang alone exceeds that given in the Consular Returns from Canton in 1848, and add that, "whoever the intermediary in the business may be, whether foreign or Chinese, the result must be gratifying at all events to the Shanghae merchants, who import the goods from their own countries." The great obstacle to the more rapid improvement of Kiu-kiang is the tedious and dangerous nature of its communications with the consuming districts. The Poyang Lake, into which all the water-courses that intersect the neighbouring districts flow, is described as being "for all practical purposes, during the busiest time of the year, a stormy and dangerous sea" on which boats dare not venture, except with a fair wind and in fine weather. The consequent delay must be inferred. The admission of steamers on the lake would overcome these difficulties, and would not only stimulate trade by the increased facilities of communication, but by the relief they would insure from the heavy transit dues, which can now be only very imperfectly combated under the pass system.

Inclosure 3 in No. 7.

Acting Consul Cooper to the Earl of Clarendon, September 16, 1869.

[See "China, No. 3 (1870): Reports on Consular Establishments in China," Inclosure 1 in No. 11.]

Inclosure 4 in No. 7.

Acting Consul Cooper to the Earl of Clarendon, September 16, 1869.

[Ibid., Inclosure 2 in No. 11.]

Inclosure 5 in No. 7.

Extract from the "North China Daily News."

CHIN-KIANG.—The demand in the interior does not fluctuate in the least; indeed, it appears insatiable. Our chief marts to the North—Hsü-chow-foo and Huai-an-foo—have

taken double and treble the quantity of shirtings reported last quarter, and the same augmentation is also noticeable at the Anhuy towns in *T*-cloths, to which province the largest portions are sent. Shirtings are, comparatively speaking, only used in the North; but I have not heard a satisfactory explanation given to account for this unequal distribution. The principal towns to which grey shirtings were forwarded under transit pass, are enumerated hereunder, with the number of pieces sent to each:—

Huai-an-foo, 8,150 pieces; Hsü-chow-foo, 6,400 pieces; Nanking, 4,550 pieces; Hai-chow, 4,400; Liu-an-chow, 3,750; all but the last-named are in Kiang-su.

The chief marts in Anhuy to which certificated *T*-cloths were conveyed are:—

Ta-tung, 7,830 pieces; Liu-an-chow, 7,250 pieces; Ho-shan-hsien, 1,300 pieces; Shou-chow, 1,150.

It is gratifying to notice, that the consumption at Nanking has increased so amazingly. This quarter it is classed as the third largest consumer, while last term only 50 pieces of shirtings were forwarded to that city.

But besides supplying the regular dealers from northern Kiang-su and Anhuy, traders from far distant towns in Shantung and Honan, have availed themselves of the existing facilities to obtain supplies of foreign goods protected by a transit pass. The names of many important towns now figure in our Transit-Pass Register, as sending to Chin-kiang for stocks of piece goods, the most northern being Tsing-chow-foo, barely 200 miles from Che-foo; and the most westerly, Honan-foo, bordering on the province of Shan-si, and Kai-feng-foo, the capital of Honan. To the first-named town in Shantung, there were 700 pieces of shirtings, besides 1,800 pieces to Tsi-ning-chow; and to Kai-feng-foo and Ho-nan-foo, 900 and 700 pieces respectively,

Our northern neighbours promise to become immense consumers of Manchester goods; and it is only reasonable to expect that, in course of time they will find a market here for their export, chiefly for china, grass, dates, and wild raw silk.—*Customs Gazette.*

No. 8.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 27.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, November* 5, 1869.

I HAVE given earnest attention to your Lordship's despatch of the 12th of May last, directing me to make a searching inquiry into the expenditure of the several Consulates on the Japan establishment, with the view of ascertaining whether it may not be brought within narrower limits.

The result I have to report is that I can point to no room for reduction in the numbers or pay of the officers of this Establishment, although I am of opinion that more efficiency may be secured, and a pressing want supplied, without increase of cost by the appointment, in the place of the late Mr. Fletcher, of a Consul qualified to act as a professional Judge, and by some rearrangement in the staff of Assistants.

The changes I have to propose consist in the transfer to the Japan Establishment of a Law Officer from Shanghae, the appointment of a second Vice-Consul at Kanagawa (Yokohama), and the grant of an increase of 200*l.* to the allowance paid to assistants for interpreting in Japanese. These changes could be effected by an additional charge to the Japan Establishment of 800*l.*, which, however, would be met by a reduction to the same amount in the Establishment of the Supreme Court for China and Japan.

Sir Edmund Hornby, whom I have naturally consulted on this subject, has pointed out, in a letter to your Lordship, dated the 23rd of October, which accompanies this despatch, that this saving on his establishment may be effected by the appointment to the Supreme Court of a second Law Secretary, and the transfer to Japan of the Assistant Judge. The Japan Establishment could contribute to this arrangement the salary of the Consul at Kanagawa—1,000*l.*, but instead of reducing any out-lying Vice-Consulate, as suggested by Sir Edmund Hornby, I consider that it would be necessary to supply another Vice-Consul to Kanagawa. Whether the second Vice-Consul should be stationed at Yeddo or Yokohama might be determined afterwards, and it would be sufficient, I think, in the first instance at least, to limit his salary to 500*l.* The appointment might therefore be made at an increased cost of only 100*l.*, by conferring it on one of the First Class Assistants now drawing 400*l.*, and by not filling up the vacancy which would thus occur in the First Assistants' list.

If this arrangement should be approved by your Lordship, and I cannot too

earnestly recommend its adoption, a similar appointment would be created in Japan to that of the Judge-Consul at Constantinople. I feel bound to say that either this or the provision for this country of a separate branch of the Supreme Court, which would be much more expensive, has become necessary. The amount of judicial business that has now to be transacted at Yokohama is very considerable, and it is not surprising that in important cases, or in any instance in which delay in the settlement of a claim or the satisfaction of a judgment tells to the advantage of one of the parties to the suit, appeal should be made from a Court presided over by a lay judge to a more formally constituted tribunal. The need of professional control is also greatly felt to enable the principal Consular Court in Japan to check vexatious litigation. A material advantage would also be derived by this Legation, if the Minister had at hand a competent law adviser, to give occasional advice in international questions, and to sift, as Sir Edmund Hornby points out, the claims of British subjects on Japanese, and which have frequently to be adjusted or recovered through the Minister.

Sir Edmund Hornby proposes, as your Lordship will observe, that appeals from the Judge-Consul should not lie in cases involving lesser amounts than 5,000 dollars, that the Judge-Consul should hear all appeals from the other Consulates in Japan, and that appeals from his decisions in the latter cases should lie only to the Privy Council. There can be little doubt that an arrangement of this nature would greatly facilitate the despatch of judicial business, and looking to the growing importance of our interests in Japan, it seems desirable that these should share to a greater extent than at present in the advantages of the Supreme Court.

It is part of Sir Edmund Hornby's scheme that the Judge-Consul should be supplied with a trained clerk, in order that he may have the aid of a permanent subordinate, familiar with forms and the details of a Court. The Chief Judge proposes, in the first instance, to spare a clerk from his own establishment, which is at present provided with four of these officers. As in their case, the Judge-Consul's Clerk would be held to be attached to the Judicial establisment, and would therefore remain stationary at Yokohama, looking for preferment to a gradual or occasional increase of pay, and not to advancement in the general service. He would naturally, however, be expected to perform such duties as copying the Judge-Consul's letters, or keeping the accounts of the Consulate, in which the receipt of fees forms an important feature.

The house hitherto rented from the Japanese Government for the Secretary of Legation would form a suitable residence for the Judge-Consul. Mr. Adams, the present Secretary of Legation, has for some months past resided at Yeddo, where most of the officers of the Legation constantly remain, and it is only in the event of the occurrence of an exceptional state of affairs that he and the other officers of the Legation would be required to fall back upon Yokohama. Owing to the house in question being thus vacated, I was able to place it at the disposal of Sir Edmund Hornby during his recent stay of upwards of two months at Yokohama.

As Yeddo is distant twenty miles from Yokohama, and naturally requires its own Vice-Consul, the appointment of a second Vice-Consul at Yokohama would become necessary if the Judge Consul is to be relieved from attending to the heavy and rapidly-increasing shipping business of the port. In proof of this, I may mention that, while the British shipping entering Yokohama in 1868 numbered 189 vessels of 82,112 tons, it amounted in the past nine months of this year to 264 vessels of 134,860 tons. Much of the shipping business, it is true, is now performed by an Assistant, but much more could be accomplished by an officer holding the position and authority of a Vice-Consul—the cost of conferring which, as I have already pointed out, need not involve a larger annual charge than 100*l*.

If this arrangement be approved, I propose that Mr. Russell Robertson should receive the appoint of second Vice-Consul to the Kanagawa Consulate. His seniority, and knowledge of Japanese, and his recent service as Acting Vice-Consul at Osaka, Hiogo, and Yeddo, fully entitle him, in my opinion, to this preferment.

I have also to propose that the three Dutch Interpreters should be blended with the Assistants on the list of the establishment, as is the case in actual practice. This recasting of the Assistants' list and the promotion of Mr. Robertson would give the Japan establishment four Assistants of the first class, two of the second, and two of the third. Both the third Assistantships are now vacant by the advancement of Mr. Wilkinson last year to the post of Accountant, and by the recent promotion of Mr. Aston to the grade of Second Assistant. I have to request

that your Lordship will confer these two vacancies, from the 1st of January next, on the two Senior Student Interpreters, Mr. Quin and Mr. Hodges, whom I have already been obliged to detach as Acting Assistants to the Consulates of Nagasaki and Osaka, and who have already served two years in Japan.

The advancement of Mr. Quin and Mr. Hodges to Third Class Assistants would reduce the number of Student Interpreters to three, and I trust your Lordship will be pleased to approve of the authorized number of four being completed as early as convenient. The total number of Consular officers allowed to the Japan Establishment is twenty-two. Deducting the three officers now serving at the Legation as Interpreters and Accountant, and three of the Students, sixteen officers only remain to perform the duties at the five Consulates, and three of these are at present absent on home leave.

As to the proposed increase of 200*l.* for Interpreters in Japanese, being 100*l.* to two more Assistants, to be conferred as soon as they shall have acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language, I have only to observe that the advantage accruing to the service whenever this reward for industrious study can be properly granted is unquestionable. The public interests suffer materially whenever a Consulate is left unprovided with an officer possessing a competent knowledge of the language, and at present three Assistants only are in receipt of this allowance. By combining the duties of Interpreter with those of Assistant, and making a knowledge of the language, as far as practicable, an essential qualification for all officers of the service, the inconvenience and expense of a separate class of Interpreters and all the rivalry which it occasions may be avoided. With the addition of the 200*l.* which I now apply for, the Interpreting duties in Japan would be performed at a cost of 500*l.* The same duties in the more extended field of the China service gives special employment to eleven officers, at a total cost of 6,200*l.*

I beg to refer your Lordship to the enclosed statement, showing in a tabular form the proposed alterations which I have above described. The total cost of the Japan Establishment as at present authorized is 11,700*l.*, and the adoption of the proposals now submitted to your Lordship would increase this sum to 12,500*l.* The difference of 800*l.* would, however, be met by a corresponding reduction in the establishment of the Supreme Court. In making out this statement I have estimated the Judge Consul's salary at the highest amount proposed by Sir Edmund Hornby, namely, 1,500*l.*; though, in the case of a new appointment being made, the latter suggests that 1,200*l.* might be sufficient in the first instance. A Vice-Consul is added to the present list, and an Assistant is reduced, so the total complement of officers remains the same. In a word, the expense of the proposed changes is limited to an addition of 500*l.* to the salary of the Kanagawa Consul, of 100*l.* to one Assistant on his appointment as Vice-Consul, and 100*l.* each to two Assistants when qualified to act as Interpreters.

Being anxious that no avoidable delay should occur in bringing these recommendations to the notice of your Lordship, I beg to confine this despatch to the single subject of the salaries of the Japan Establishment, and I shall continue by the succeeding mail the remarks which I have to offer on the other points of wages, rents, &c., and to which your Lordship has also called my attention. I feel it to be due, however, to the officers of the Japan service to add, in reference to your Lordship's observation that the general expense of living in Japan, as compared with that of China, has admitted of the rates of Consular and Vice-Consular salaries being fixed at a lower scale in the former country than in the latter, that this distinction no longer exists, and that the cost of the ordinary necessaries of life have for some time past been equalized in both countries. During the last three years indeed Japan has been drawing large supplies of food from China, and it is obvious that European articles cannot be procured more cheaply here than in a country offering a larger demand, and consequently possessing a proportionate supply. As to the social circumstances of the foreign communities in China and Japan, I have little hesitation in saying that, as far as these affect the public officer, they now bear in both countries an uniform type, unless it be that greater demands may be made upon the hospitality of the resident in some of the stations in Japan in consequence of the absence, common to all recently settled communities, of hotels and similar conveniences.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 8.

Her Majesty's Consular Establishment in Japan.

Present Establishment. 1869–70.			Proposed Establishment. 1870–71.		
	£	£		£	£
Consuls.			*Consuls.*		
Kanagawa	1,000		Kanagawa and Yedo (Judge-Consul)	1,500	
Hiogo	1,000		Hiogo and Osaka	1,000	
Nagasaki	900		Nagasaki	900	
Hakodadi	800		Hakodadi	800	
Neegata	800		Neegata	800	
		4,500			5,000
Vice-Consuls.			*Vice-Consuls.*		
Yeddo	600		Yeddo	600	
Osaka	600		Kanagawa	500	
		1,200	Osaka	600	
					1,700
Interpreters in Japanese.			*Interpreters in Japanese.*		
Allowance to three Assistants ..		300	Allowance to Five Assistants ..		500
Dutch Interpreters and Assistants.			*Assistants.*		
Dutch Interpreter	500		1st Class	500	
Do.	400		Do.	400	
Do.	400		Do.	400	
		1,300	Do.	400	
Assistants.			2nd Class	350	
1st Class	400		Do.	350	
Do.	400		3rd Class	300	
2nd Class	350		Do.	300	
Do.	350				3,000
3rd Class	300		Four Student Interpreters		800
Do.	300		*Attached to Legation.*		
		3,400	Interpreter and Translator	500	
Four Student Interpreters ..			Accountant, &c.	500	
Attached to Legation.			Medical Officer	500	
Interpreter and Translator ..	500				1,500
Accountant, &c.	500				
Medical Officer	500				
		1,500			
		£11,700			£12,500

Note.—The Changes from the Present to the Proposed Establishment consist of:—

	£
1. Increase to the salary of Kanagawa and Yeddo Consul	500
2. Appointment of a Vice-Consul at Kanagawa at a salary of	500
3. Increase in allowance to Interpreters in Japanese	200
Increase	1,200
4. Reduction of one First-class Assistant (decrease)	400
Increase in Proposed Establishment	£800

To be met by a reduction of 800*l.* in the Establishment of the Supreme Court.

Her Majesty's Legation, Japan, November 5, 1869.

No. 9.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 18.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, October* 30, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith the statements of the pay of Writers, wages of Constables and Servants, and rents at the Legation and Consulates.

The first of these shows the numbers and rates of pay of the native Writers and servants employed in this Legation on the 1st of April, 1868, and it is accompanied with an account of the alterations which have taken place since that date, together with a statement of the establishment as it now stands.

I also inclose similar returns of the Constables, Gaolers, Writers, and native servants employed at Her Majesty's Consulates in Japan.

The third statement shows the rents and rent allowances payable at Her Majesty's Legation and Consulates in Japan from the 1st of April, 1868, to which is added an explanation of the various items contained therein, and a list of such of the charges as are payable at the present time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 9.

NUMBERS and Rates of Pay of the Writers, Teachers, and Native Servants employed in Her Majesty's Legation in Japan on the 1st of April, 1868.

Numbers.	Situation.	Wages per Mensem.	
		Rate.	Amount.
	Foreign (Asiatic origin):—	$	$ c.
1	Chinese Writer	..	50 0
2*	Japanese Writers	20	40 0
4*	Japanese Teachers for Student Interpreters ..	14	56 0
1*	Writing Teacher	..	16 0
1	Chief Office Messenger	..	5 34
1	Second ditto	..	5 0
1	Third ditto	..	5 0
2	Yeddo and Yokohama Messengers	5	10 0
2*	Chinese Watchmen	15	30 0
6	Boatmen	5	30 0
1	Gardener	..	5 0
1	Gatekeeper at Yokohama	..	5 0
1	Gatekeeper at Yeddo	..	5 0
1	Watchman at Yeddo	..	3 0
5	Horse Boys for escort	5	25 0
1	Cook for escort	..	4 0
	Total	..	294 34

Amounting, in all, to 294 dollars 34 cents.

Inclosure 2 in No. 9.

Alterations in the Numbers and Rates of Pay of the Writers, Teachers, and Native Servants employed in Her Majesty's Legation in Japan, between the 1*st of April*, 1868, *and the* 1*st of October*, 1869.

1. ONE Japanese Teacher at 14 dollars a month, ceased to be chargeable to the Legation from the 1st of August, 1868, on account of the removal of Mr. Student Interpreter Quin to Hakodate.

2. The engagement of one Gardener at 6 dollars a month from 1st August, 1868; one Coolie at 5 dollars a month from 1st September, 1868; one Coolie at 5 dollars a month from 1st September, 1868, was reported in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord

* Sanction for these items, from April 1, 1868, was requested in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of July 8, 1868. Sanction was given in Lord Stanley's despatch of September 9, 1868.

Stanley of the 12th of October, 1868, and sanctioned in Lord Stanley's despatch to Sir H. Parkes of the 3rd of December, 1868.

3. Sanction for the following revised scale of wages was requested in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 30th of January, 1869:—

Nos.	Situation.	Wages to September 1, Per mensem.	Wages for which sanction is requested, Per Mensem.	Increase from Nov. 1, 1868, Per Mensem.	Increase from Jan. 1, 1869, Per Mensem.
	Foreign (Asiatic origin):—	$ c.	$	$ c.	$
1	Chinese Writer	50 0	50	..	..
2	Japanese Writers, at 20 dollars ..	40 0	40	..	..
3	Japanese Teachers, at 14 dollars ..	42 0	42	..	..
1	Japanese Writing Teacher	16 0	16	..	..
1	Chief Office Messenger	5 34	8	2 66	..
1	Second ditto	5 0	6	1 0	..
1	Third ditto	5 0	6	1 0	..
1	Yeddo and Yokohama Messenger ..	5 0	6	1 0	..
1	Ditto	5 0	6	1 0	..
1	Chief Gardener	6 0	6	..	..
1	Second ditto	5 5	5	..	..
2	Garden Coolies, at 5 dollars	10 0	10	..	..
2	Chinese Watchmen, at 15 dollars ..	30 0	30	..	..
1	Boatman	5 0	6	..	1
1	Ditto	5 0	6	..	1
1	Ditto	5 0	6	..	1
1	Ditto	5 0	6	..	1
1	Ditto	5 0	6	..	1
1	Ditto	5 0	6	..	1
1	Gatekeeper at Yokohama	5 6	6	1 0	..
1	Ditto, at Yeddo	5 0	5	..	..
1	Watchman at Yeddo	3 0	3	..	..
5	Horse Boys, for escort, at 5 dollars ..	25 0	25	..	..
1	Cook for escort	4 0	5	..	1
	Total	296 34	311	7 66	7

Total increase, 14 dollars 66 cents a-month.

4. A temporary arrangement was made during the month of February 1869 for supplying teachers to the Student Interpreters, two of whom were removed to Yeddo, while one remained at Yokohama. The expenditure under this head for that month was 6 dollars less than the usual amount.

5. The pay of the Japanese Writing Teacher was reduced from 16 dollars a month to 12 dollars a month from the 1st of March, 1869.

6. Two Yeddo and Yokohama Messengers at 6 dollars a month each were discontinued from the 1st of March, 1869, as reported in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to the Earl of Clarendon of the 28th of April, 1869.

7. One Japanese Teacher at 14 dollars a month was engaged from the 23rd of May, 1869, for Mr. Student Interpreter Longford, then lately arrived from England. The pay of the Writing Teacher was increased from 12 dollars to 16 dollars a month from the 18th of June, 1869, as he had to teach four student Interpreters instead of three. Sanction requested in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to the Earl of Clarendon of the 20th of September, 1869.

8. Consequent on the removal of Mr. Student Interpreter Hodges to Hiogo, one Japanese Teacher at 14 dollars a month ceased to be chargeable from the 1st of September, 1869, aud the pay of the Writing Teacher was at the same time reduced from 16 dollars a month to 12 dollars a month.

Inclosure 3 in No. 9.

NUMBERS and Rates of Pay of the Writers, Teachers, and Native Servants employed in Her Majesty's Legation in Japan on the 1st of October, 1869.

Numbers.	Situation.	Wages per Mensem.	
		Rate.	Amount.
	Foreign (Asiatic origin):—	$	$
1	Chinese Writer	..	50
2	Japanese Writers	20	40
3	Japanese Teachers	14	42
1	Writing Teacher	..	12
1	Chief Office Messenger	..	8
1	Second ditto	..	6
1	Third ditto	..	6
1	Gardener	..	6
1	Ditto	..	5
2	Garden coolies	5	10
2	Chinese Watchman	15	30
6	Boatmen	6	36
1	Gatekeeper at Yokohama	..	6
1	Ditto, at Yeddo	..	5
1	Watchman at Yeddo	..	3
5	Horse Boys for escort	5	25
1	Cook for escort	..	5
	Total	..	295

Amounting, in all, to 295 dollars a-month, equal, at the rate of 4*s.* 3*d.* to the dollar, to 62*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Her Majesty's Legation, Japan, October 30, 1869.

(Signed) T. O. S. WILKINSON, *Accountant.*

Inclosure 4 in No. 9.

NUMBERS and Rates of Pay of the Constables, Gaolers, Linguists, Writers, and Native Servants employed at Her Majesty's Consulates in Japan on the 1st of April, 1868.

	Kanagawa.	Hiogo and Osaka.		Nagasaki.	Hakodate.	Total per Mensem.
		Consulate.	Vice-Consulate.			
British (European origin):—	$	$	$	$	$	$
Constable	60	60	50	45	50	
Gaoler	60	..	..	..	..	
Turnkey	20	..	..	..	..	
Foreign (Asiatic origin):—						
Gaol Cook and Coolie ..	5	..	..	10	12	
Writer	15	15	15	13⅓	..	
Office servant	..	8	8	7	..	
Ditto	..	..	..	7	..	
Office Messenger	5	5	5	5	5	
Ditto	5	..	..	5	..	
Watchman	4	5	5	4	5	
Ditto	..	..	..	4	5	
Ditto	..	..	..	4	..	
Ditto	..	..	..	4	..	
Gatekeeper	4	5	..	..	5	
Boatman	5	..	..	4	5	
Ditto	5	..	..	4	5	
Ditto	5	..	..	4	5	
Ditto	5	..	..	4	5	
Ditto	5	..	..	..	..	
Courier	..	5⅓	..	..	..	
Ditto	..	5⅓	..	..	..	
Total	203	108⅔	83	124⅓	102	621

Amounting, in all, to 621 dollars a-month.

Inclosure 5 in No. 9.

Alterations in the Numbers and Rates of Pay of the Constables, Gaolers, Linguists, Writers, and Native Servants employed at Her Majesty's Consulates in Japan, between the 1st of April, 1868, and the 1st of October, 1869.

1. DURING the months of June, July, August, and September 1868, it was considered necessary to pay the Japanese servants on the Hiogo and Osaka Establishment in native currency, which involved an additional outlay for that period of 71 dollars 74 cents. But there was a temporary reduction in the pay of the Constable for the months of August and September, amounting to 20 dollars, which reduced the additional outlay for wages during the four months abovementioned to 51 dollars 74 cents.

2. Sanction for the following revised scale of wages for the Kanagawa, Nagasaki, and Hiogo and Osaka Establishments from the 1st of October, 1868, was requested in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 2nd of November, 1868. Sanction was given in the Earl of Clarendon's despatch to Sir H. Parkes of the 30th of December, 1868:—

	Kanagawa.	Hiogo and Osaka.		Nagasaki.	Total per Mensem.
		Consulate.	Vice-Consulate.		
	$	$	$	$	$
Constable	60	60	50	50	
Gaoler	60	..	..	..	
Turnkey	20	..	..	..	
Gaol Cook	6	..	..	..	
Writer	20	15	15	15	
Office Servant	..	8	8	8	
Office Messenger	6	6	6	6	
Ditto	6	..	..	6	
Watchman	5	5	5	5	
Ditto	..	..	..	5	
Gatekeeper	5	5	5	..	
Boatman	6	..	..	6	
Ditto	6	..	..	6	
Ditto	6	..	..	6	
Ditto	6	..	..	6	
Ditto	6	..	..	..	
Courier	..	6	..	..	
Ditto	..	6	..	..	
Total	218	111	89	119	537
Former Establishment ..	203	$108\frac{2}{3}$	83	$124\frac{1}{3}$	519
Increase	15	$2\frac{1}{3}$	6	..	
Decrease	..	..	..	$5\frac{1}{3}$	
Total increase a-month ..	..	..	..	..	18

3. Consequent on the transfer of Mr. Student Interpreter Quin from the Legation to the Hakodate Consulate, the pay of his Japanese Teacher at 14 dollars a month became chargeable to the Hakodate Consulate from the 1st of August, 1868.

4. Sanction for an increase in the pay of Mr. Quin's Teacher (who also acted as Writer at Hakodate) from 14 dollars a month to 20 dollars a month from the 1st of November, 1868, was requested in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 31st of October, 1868. Sanction was given in the Earl of Clarendon's despatch to Sir H. Parkes of the 30th of December, 1868.

5. Sanction for the employment of four Boatmen at 6 dollars a month each for the Hiogo and Osaka Consulate was requested in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 1st of December, 1868. Sanction was given in the Earl of Clarendon's despatch to Sir H. Parkes of the 27th of January, 1869.

6. Sanction for the following scale of wages for the Neegata Consulate was requested in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to the Earl of Clarendon of the 31st of May, 1869:—

	Per Month. $
1 Constable	50
From January 1, 1869—	
1 Writer	15
1 Office Servant	8
1 Office Messenger	6
1 Gatekeeper	5
From February 15, 1869—	
1 Night Watchman	5
Total	89

7. Sanction for the following wages incurred at the Yeddo Vice-Consulate from its opening on the 1st of January, 1869, till the end of the March quarter, was requested in Sir H. Parkes' despatch of the 4th of June, 1869 :—

	$
For 3 months—	
1 Constable, at 30 dollars a-month	90
1 Writer, at 15 ditto	45
1 Office Messenger, at 6 ditto	18
1 Gatekeeper, at 5 ditto	15
Total	168

8. Sanction for the following scale of wages for the Yeddo Vice-Consulate was requested in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to the Earl of Clarendon of the 4th of June, 1869 :—

	Per Month. $
1 Constable	50
1 Writer	15
1 Office Messenger	6
1 Ditto	5
1 Watchman	5
1 Gatekeeper	5
1 Groom, and allowance for keep of horse (in lieu of boat and four boatmen) ..	15
Total	101

9. Consequent on the removal of Mr. Quin from Hakodate to Nagasaki the pay of his Japanese Teacher at 20 dollars a month ceased to be chargeable from the 1st of August, 1869.

10. The continuous residence of a Vice-Consul at Yeddo having been dispensed with for a time, the wages of an Office Messenger and a Watchman at 5 dollars a month each, together with the allowance of 15 dollars a month for a Groom and keep of a horse, have been temporarily discontinued from the 1st of September, 1869. Circumstances, however, might at any time necessitate the re-engagement of these servants.

Inclosure 6 in No. 9.

NUMBERS and Rates of Pay of the Constables, Gaolers, Linguists, Writers, and Native Servants employed at Her Majesty's Consulates in Japan on the 1st of October, 1869.

	Kanagawa and Yeddo.		Hiogo and Osaka.		Nagasaki.	Hakodate.	Neegata.	Total per Mensem.
	Consulate.	Vice-Consulate.	Consulate.	Vice-Consulate.				
British (European origin):—	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
Constable	60	50	60	50	50	50	50	
Gaoler	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Turnkey	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Foreign (Asiatic origin):—								
Gaol Cook	6	..	..	..	..	12*	..	
Writer	20	15	15	15	15	..	15	
Office Servant	..	6	8	8	8	..	8	
Office Messenger	6	5	6	6	6	5	6	
Ditto	6	..	..	..	6	..	..	
Watchman	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	
Ditto	..	..	..	..	5	5	..	
Gatekeeper	5	5	5	5	..	5	5	
Boatman	6	..	6	..	6	5	..	
Ditto	6	..	6	..	6	5	..	
Ditto	6	..	6	..	6	5	..	
Ditto	6	..	6	..	6	5	..	
Ditto	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Allowance for groom and horse, in lieu of a charge for boatmen ..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	
Total	218	101	123	89	119	102	89	841

Amounting, in all, to 841 dollars a-month, equal, at 4*s.* 3*d.* to the dollar, to 178*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Her Majesty's Legation, Japan, October 30, 1869.

(Signed) T. O. S. WILKINSON, *Accountant.*

Inclosure 7 in No. 9.

RENT and Rent Allowances payable at Her Majesty's Legation and Consulates in Japan on the 1st of April, 1868, together with the Rent Charges incurred subsequently to that date.

Reference.		Rate. Month.	Rate. Year.	Date from which Rent Charges incurred subsequently to April 1, 1868, first became Payable.	Date from which the Rent charges ceased to be Payable.
	LEGATION.	$	$ c.		
	Yokohama.				
	Rent of—				
1	Legation buildings	..	7,649 0	..	..
2	Quarters for Mr. Quin and Mr. Hodges, Student Interpreters	60	..	April 6, 1868	June 20, 1868
3	Quarters for Mr. O'Driscoll and Mr. Hall, Student Interpreters	40	..	April 6, 1868	June 30, 1868
4	Quarters for Mr. Hodges, Mr. O'Driscoll, and Mr. Hall	90	..	June 11, 1868	Jan. 10, 1869
5	Quarters for married men of escort . ..	40	..	July 1, 1868	Feb. 28, 1869
	Allowance to—				
6	Dr. Willis	50	..	April 12, 1868	June 30, 1868
7	Mr. Dohmen	100	..	July 1, 1868	Feb. 28, 1869

* Performs the services of Chief Office Messenger, in addition to those of Gaol Cook.

Reference.		Rate. Month.	Rate. Year.	Date from which Rent Charges incurred subsequently to April 1, 1868, first became Payable.	Date from which the Rent Charges ceased to be Payable.
		$	$		
	Yeddo.				
	Rent of—				
8	Temporary Legation	..	1,700 0	..	..
9	Temporary quarters for Secretary, 44 bus, say	..	96 0	..	..
	Allowance to—				
10	Mr. Satow	60	..	..	Dec. 31, 1868
11	Ditto	30	..	Jan. 1, 1869	Jan. 31, 1869
12	Mr. Mitford	30	..	Feb. 1, 1869	..
13	Mr. von Siebold	30	..	Mar. 14, 1869	May 13, 1869
	Osaka.				
14	Rent of Mr. Mitford's temporary quarters	53⅓	..	June 5, 1868	Oct. 15, 1868
	Kanagawa Consulate.				
	Rent of—				
15	Consul's residence	200	..	..	June 30, 1869
16	Consular offices and gaol—				
	a. Ground rent	..	328 42	..	..
	b. Original rent of buildings	..	546 0	..	..
	c. Improvements in 1867	..	39 67	..	..
	d. Ditto, 1868	..	69 50	..	..
	Allowance to—				
17	Mr. Schmid	50	..	..	Aug. 31, 1869
18	Mr. Walsh	75	..	..	May 31, 1868
19	Ditto	50	..	June 1, 1868	Feb. 28, 1869
20	Dr. Willis	50	..	July 1, 1868	Dec. 31, 1868
21	Mr. Dohmen	100	..	Mar. 1, 1869	May 31, 1869
	Osaka.				
22	Rent of Consulate	60	..	..	..
	Hiogo.				
23	Rent of Vice-Consulate	80	..	..	..
	Nagasaki.				
24	Ground rent of Consulate lot	..	250 32	..	..
	Rent of—				To cease from
25	House for Mr. Annesley	60	..	..	Nov. 1, 1869
26	House for Mr. Aston	50	..	..	Apr. 30, 1869
27	House for Mr. Quin	30	..	Aug. 13, 1869	..
	Hakodate.				
28	Rent of Consul's residence	100	..	..	..
29	Rent of offices	12	..	..	..
30	Ground rent of site for Consulate (not built on)	..	222 54	..	..
31	Annual payment for ten years to Japanese Government for construction of said site	..	76 12	..	..
32	Rent of Mr. Quin's house	20	..	Oct. 1, 1868	July 31, 1869
	Neegata.				
33	Rent of temporary Consulate	50	..	Feb. 10, 1869	..

Her Majesty's Legation.

1. Rent of Legation buildings at Yokohama, 7,649 dollars a year.

These buildings were erected at the expense of the Tycoon's Government, in accordance with an arrangement reported in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 16th March, 1867. The erection of these buildings was commenced before Major Crossman's arrival in Japan. Major Crossman refers to them in his report to the Treasury of the 24th of November, 1866. The cost of the buildings and the rent payable thereon were reported to Lord Stanley in Sir H. Parkes' despatch of the 21st of August, 1868.

Lord Stanley informed Sir H. Parkes, in his despatch of the 21st of October, 1868, that this charge had been referred to the Lords of the Treasury.

2. Rent of quarters for Mr. Quin and Mr. Hodges, 60 dollars a month.

3. Rent of quarters for Mr. O'Driscoll and Mr. Hall, 40 dollars a month.

4. Rent of quarters for Mr. Quin, Mr. Hodges, Mr. O'Driscoll, and Mr. Hall, 90 dollars a month.

5. Rent of quarters for married men of escort, 40 dollars a month.

The circumstances under which the above rent charges were incurred are detailed in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Major Crossman of the 15th of August, 1868, inclosed in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 21st of August, 1868, in which sanction is requested for the amount. Major Crossman's approval of the arrangements made is given in his despatch to Sir H. Parkes, of which the following is a copy :—

"Sir, "*Steam-ship 'Hermann,' Sea of Japan, August* 20, 1868.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 15th instant, requesting me to furnish you with my opinion as to the arrangements you have made for temporarily quartering at Yokohama the four Student Interpreters attached to the Legation, and the Legation escort.

"In reply, I have to state that, knowing as I do the great difficulty there is in obtaining suitable houses in Yokohama at a moderate rate, it would appear that the best arrangements have been made under the circumstances.

"As the landlords would do nothing towards putting the premises in proper repair, it became necessary for you to have the work done; and as on inspection of the premises I find that nothing has been done but what is required, I should, if the usual vouchers are furnished, include the items, viz., 104 dollars 14 cents for escort's quarters, and 75 dollars 67 cents. for Interpreters' (Students) quarters in my accounts.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "W. CROSSMAN."

6. Rent allowance to Dr. Willis, 50 dollars a month.

Reported in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 21st of August, 1868. On the removal of Dr. Willis to the Yokohama Consulate as Vice-Consul, on the 1st of July, 1868, this rent allowance became chargeable to the establishment.

7. Rent allowance to Mr. Dohmen, 100 dollars a month.

Reported in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 21st of August, 1868. Mr. Dohmen was transferred from the Legation to the Kanagawa Consulate on the 1st of March, 1869, from which date the rent allowance became chargeable to the latter establishment.

8. Rent of temporary Legation in Yeddo, 1,700 dollars a year.

The erection of these buildings is referred to in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 16th of March, 1867, and in Major Crossman's Report to the Treasury inclosed therein.

The arrangement ultimately made with the Japanese Government in regard to rent is recorded in a despatch from Sir H. Parkes to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs, of which the following is a copy:—

"When the Japanese Government undertook in 1866 to construct a temporary Legation near to the Temple of Sengakuji, for the use of Her Majesty's Ministers, they engaged that it should be occupied by the latter rent-free, and be kept in repair by the Japanese Government. The object of the Japanese Government in making this arrangement, was to obtain the consent of Her Majesty's Minister to defer for a time the construction of a permanent Legation in Yeddo. They were also aware that the temporary Legation was poorly built, and that it would, therefore, prove an uncomfortable residence.

"Shortly, however, after the said temporary buildings had been completed and given over to Her Majesty's Minister, the Japanese Government represented that this condition of the non-payment of rent occasioned them inconvenience, partly because the repairs of these ill-constructed buildings involved a constant outlay, and partly also because the occupation of a residence at Yeddo, free of rent by one Minister, might lead to similar claims being advanced by other Representatives.

"The Undersigned, therefore, agreed that Her Majesty's Government should pay rent for these temporary buildings, at the rate of 1,000 dollars per year from the 1st of January, 1867; that the Japanese Government should keep the said buildings in repair, but that, if any addition or alterations should be required, Her Majesty's Government should pay 10 per cent. per annum upon the cost of such improvement as a rental for the same.

"Since this request was made, the Japanese Government have constructed at a cost

of 18,610 bus, five small houses for the use of the families of the escort of Her Majesty's Ministers, and various additions and alterations have been made in the main buildings at a cost of 4,500 bus. The equivalent of these two sums in dollars at the present rate of exchange is 7,000 dollars, and an additional rental of 700 dollars per annum is due therefore from the 1st of July last, as the date of the completion of these alterations and additions.

"The rent which Her Majesty's Government accordingly owes to the Japanese Government for this temporary Legation is 500 dollars from the 1st of January to the 1st of July, being at the rate of 1,000 dollars per year, and 425 dollars from the 1st of July to the 1st of October, being at the rate of 1,700 dollars per year, the total for the nine months being 925 dollars."

The first charge on this account appears in the accounts of Her Majesty's Legation for the December quarter 1867, and was included in the statement inclosed in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 13th of May, 1868.

No rent was paid for these premises during the year 1868, as explained in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 21st of August of that year, in consequence of the premises having been vacated at the request of the Japanese Government on account of the disturbed state of affairs.

A house in a more convenient situation has been obtained from the Japanese Government in exchange for the one previously occupied, and rent at the same rate will be paid for it from the 1st of January last. The Japanese Government are putting up certain necessary additions to render the Minister's quarters and those of the escort habitable in winter. These when made will probably entail an additional rental of 200 dollars a year; the agreement being that rent shall be paid for such additions at the rate of ten per cent. upon the outlay.

9. Rent of the Temple of Mourioin (at present occupied by the Secretary of Legation) 24 bus a month, or 288 bus a year, equal (at the average rate of 3 bus to the dollar) to 96 dollars a year.

10. Rent allowance to Mr. Satow, 60 dollars a month.

11. Ditto ditto 30 dollars a month.

12. Rent allowance to Mr. Mitford, 30 dollars a month.

The Temple of Mourioin was first rented for the use of the Legation Writers from the 10th of December, 1866, and afterwards for the use of the Second Secretary from the 20th of February, 1867.

Major Crossman, having inspected these premises and the house in respect of which Mr. Satow received the above-mentioned allowance, gave the following opinion thereon in a letter to Sir H. Parkes, dated the 29th of October, 1867:—

"Having at your request inspected the houses in the vicinity of the Legation at Yeddo, lately rented by you for the accommodation of Mr. Mitford, Secretary, and Mr. Satow, Interpreter, I have to remark as follows:—

"The renting of these houses was doubtless necessary, owing to the limited accommodation there is for guests in the present building, owing also to the fact that three more Student Interpreters are shortly expected from England; and further, as you informed me, because, for diplomatic reasons, it is advisable that the Interpreter should reside outside the inclosure of the Legation grounds.

"Even had the house now occupied by Mr. Mitford not been required for residential purposes, it was very desirable to obtain possession of it owing to its close proximity to the Legation, and because the hill on which it stands overlooks the whole of the houses and grounds.

"The sum which has been paid as rent for 18 months (134 dollars 23 cents) is very moderate; and the repairs, amounting in all to 53 dollars, would appear to have been absolutely required and have been judiciously and economically carried out. The cost of these I will include in my accounts. The house is very small, consisting only of three rooms, and would not have been large enough for both Mr. Mitford and Mr. Satow, as was, I believe, originally intended by you.

"That rented for Mr. Satow is much larger, and will require a great deal of repair; and as you have informed me that that gentleman will have to go to Osaka at the opening of the port, when this house may probably be no longer required, it would hardly be advisable to spend for so short an occupation any large sum of money upon it.

"I believe an arrangement has already been entered into to take the house from the 3rd of August last, to which the Government is in some degree bound. If it is

absolutely necessary to retain it (for it may be given up at any time, the tenure being only monthly) it will be impossible to live in it during the winter without the completion of certain alterations and repairs, which, I estimate, cannot be done for less than between 200 dollars and 250 dollars. In that case, I would recommend that, instead of including in the building accounts a sum of money spent upon a house hired for so short a time, Mr. Satow should be allowed 60 dollars a month for lodging allowance (the same as granted to the junior Officers at Shanghae when unprovided with houses), and that he should pay for all the repairs required. This sum will, I estimate, enable him to recoup himself for the necessary expenditure in from 8 to 12 months; should he remain in it longer, it may be reduced, but this can be arranged hereafter."

In accordance with this recommendation Mr. Satow received a rent allowance of 60 dollars a month, which was reduced to 30 dollars a month from the 1st of January, 1869.

When Mr. Satow returned to England, Mr. Mitford removed into the house previously occupied by Mr. Satow, receiving the same reduced rent allowance of 30 dollars a month from the 1st of February, 1869; and Mr. Adams, who had until then been residing at Yokohama, took up his temporary quarters in the Temple of Mourioin, as explained in the statement of Legation expenditure for March quarter, 1869, inclosed in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to the Earl of Clarendon of the 28th of April, 1869.

13. Rent allowance to Mr. Von Siebold, 30 dollars a month.

This allowance was paid to Mr. Von Siebold from the 13th of March to the 13th of May, or for two months, during which time he could not be accommodated in any of the Legation buildings in Yeddo.

A small house has, however, been erected by the Japanese Government at a cost of about 500 dollars, which Mr. Von Siebold has occupied since the latter date, and on which a rent of about 50 dollars a year will have to be paid to the Japanese Government.

The arrangements being made with the latter for a lease of these premises are not quite concluded.

The above rent allowance was included in the statement of expenditure inclosed in Sir H. Parkes' despatches to the Earl of Clarendon of the 28th of April and of the 28th of September, 1869.

14. Rent of Mr. Mitford's temporary quarters at Osaka, $53\frac{1}{3}$ dollars a month.

This charge was incurred during Mr. Mitford's residence at Osaka in 1868. The house was given up on the 15th of October, having been occupied for four months and a half.

This rent was included in the statement of Legation expenditure inclosed in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 30th of January, 1869.

Kanagawa.

15. Rent of Consul's residence, 200 dollars a month.

The engagement of the premises in question was reported in Sir H. Parkes' despatch of the 22nd of July, 1867, and Lord Stanley, in his despatch of the 25th of November, 1867, informed Sir H. Parkes that the Treasury had approved the arrangement.

The above rent was paid up till the end of June 1869, when the new Consulate, built under Major Crossman's directions, was sufficiently advanced for the Consul to take up his residence in it.

16. Consulate Offices and Jail:—

a. Ground rent	328 dollars 42 cents a year.
b. Original rent of buildings ..	546 dollars a year.
c. Improvements in 1867 ..	39 dollars 67 cents.
d. Improvements in 1868 ..	69 dollars 50 cents.

Charges *a* and *c* were sanctioned in Earl Russell's despatch to Mr. Winchester of the 10th of July, 1865.

Charge *c* was explained in Mr. Consul Myburgh's despatch of the 2nd of November, 1867, inclosed in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 31st of December of the same year. The amount was included in the statement of Consular expenditure inclosed in the same despatch which was sanctioned in Lord Stanley's despatch of 28th February, 1868.

Application for sanction to charge *d* has been made in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to the Earl of Clarendon of the 20th of October, 1869.

17. Rent allowance to Mr. Schmid, 50 dollars a month.

Mr. Consul Fletcher requested sanction for Mr. Schmid's rent in a despatch to Sir H. Parkes, of which the following is a copy:—

"Sir, "*British Consulate, Kanagawa, March* 31, 1868.

"Mr. Interpreter Schmid has made application to me for an allowance of 150 dollars, expenses incurred for lodging at the 'Commercial Hotel' during the months of January and February last. This is at the rate of 75 dollars per month for quarters, exclusive of board, which also is a heavy item of expenditure at the Hotel.

"On arrival here, at the end of last year, there was no suitable place which Mr. Schmid could take up as quarters, and in the uncertainty at the time as to whether his services might not be required at one of the other ports, it was undesirable to make any permanent arrangements Mr. Schmid was therefore obliged to seek temporary accommodation at a hotel, with the exorbitant rate of charges common in these countries, and as he has been thus subjected to an expensive mode of living, and not in any way of his own seeking, he considers some additional allowance should be made him on this behalf also.

"At the beginning of this month Mr. Schmid left the hotel and succeeded in providing himself with other quarters, at a moderate rate of 50 dollars per mensem, and for this sum also I beg to request your sanction until the new Consulate is built, or some more permanent arrangements are effected.

"I have, &c.
(Signed) "L. FLETCHER."

Sir H. Parkes sanctioned the charge of 75 dollars a month for the months of January and February, when Mr. Schmid was in the hotel, and the rent of 50 dollars a month from the 1st of March, 1868.

This rent ceased from the 31st of August, 1869, when Mr. Schmid removed into the new Consulate.

18. Rent allowance to Mr. Walsh, 75 dollars a month;

19. Rent allowance to Mr. Walsh, 50 dollars a month;

Reported in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 23rd of July, 1868, and sanctioned in Lord Stanley's despatch to Sir H. Parkes of the 24th of September, 1868.

This rent charge ceased from the 28th of February, 1869, consequent on Mr. Walsh's departure for England.

20. Rent allowance to Dr. Willis, 50 dollars a month. (See No. 6.)

This charge ceased from the 31st of December, 1868, on the removal of Dr. Willis to the Vice Consulate in Yeddo.

21. Rent allowance to Mr. Dohmen, 100 dollars a month. (See No. 7.)

This allowance was paid up to the end of May last, when Mr. Dohmen removed into a house purchased by Major Crossman, from the United States' Consul, for the use of Her Majesty's Consulate at Kanagawa. The purchase of this house is referred to in Major Crossman's Report to the Treasury of the 21st of October, 1868.

Osaka and Hiogo.

22. Rent of Consulate, 60 dollars a month.

23. Rent of Vice-Consulate 80 dollars a month.

Sanction for this expenditure was requested in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 4th of December, 1868. No reply has yet been received.

Nagasaki.

24. Ground-rent of Consulate lot, 250 dollars 32 cents a year.

The house situated on this lot was purchased by Major Crossman for a Consulate, as stated in his letter to Sir H. Parkes of the 7th of December, 1867, inclosed in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 24th of February, 1868. Authority for the payment of the above ground-rent was applied for in the same despatch by Sir H. Parkes, and Lord Stanley in his despatch of the 2nd of May, 1868, informed him that he had obtained the sanction of the Lords of the Treasury to the same.

25. Rent of house for Mr. Assistant Annesley, 60 dollars a month.

This house was engaged on Major Crossman's recommendation, as reported in the Memorandum inclosed in Sir H. Parkes' despatch of the 11th of June, 1869. The rent was included in the expenditure sanctioned in the Earl of Clarendon's despatch of the 18th of August, 1869.

In consequence of the departure of Mr. Consul Flowers to England on leave of absence, Mr. Annesley will remove into the house referred to in the previous paragraph, as reported to the Earl of Clarendon in Sir H. Parkes' despatch of the 30th of September, 1869, and the rent of 60 dollars will therefore cease from the 1st of November.

26. Rent of house for Mr. Assistant Aston, 50 dollars a month.

This rent has been paid for the Junior Assistant at Nagasaki since the 1st of April, 1864, the same house having been retained when Mr. Robertson relieved Mr. Lowder in 1866, and subsequently when Mr. Aston relieved Mr. Robertson in December 1867. When Mr. Aston was removed to Osaka the house was no longer required and was given up from the 30th of April last.

No Junior Assistant was sent to Nagasaki at the time of Mr. Aston's removal, but Mr. Student Interpreter Quin has since been detailed to act in that capacity; and,

27. House-rent for him at the rate of 30 dollars a month has been incurred since the 13th of August and sanction applied for in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to the Earl of Clarendon of the 30th of September, 1869.

Hakodate.

28. Rent of Consul's house, 100 dollars a month.

The terms under which this house was engaged were reported by Sir H. Parkes in the Memorandum inclosed in his despatch to the Earl of Clarendon of the 11th of June, 1869, and the rent is included in the expenditure sanctioned in the Earl of Clarendon's reply of the 18th of August, 1869.

Major Crossman, when at Hakodate in August, 1868, recommended that the house should be taken on for two years longer, as stated in his report to the Treasury of the 21st of October, 1868.

29. Rent of offices, 12 dollars a month.

This rent was included in the statement of Consular expenditure inclosed in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 28th of February, 1868.

30. Ground-rent of site for Consulate (not built on), 222 dollars 54 cents a year.

31. Annual payment to Japanese Government for ten years for construction of said site 76 dollars 17 cents a year.

The arrangements connected with the above lot were reported in Sir H. Parkes' despatch to Lord Stanley of the 22nd of June, 1867, and Lord Stanley, in his despatch of the 13th of September, 1867, informed Sir H. Parkes that the Lords of the Treasury approved the payment of the rent.

32. Rent of Mr. Quin's house, 20 dollars a month.

Major Crossman, as stated in his report to the Treasury of the 21st of October, 1868, recommended that Mr. Quin should receive an allowance of 45 dollars a month. But a house was procured from the Japanese Government at a rental of 20 dollars a month, and this arrangement was sanctioned in the Earl of Clarendon's despatch to Sir H. Parkes of the 12th of February, 1869. Consequent on the removal of Mr. Quin to Nagasaki, Mr. Consul Eusden arranged that the payment of this rent should cease from the 31st of July, 1869.

Neegata.

33. Rent of temporary Consulate, 50 dollars a month.

Sanction for this rent was requested in Sir H. Parkes' despatch of the 31st May, 1869, to the Earl of Clarendon.

Inclosure 8 in No. 9.

RENTS and Rent Allowances Payable at Her Majesty's Legation and Consulates in Japan on the 1st of October, 1869.

Reference.		Rate. Month.	Rate. Year.
	LEGATION.	$	$ c.
	Yokohama.		
1	Rent of Legation buildings	..	7,649 0
	Yeddo.		
8	Rent of temporary Legation	..	1,700 0
9	Rent of temporary quarters for Secretary, 44 bus per month, say ..	.	96 0
12	Rent allowance to Mr. Mitford	30	..
	Kanagawa Consulate.		
16	Consular offices and gaol—		
	a. Ground rent	..	328 42
	b. Original rent of buildings	..	546 0
	c. Improvements in 1867	..	39 62
	d. Ditto, in 1868	..	69 50
	Osaka.		
22	Rent of Consulate	60	..
	Hiogo.		
23	Rent of Vice-Consulate	80	..
	Nagasaki.		
24	Ground rent of Consulate lot	..	250 32
25	Rent of house for Mr. Annesley (to cease from November 1, 1869) ..	60	..
27	Rent of house for Mr. Quin	30	..
	Hakodate.		
28	Rent of Consul's residence	100	..
29	Rent of offices	12	..
30	Ground rent for site of Consulate (not built on)	..	222 54
31	Annual payment, for ten years, to Japanese Government, for construction of said site	..	76 12
	Neegata.		
33	Rent of temporary Consulate	50	..
	Total	422	10,977 57

RECAPITULATION.

	Per Year. $ c.
Rents contracted for by the year	10,977 57
Rents contracted for by the month, 422 dollars a-month, equal to	5,064 0
Total	16,041 57

Amounting, in all, to 16,041 dollars 57 cents a-year, equal, at the rate of 4*s.* 3*d.* to the dollar, to 3,408*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES, *Minister.*

Her Majesty's Legation, Japan, October 30, 1869.

(Signed) T. O. S. WILKINSON, *Accountant.*

No. 10.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 10, 1870.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, November* 18, 1869.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 5th instant, I proceed to notice the other points of expenditure to which your Lordship directs my attention, namely, Wages, Contingencies, Rents, Buildings, and Furniture, Medical Assistance, and Consular Chapels.

Wages.

The Returns which I forwarded in my despatch of the 30th ultimo show that the total monthly expenditure at present incurred under this head is 295

dollars (62*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*) at the Legation, and 841 dollars (178*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*) at the five Consulates and two Vice-Consulates. The minuteness with which those Returns were prepared renders it unnecessary for me to repeat the details of this expenditure. I should only add that I have satisfied myself that it is confined within the narrowest limits; that the rates of wages are not more, but in some instances may be said to be less, than those obtainable by the same classes of men in similar positions in other services, and that in regard to numbers, not a man is employed at the Legation nor on the Consular establishment whose services could be judiciously dispensed with.

Contingencies.

In order to explain the character of this expenditure, I append a Return of all the incidental expenses incurred at the Legation during the year ended 31st March, 1869. It will be seen that this expenditure amounted to the considerable sum of 2,289*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*, but an examination of the Return will show the special character of most of the items, and that all were unavoidably incurred.

There is good reason, however, to suppose that the following items in the statement will admit of reduction in ensuing years:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Furniture	312	13	10
Official visits and entertainment	389	9	9
Medical expenses of wounded men of escort	196	18	6

Owing to the Legation having to proceed twice in 1868 to Osaka, and to be subject for some months to movements of the character of a campaign, certain mess furniture had to be provided for the general use of the Minister and his staff. The Mikado has since taken up his residence in Yeddo, and will, it is hoped, remain there. It is also to be hoped that the Legation escort may not again be exposed to such a deadly attack as that made upon my party at Kioto, when nine of them were so severely wounded as to require medical treatment for several months.

In judging of the contingent expenditure of the Legation, it should be borne in mind that it includes the cost of forage and all the incidental expenses of the escort, minute details of which are given in the return, and which it will be seen amount to one-third of the whole expenditure. I have no hesitation in saying, however, that it would not be possible to exercise greater economy in the administration of the escort expenses than that which has been hitherto observed.

I also append a Return of the contingent expenditure incurred by all the Consulates and Vice-Consulates during the same year, which amounts to 902*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* It is satisfactory to point out that the system by which the expenditure under this head is met by an annual allotment to each establishment has been productive of the economy anticipated by your Lordship. The amount thus allowed to all the Consulates and Vice-Consulates in Japan for the year above-named was 646*l.* 5*s.*; and the expenditure under the heads to which these allotments were applicable, was limited to 621*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* The difference between the allotted allowance (646*l.* 5*s.*) and the total expenditure (902*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*) was occasioned by the special charges shown in the Return, and which it was not intended that the allotments should defray.

Rents.

The Return annexed shows that in the year 1868-69 the total cost incurred on account of rents was 11,201 dollars 96 cents (2,380*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*) for the Legation, and 10,046 dollars 62 cents (2,134*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*) for all the Consulates and Vice-Consulates. The latter sum, however, does not include the ground-rents which will have to be paid at Kanagawa and Nagasaki, amounting to about 500 dollars, but which, owing to various circumstances, have not yet been accurately determined; nor does it include the rent of the Vice-Consulate at Yeddo, which became payable from the 1st January, 1869, and will probably be settled at 60 dollars a-month, or 720 dollars per annum. The total amount of rents for both Legation and Consulates, exclusive of the three items just mentioned, amounted to 4,515*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, and it will be seen by Inclosure No. 3 in my despatch of the 30th ultimo, that this amount had already been reduced on the 1st of October of this year to 3,408*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

In the case of the Legation, the rents of 1868 are somewhat in excess of those that would have been chargeable in ordinary years, owing to the temporary withdrawal of the Legation from Yeddo, and the consequent necessity of making provisional

arrangements for the accommodation at Yokohama of several of the officers, Student Interpreters, and the Legation escort and their families.

Unless a similar exceptional state of affairs should again occur, it is probable that the Legation buildings at Yokohama will in future more than meet the wants of the Legation officers at that place; and I therefore suggested in my previous despatch that the house hitherto occupied by the Secretaries of the Legation at Yokohama should be used as the residence of the Judge Consul, in case such an appointment were created. By this arrangement the sum payable by the Legation as rent would be reduced by about 2,400 dollars per annum; but the Consular rents would be increased in equal proportion. The rent of accommodation for Legation purposes will probably in future not exceed 2,000*l.* per annum, divided between Yokohama and Yeddo in such proportions as the circumstances of the times may render necessary. It may be hoped that at no distant day the state of affairs will become so far settled as to admit of a permanent Legation being erected at Yeddo, as the accommodation which native houses afford to the officers at present quartered there is of a very imperfect character, and the necessity now devolving on the Minister of transacting business and maintaining an establishment at both places exposes him to considerable inconvenience and expense.

In judging of the amount of rents paid by the Legation, the number of officers to be accommodated should be borne in mind. These consist of the Minister, Secretary of Legation, Second Secretary, Japanese Secretary, Translator and Interpreter, Accountant, Medical Officer, Students, and fourteen men of the escort, five of whom have families.

The rents on account of the Kanagawa Consulate, which amounted for the year 1868-69 to 4,983 dollars 59 cents, will now be reduced to little more than 1,000 dollars in consequence of the completion, in August last, of the Consulate constructed by Major Crossman, which, in conjunction with a contiguous house purchased by that officer, contains accommodation sufficient for the Consul and the present staff. I have no knowledge of the amount expended by Major Crossman on the new Consulate; but have heard it estimated at about 40,000 dollars. Whether this includes the above-mentioned purchase or not I am unable to say; but whatever may be the amount of the outlay incurred by Major Crossman, the saving in rent which will be thereby effected will be a little under 4,000 dollars per annum.

The rents paid at the other Consulates are very moderate, but it must be admitted that at Hiogo and Osaka, and also at Hakodate and Niigata, the Consulate officers are very indifferently lodged in native houses, and it therefore becomes exceedingly desirable, in the interests of the service and of their health, that suitable residences should be constructed at those ports. The absence of Major Crossman, however, and the progress hitherto made in works of this nature in Japan, renders it difficult to conjecture when this much-desired result may be attained.

Buildings and Furniture.

As instructed by your Lordship, I append an account of the expenditure on furniture at the Legation and Consulates for the year ended 31st March, 1869, amounting in all to 1,742 dollars 11 cents (370*l.* 4*s.*) I also add an account of the money expended by the Legation only on buildings and repairs, amounting to 716 dollars 53 cents (152*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*) As the Consuls account direct to Major Crossman, I am not in possession of particulars of their expenditure under this head. The cost incurred in fitting up the Yeddo Vice-Consulate was paid through the Legation, and amounted, as the Return shows, to 737 dollars 23 cents (156*l.* 13s. 3*d.*)

Medical Assistance.

I am decidedly of opinion that medical attendance should be supplied to Consular officers and servants, as well as to distressed British subjects and to prisoners, provided it can be obtained for a moderate annual payment to be made to medical men who may have established themselves in practice at the different ports. The pay of Consular officers is quite disproportioned to the heavy medical charges which are demanded in these countries, and it is probable that these charges in the case of such indispensable public services as attendance on distressed British subjects or prisoners, *post mortem* examinations, &c., would amount, if charged for separately, to a much larger sum than a fixed allowance of the character suggested. As yet I am only provided with a Return of the prisoners attended at the Kanagawa Consulate during the year 1868, but this

shows that 497 medical visits were paid to 56 prisoners who came under treatment, and if a dollar only had been charged for each of these visits, the cost of attendance would have amounted to more than 100*l.* In addition, it will be seen that four *post mortem* examinations were held during the same year at a charge of 44 dollars 50 cents, or nearly 10*l.*, and expenses of this nature will increase with the growth of the community.

At Yokohama medical attendance could be obtained for a fixed annual payment, and Dr. Jenkins is willing to supply attendance to the prison, and also to the Consular officers, for the sum of 100*l.* I should here point out that that gentleman has generously attended the British Consular jail at Kanagawa for some years past without fee or reward, but his inability to continue this gratuitous service, owing to the considerable increase in the number of prisoners and the frequent calls upon his time, was brought to my notice by Her Majesty's Consul in the spring of this year. I therefore trust that your Lordship will sanction the payment to Dr. Jenkins of the above-mentioned sum of 100*l.* per annum from the 1st of January last.

If a similar arrangement could be made at the other Consulates, I should strongly recommend it to your Lordship's approval. I believe that medical men are already established in practice at Hiogo and Nagasaki, but not at the minor ports of Hakodate and Niigata. I feel, however, that I shall be better able to complete my observations on this subject when I shall have visited, as I am about to do, the ports of Hiogo and Nagasaki. In the meantime the only expenditure I have to advise in this connection is the grant to Dr. Jenkins of the moderate allowance above-mentioned, and which, I should observe, is less than the charges which will naturally be presented unless this mode of remuneration be adopted.

Consular Chapels.

I have but few observations on this subject, which is the remaining one noticed in your Lordship's despatch. The Yokohama chaplain is the only one which yet exists in Japan. The community at that port is of a very mixed character both as regards nationalities and creeds, and in addition to the Episcopal Church one of larger dimensions is maintained by the Roman Catholics, and another of the Presbyterian denomination is supported by the Americans. That section of the community which contributes to the British Episcopal Church seldom succeeds in collecting annually more than 500*l.* for this object, and after payment of a moiety of the chaplain's salary they retain but a small balance for the repair and maintenance of the Church building, which is unpretending in appearance and unendurable in its style of construction. The annual contribution hitherto received from Her Majesty's Government has generally approximated, and has on more than one occasion equalled, the amount collected by the community, who would have experienced considerable difficulty in maintaining the Church if they had not been supported to this extent. A reasonable claim for this support lies, however, in the circumstance that this Church forms the principal place of worship of Her Majesty's troops stationed at Yokohama, as well as for the officers and men of Her Majesty's ships, all of whom are willingly provided with gratuitous sittings. The Chaplain, the Rev. M. B. Bailey, has officiated since the Church was first instituted in 1862, on a moderate stipend, which would be seriously affected if Her Majesty's Government were to reduce, by any material amount, the contribution hitherto granted to the Church Society. The annexed Return shows that the grant in 1868 was 467*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*, and that the average amount allowed from the time of the establishment of the Church has been 437*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*

The only suggestion I have to offer for your Lordship's consideration is whether it would be advisable to name 400*l.* as the limit of the Government grant. Some degree of convenience would be attained by the additional certainty that would thus be introduced into Church accounts and the administration of the Church, as the community would then know that their expectations must be limited to the sum named.

With reference to the appointment of a second Vice-Consul to the Kanagawa and Yeddo Consulate, in the event of the creation of the office of Judge-Consul, as proposed in my despatch of 5th November, I wish to take this opportunity of reviewing my proposal so far as to suggest that the said Vice-Consul should receive a salary of 600*l.*, and not 500*l.* as I previously recommended. It now appears to me more forcibly than before that any difference in the rate of pay between one Vice-Consul and the other would bear an invidious character, and that it would be difficult to distinguish

between the value of the services which each would be called upon to render—the one at Yeddo and the other at Yokohama. I feel also bound to add that a married Vice-Consul in this country could scarcely maintain himself and family on a smaller stipend than 600*l.*

It may be convenient that I should append, in conclusion, a summary of all the expenses paid on account of Legation and Consulates—including the salaries of Minister, Secretary of Legation, Second Secretary, and Japanese Secretary—for the year which terminated on the 31st of March, 1869. The total amount is thus shown to have been 30,196*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* No effort, I beg to assure your Lordship, shall be wanting on my part to diminish this expenditure whenever this can be done with due regard to the efficiency of the Service, but I fear that the only items in which any reduction can be looked for are those of rents and incidental expenses, and possibly, it may be hoped, in the pay of the Legation escort, when the term of five years, for which the men have been engaged, shall expire. In the meantime, I should observe that this small body of fourteen men render the Government very valuable service. They constitute the sole protection of the Legation at Yeddo, which is unapproachable by ships of war; and the necessity of such protection is proved by the fact that nine of their number have received severe wounds during their short service of less than three years, and two have been sent home disabled for life.

The expenditure thus reported upon is incurred in the protection of a trade which, when all branches of it are included—both home and local—may perhaps be not incorrectly estimated at 5,000,000*l.* sterling. It is possible that the same establishments would suffice for the superintendence of a commerce of double that amount; and, if peace could be secured, and a firm government established in this country, such an increase may be fairly expected. I should observe in this connection that I am not unmindful of your Lordship's remark that, in the Returns hitherto sent home, British trade is not distinguished, as it should have been, from that of other nations, and I shall diligently endeavour at the close of this year to furnish a closer estimate of the British trade. But I should at the same time observe that, owing to the manner in which the Custom-house books are kept in Japan, it has hitherto been found impossible to distinguish between the trade of the different nations; and even a correct return, if such were obtainable, of all the cargoes imported or exported in British ships would not furnish an accurate representation of the amount of British transactions, as the goods of foreigners are often imported in British ships, and British subjects also make frequent use of foreign vessels.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 10.

SUMMARY of Incidental Expenses at Her Majesty's Legation in Japan, 1st April, 1868, to 31st March, 1869.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Newspapers				72	16	3
Printing official notifications				90	2	0
Printed forms				20	8	0
Matting				24	18	7
Boat and coolie hire				116	17	10
Fuel				37	2	4
Flags and bunting				21	14	5
Binding archives				12	2	8
Coach, carrying mails, &c., to Yeddo				11	13	9
Telegrams				84	14	7
Illumination on Queen's birthday				5	11	4
Refitting Legation flag-staffs				54	18	0
Repairing boat				14	2	4
Freight of treasure to Hiogo Consulate				2	13	1
Sundries				49	19	4
Furniture (for details see separate Statement)				312	13	10
Official visits, &c. (ditto)				389	9	9
				1,321	17	8
Escort expenses, ordinary (ditto)	770	14	0			
Ditto, wounded men	196	18	6			
				967	12	6
Total				2,289	10	2

Amounting, in all, to 2,289*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*

Official Visits and Entertainments.

	$ c.
Visit of Her Majesty's Minister and suite to Osaka and Hiogo, on the opening of those places to foreign trade (balance)	88 52
Visit of Her Majesty's Minister and suite to Osaka, to present letters of credence to the Mikado	812 70
Visit of Her Majesty's Minister and suite to Yeddo (audience of the Mikado), boat-hire	25 0
Hotel expenses, Student Interpreters, when proceeding to their post, and subsequently on their removal from Yeddo	182 0
Hotel expenses, Mr. Hodges	7 50
Visit of Mr. Adams and Mr. Satow to north of Yezo:—	
Entertainment in Her Majesty's ship "Rattler"	485 41
Mr. Adams' second visit to Hakodate:—	
Entertainment in Her Majesty's ship "Satellite," proceeding thither	156 47
Ditto, "Argus," returning	75 29
Total	1,832 89

Equal to 389*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*

Escort Expenses.

	$ c.
Allowance to Constable Harding, for superintendence of stables, and instruction of escort in riding and sword exercise	85 86
Forage	2,168 71
Shoeing horses	360 0
Repairs to saddlery	103 93
Fuel	358 95
Medicines for men and horses	87 99
Supplies from military and other stores (steel-yard, horse-brushes, surcingles, blankets, &c.); repairs to uniform, and freight on clothing	246 64
Petty expenses (brooms, lime, &c.)	25 52
Boat and coolie hire	72 23
Allowance for subsistence to the men, when absent from their station on duty	117 0
	3,626 83
Medical and hospital expenses for wounded men	926 72
Total	4,553 55

Equal to 967*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Her Majesty's Legation, Japan, November 1869.

(Signed) J. O. S. WILKINSON, *Accountant.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 10.

STATEMENT of Incidental Expenses at Her Majesty's Consulates in Japan, 1st April, 1868, to 31st March, 1869.

	Kanagawa.	Yeddo.	Hiogo and Osaka.	Nagasaki.	Hakodate.	Niigata.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Office contingencies (ordinary)	138 16 7	14 13 3	148 12 0	162 17 0	74 12 7	24 5 4	563 16 9
Furniture	..	16 7 3	34 7 1	..	6 16 0	..	57 10 4
Total office contingencies	138 16 7	31 0 6	182 19 1	162 17 0	81 8 7	24 5 4	621 7 1
Subsistence of Crown prisoners	42 8 8	..	..	..	..	..	42 8 8
Prison contingencies	25 5 7	..	..	..	..	..	25 5 7
Taxes	..	..	..	5 2 0	..	..	5 2 0
Discount	..	..	4 5 0	46 15 0	..	..	51 0 0
New boats	35 1 3	..	34 4 3	..	..	..	69 5 6
New flagstaff	..	48 15 4	..	..	..	..	48 15 4
Removal to Yeddo of—							
Dr. Willis	..	6 8 4	..	..	..	..	6 8 4
Mr. Robertson	..	32 16 4	..	..	..	..	32 16 4
Total	241 12 1	119 0 6	221 8 4	214 14 0	81 8 7	24 5 4	902 8 10

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Her Majesty's Legation, Japan, November 1869.

(Signed) J. O. S. WILKINSON, *Accountant.*

STATEMENT of Office Contingencies, showing the Sum allowed and the Sum expended at each Consulate.

	Amount allowed by Foreign Office Regulation of April 1, 1868.	Amount Expended.	Expended in excess of Allowance.	Expended less than Allowance.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Kanagawa	125 0 0	138 16 7	13 16 7	..
Yeddo	15 0 0	31 0 6	16 0 6	..
Hiogo and Osaka	185 0 0	182 19 1	..	2 0 11
Nagasaki	125 0 0	162 17 0	37 17 0	..
Hakodate	165 0 0	81 8 7	..	83 11 5
Niigata	31 5 0	24 5 4	..	6 19 8
Total	646 5 0	621 7 1	67 14 1	92 12 0
Net balance of allowance unexpended ..	..	..	..	24 17 11

RECAPITULATION.

	£ s. d.
Office contingencies	621 7 1
Special expenses	281 1 9
Total incidental expenses	902 8 10

Amounting, in all, to 902*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Her Majesty's Legation, Japan, November 1869.

(Signed) J. O. S. WILKINSON, *Accountant.*

Inclosure 3 in No. 10.

RENT Charges incurred at Her Majesty's Legation and Consulates in Japan between the 1st of April, 1868, and the 31st of March, 1869.

LEGATION.	Rate. Month.	Rate. Year.	Portion of the Year ending March 31, 1869, for which the Rents were Payable.	Amount Payable.
Yokohama.	$	$ c.		$ c.
Rent of—				
Legation buildings	..	7,649 0	Whole year	7,649 0
Quarters for Mr. Quin and Mr. Hodges, Student Interpreters	60	..	April 6 to June 20, 1868 ..	150 0
Quarters for Mr. O'Driscoll and Mr. Hall, Student Interpreters	40	..	April 6 to June 30, 1868 ..	113 33
Quarters for Mr. Quin, Mr. Hodges, Mr. O'Driscoll, and Mr. Hall . ..	90	..	June 11, 1868, to Jan. 10, 1869	630 0
Quarters for married men of escort ..	40	..	July 1, 1868, to Feb. 28, 1869 .	320 0
Allowance to—				
Dr. Willis	50	..	April 12 to June 30 . ..	131 66
Mr. Dohmen	100	..	July 1 to Feb. 28	800 0
Yeddo.				
Rent of—				
Temporary Legation	..	1,700 0	Jan. 1 to March 31, 1869 ..	425 0
Temporary quarters for Secretary (44 bus)	..	..	Whole year	95 55
Allowance to—				
Mr. Satow	60	..	April 1 to Dec. 31, 1868 ..	540 0
Ditto	30	..	Jan. 1 to Jan. 31, 1869 ..	30 0
Mr. Mitford	30	..	Feb. 1 to March 31, 1869 ..	60 0
Mr. Von Siebold	30	..	March 14 to March 31, 1869 ..	17 42
Osaka.				
Rent of Mr. Mitford's temporary quarters ..	53⅓	..	June 5 to Oct. 15, 1868 (4½ months, Japanese.) ..	240 0
				11,201 96

Consulates.	Rate. Month.	Rate. Year.	Portions of the Year ending March 31, 1869, for which the Rents were Payable.	Amount Payable.
Kanagawa.	$	$ c.		$ c.
Rent of Consul's residence	200	..	Whole year	2,400 0
Consular offices and gaol—				
Ground rent	..	328 42	Ditto	328 42
Original rent of buildings	..	546 0	Ditto	546 0
Improvements in 1867	..	39 67	Ditto	39 67
Ditto, in 1868	..	69 50	Ditto	69 50
Allowance to—				
Mr. Schmid	50	..	Ditto	600 0
Mr. Walsh	75	..	April 1 to May 31, 1868 ..	150 0
Ditto	50	..	June 1, 1868, to Feb. 28, 1869	450 0
Dr. Willis	50	..	July 1 to December 31, 1869 ..	300 0
Mr. Dohmen	100	..	March 1 to March 31, 1869 ..	100 0
				4,983 59
Osaka.				
Rent of Consulate	60	..	Whole year	720 0
Hiogo.				
Rent of Vice-Consulate	80	..	Ditto	960 0
				1,680 0
Nagasaki.				
Ground rent of Consulate lot	..	250 32	Ditto	250 32
Rent of—				
House for Mr. Annesley	60	..	Ditto	720 0
House for Mr. Aston	50	..	Ditto	600 0
				1,570 32
Hakodate.				
Rent of—				
Consul's residence	100	..	Ditto	1,200 0
Offices	12	..	Ditto	144 0
Ground rent of site for Consulate (not built on)	..	224 54	Ditto	222 54
Annual payment for ten years to Japanese Government for construction of said site .	..	76 17	Ditto	76 17
Rent of Mr. Quin's house	20	..	Oct. 1, 1868, to Mar. 31, 1869 .	120 0
				1,762 71
Niigata.				
Rent of temporary Vice-Consulate ..	..	..	Feb. 10 to Mar. 31, 1869 ..	50 0

Recapitulation

	$ c.	$ c.
Legation		11,201 96
Consulates:—		
Kanagawa	4,983 59	
Hiogo and Osaka	1,680 0	
Nagasaki	1,570 32	
Hakodate	1,762 71	
Niigata	50 0	
		10,046 62
Total		21,248 58

Equal to 4,515*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

The foregoing statement shows the amount of rent expenses incurred at Her Majesty's Legation and Consulates in Japan during the year 1868–69. This amount differs from the amount actually paid, inasmuch as certain charges were paid during that period which have been incurred during the previous year, and other charges incurred within the year 1868–69 were not paid till after its close.

These are as follows:—

	$ c.
Rent-charges incurred during the year 1867–68, and paid during the year 1868–69:—	
Rent of Legation buildings at Yokohama, from October 1, 1867, till March 31, 1869	3,824 50
Rent allowance to Mr. Schmid. for the month of March 1868 ..	50 0
Rent of the Osaka and Hiogo Consulate and Vice-Consulate, from January 1 to March 31, 1868	420 0
Total	4,294 50

Rent-charges incurred during the year 1868–69, but not paid until after the close of that year :—

	$	c.
1. Rent of temporary Legation at Yeddo, from January 1 to March 31, 1869	425	0
2. Rent of Kanagawa Consulate offices and gaol, for the year 1868–69	983	59
3. Rent of Osaka and Hiogo Consulate and Vice-Consulate, from January 1 to March 31, 1869	420	0
4. Rent of Hakodate Consulate offices, from January 1 to March 31, 1869	36	0
5. Rent of house for Mr. Quin at Hakodate, from January 1 to March 31, 1869	60	0
6. Rent of temporary Consulate at Neegata, from February 10 to March 31, 1869	50	0
Total	1,974	59

	$	c.	£	s.	d.
Total rent-charges incurred during the year 1868–69	21,248	58	= 4,515	6	6
Amount of the rent-charges incurred during the year 1868-69, but which were not paid within that year	1,974	59	419	12	0
Rent-charges paid during the year 1868–69, on account of that year	19,273	99	4,095	14	6
Rent-charges paid during the year 1868–69, on account of the previous year	4,294	50	912	11	6
Total rent-charges paid during the year 1868–69	23,568	49	5,008	6	0

Amounting, in all, to 23,568 dollars 49 cents, equal, at the rate of 4*s.* 3*d.* to the dollar, to 5,008*l.* 6*s.*

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Her Majesty's Legation, Japan, November 1869.

(Signed) J. O. S. WILKINSON, *Accountant.*

Inclosure 4 in No. 10.

STATEMENT of Furniture purchased at Her Majesty's Legation and Consulates in Japan during the year ending 1st April, 1869.

LEGATION.

	$	c.
June Quarter, 1868.		
2 iron safes, at 35 dolllars	70	0
1 dinner set, complete	75	0
Knives, forks, and spoons	67	83
Glasses, cups, saucers, &c.	105	25
Lamp-wicks, &c.	34	50
Glasses and toilet sets	71	50
1 plate chest	300	0
2 book-cases, at 27 dollars each	54	0
1 keyaki office desk	25	0
4 easy chairs, at 51 dollars each	204	0
2 easy bhairs, at 35 dollars each	70	0
2 keyaki office desks, at 21 dollars each	42	0
6 revolving chairs, at 4 dollars each	24	0
5 sofas, at 6 dollars 67 cents each	33	35
12 chairs, at 2⅓ dollars each	28	0
4 towel-stands, at 1 dollar 34 cents each	5	36
12 chairs, at 2 dollars each	24	0
6 chairs for office, at 2 dollars each	12	0
December Quarter, 1868.		
2 washing-stands, painted deal, at 2 dollars	4	0
4 towel stands, at 42 cents each	1	68
1 small hard wood table	1	65
March Quarter, 1869.		
1 office table, for Yeddo Legation	13	33
Furniture for Minister's reception-room in Yeddo :—		
18 chairs, at 2⅔ dollars each	48	0
6 couches, at 3⅙ dollars each	19	0
Covering same with grey calico, and stuffing with cotton, at 4 dols. 50 c	27	0
Stuff for covering couches	37	0
Wages of tailor, &c., covering same	15	0
	1,412	45

	$	c.
1 envelope case	3	0
2 coal scuttles	6	0
1 door-scraper	2	50
1 lamp	6	0
1 bell rope	1	50
Presses for unbound archives	40	0
	1,471	45

Yeddo Vice-Consulate.

March Quarter, 1869.

6 office chairs	22	0
1 office table	7	0
2 square office tables	7	0
1 office desk	16	0
1 office archive press	13	0
3 forms for use in Court room	12	0
	77	0

Hiogo and Osaka.

June Quarter, 1868.

1 office table	3	0
1 office desk	6	66
1 ditto	12	0
4 ditto, at 20 dollars	80	0
2 archive presses, with locks, at 30 dollars	60	0
	161	66

Nagasaki.

Nil.

Hakodate.

June Quarter, 1868.

1 norimon (sedan-chair), for official visits	12	0
2 archive presses, at 10 dollars	20	0
	32	0

RECAPITULATION.

	$	c.
Legation	1,471	45
Yeddo Vice-Consulate	77	0
Hiogo and Osaka	161	66
Hakodate	32	0
Total	1,742	11

Amounting, in all, to 1,742 dollars 11 cents, equal, at 4*s.* 3*d.*, to the dollar, to 370*l.* 4*s.*

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Her Majesty's Legation, Japan, November 1869.

(Signed) J. O. S. WILKINSON, *Accountant.*

Inclosure 5 in No. 10.

STATEMENT of Expenditure for Buildings and Repairs of Her Majesty's Legation in Japan, between the 1st of April, 1868, and the 1st of April, 1869.

	$	c.
June Quarter, 1868.		
Flooring escort stables at Hiogo	28	4
Stove and piping for Japanese Secretary's office	22	0
Repairing Student Interpreter's quarters	32	0
Stone cooking-range in ditto	7	0
September Quarter, 1868.		
Student Interpreter's quarters :—		
Fitting-up room for teachers	32	52
Sliding partition in teachers' room	7	15
Repairs to quarters of married men of escort	104	14
Repairs to Mr. Mitford's quarters at Osaka	62	73
December Quarter, 1868.		
Sheet-iron for stove-piping for Legation in Yokohama and Yeddo	110	46
Fitting-up stoves at Yokohama	44	43
Fitting-up stoves in Mr. Dohmen's quarters	5	70
Two stoves	13	50
Repairs to quarters of married men of escort	2	0

March Quarter, 1869.

	$	c.
Repairs to Mr. Mitford's quarters in Yeddo	120	60
Pipe for stove in laundry of Minister's residence at Yokohama	20	50
Glass in Japanese Secretary's office at ditto	3	0
Glass in Student Interpreter's quarters at ditto	9	0
Iron for stove-piping in Accountant's quarters at ditto	11	76
Erection of escort stables at Hiogo, and flooring same with stone	80	0
Total for Legation	716	53

Equal to 152*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*

Paid on Account of the Yeddo Vice-Consulate.

Altering and remodelling a stone godown, to serve as a Vice-Consulate office ..	550	0
Sundry repairs and alterations to Vice-Consul's residence and office	187	23
Total for Yeddo Vice-Consulate	737	23

Equal to 156*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*

RECAPITULATION.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
For Legation	152	5	3
For Yeddo Vice-Consulate	156	13	3
Total	308	18	6

Amounting, in all, to 308*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Her Majesty's Legation, Japan, November 1869.

(Signed) J. O. S. WILKINSON, *Accountant.*

Inclosure 6 in No. 10.

RETURN showing the Number of Prisoners confined in British Consular Gaol at Kanagawa during the Year 1868, and those which received Medical Attention.

Days.	Total Number of Days that Men were Confined.																										Long Period.			Total.	
	1	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	21.	25.	28.	30.	31.	35.	42.	54.	60.	84.	92.	233.	Years. 6.	Years. 2.	No. of Days Completed.	Men.	Days.
British	1	5	2	2	..	1	6	2	3	6	1	2	1	35	6	24	6	5	3	1	2	9	1	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	129	..
United States	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	309	21	..
"	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	375		..
Italians	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..
Prussians	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..
Portuguese	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
Total Number of Days	1	30	6	16	5	6	49	32	27	60	11	24	13	490	135	546	275	140	120	31	105	378	54	60	420	92	233	..	..	684	162	4,043

Days.	Total Number of Days each Man received Medical Attention.															Total.	
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	10.	11.	12.	13.	15.	35.	37.	42.	74.	Men.	Days.
British	1	6	7	11	4	1	11	1	2	4	2	1	1	1	1	..	54	..
United States	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..
Total Number of Days	1	12	21	44	20	6	84	10	22	48	26	15	35	37	42	74	56	497

N.B.—No men of any other Nationality were confined in the British Consular Gaol during the year 1868.

NOTE of Cost of Post-mortem Examinations, 1868 :—

	Dols.	c.
Dr. Dalliston—1 seaman drowned	10	0
" 1 " "	10	0
" 1 " "	10	0
Dr. Patullo—1 soldier killed	14	50
Total	44	50

Yokohama, October 19, 1869.

(Signed) FRED. LOWDER.

Inclosure 7 in No. 10.

ACCOUNT of Public Money expended on Churches and Chaplains in Japan between the 1st of April, 1868, and the 31st of March, 1869.

September 3, 1868.

	£	s.	d.
Amount paid as the contribution of Her Majesty's Government to the support of the Episcopal Church Establishment at Kanagawa, being equal to the amount contributed by British residents for the same purpose, during the year 1867	467	1	3

Amounting, in all, to 467*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*

GOVERNMENT Contributions to the Kanagawa Episcopal Church since its Establishment.

	£	s.	d.
Paid in the financial year 1863	346	17	6
„ 1864	512	10	0
„ 1864	173	6	3
„ 1865	200	0	0
„ 1865	100	0	0
„ 1866	400	0	0
„ 1867	387	3	5
„ 1868	467	1	3
„ 1869	473	4	9
	3,060	3	2
Average of seven years' contributions	437	3	4

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Her Majesty's Legation, Japan, November 1869.

(Signed) J. O. S. WILKINSON, *Accountant.*

Inclosure 8 in No. 10.

SUMMARY of Expenses incurred at Her Majesty's Legation and Consulates in Japan during the Year ending the 31st of March, 1869.

	£	s.	d.
Salaries (including those of Diplomatic officers)	15,840	2	2
Allowances	321	4	4
Wages	2,460	2	3
Pay of Legation escort	1,801	8	11
Outfit	466	0	0
Transport	618	14	8
Postage	15	12	2
Rent	5,008	6	0
Contribution to church establishment	467	1	3
Incidental expenses	3,191	19	0
Relief of distressed British subjects	5	19	0
Total	30,196	9	9

Amounting, in all, to 30,196*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Her Majesty's Legation, Japan, November, 1869.

(Signed) J. O. S. WILKINSON, *Accountant.*

No. 11.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received January* 10, 1870.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, November* 19, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to forward copy of a despatch I have received from Mr. Lowder, Her Majesty's officiating Consul at Kanagawa, on the subject of the proposed appointment of a Judge Consul at this port.

I share Mr. Lowder's view that, in case such an appointment be made, it would be desirable that it should be open to Consular Officers in Japan who may succeed in qualifying themselves to fill it. At the present time, however, no Consular officer has studied for the bar, though I shall request your Lordship's permission to continue in a subsequent despatch the consideration of the question, whether facilities might not be afforded them by Her Majesty's Government for doing so.

I observe that the return appended to Mr. Lowder's despatch, does not state the number of the cases that were subject to appeal. Many of the civil cases, I presume were heard summarily; and the criminal cases include I understand those of the police sheet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 11.

Consul Lowder to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Kanagawa, November* 17, 1869.

UNDERSTANDING that it is in contemplation to recommend to Her Majesty's Government the institution of a change in the Japan Consular Service, I have the honour to submit for your consideration the following remarks upon the subject. I allude to the proposed appointment of a Judge Consul to Yokahama, which office I believe it is proposed should be open to Barristers or legally educated men only.

If I am correct in this surmise, there can be no doubt that the change, if made at once, would tend materially to affect the position of officers now holding appointments in the service; for they have naturally hoped that upon the condition of their perfecting themselves as far as possible in a knowledge of the duties which they have hitherto been called upon to perform, they may look eventually to rise to the highest position in the Consular service. Thus, the abolishment of the principal office, and the creation of a new one, to a tenure of which they are precluded from attaining, would be a great disappointment to all.

Notwithstanding this, every one must of course be prepared to acknowledge, that individual interests must be sacrificed to the general efficiency of the service; and that if the time has arrived when it is necessary for the well-being of the community of Yokohama that a Judge Consul should be appointed, it is also requisite that the appointment should be given to one who is able to perform the functions of the new office.

Whether this time has arrived or not must of course be left to higher authority to determine, but I venture to draw your attention to the inclosed return of cases which have been decided by Consuls since the opening of this port, from which I submit it may be gathered, comparing the number of decisions with the number of appeals, and considering that a very small number of decisions have been reversed on appeal, that the judicial business of the Consulate has heen well and satisfactorily performed. And from this return it may be argued that the efficiency of the service, compared with the present requirements of the community, is such as, without prejudice to either, will allow of the date of the proposed change being postponed until such time as men in the service may have been afforded an opportunity of fitting themselves for the appointment; for which purpose I would submit that the leave of absence of those who may wish to qualify might be extended to two or two-and-a-half years, at the end of which time they might be called to the bar.

As a further argument in favour of my suggestion, I would submit that other than judicial services are required of a Consul. In this Consulate that portion of the business does not occupy more than half his time, and if it be granted that purely Consular duties (which sometimes require prompt action, the responsibility of which can only be taken by experienced officers) can be better performed by a man who has had some eight or ten years' practical experience, than by one entirely new to the work, and that the judicial business has been efficiently performed, it is difficult to see why such a change should be considered necessary at the present moment.

If, however, it is nevertheless thought requisite that the appointment of a Judge-Consul should be made at once, then I would venture to ask that it may be understood that this shall not form a precedent for the exclusion of members of the present Consular Service from succeeding to the office; for the Kanagawa Consulate is the

chief prize which the service holds out, and I suppose that its ultimate attainment is the hope of almost every man in the service.

It is not without diffidence that I offer these few suggestions, as I feel that they are dictated more or less by selfish motives; but I trust that you will see in them only a desire that the interests of officers in the service may be upheld where these do not militate against the efficiency of the service generally.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRED. LOWDER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 11.

RETURN showing the number of Cases determined in Her Majesty's Consular Court at Kanagawa since its Establishment, and the number of Appeals from Consular Decisions.

Year.	Number of Civil Cases.	Number of Criminal Cases.	Appeals in Civil Cases.	Appeals in Criminal Cases.
1859	1	..	..	..
1860	6	9	1	1
1861	2	4	..	..
1862	12	12	..	..
1863	12	15	..	..
1864	31	70	3	..
1865	47	152	2	2
1866	91	146	1	..
1867	106	153	1	..
1868	99	163	4	1
1869, to date ..	106	277	4	..
Total . ..	513	1,001	16	4

(Signed) FRED. LOWDER.

British Consulate, Kanagawa, November 17, 1869.

No. 12.

Sir E. Hornby to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 27.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, October* 23, 1869.

MY attention having been called to the press of judicial and magisterial work at Yokohama, and the inability, owing to a variety of causes, of the Consular staff at that port to cope with it, I determined as soon as I could conveniently leave Shanghae to pass some weeks in Japan. Mr. Consul Fletcher's illness and death, and the changes which then took place, had caused considerable arrears of business. Several of the pending cases involved difficult points of law, and most of them were, pecuniarily at least, of considerable importance to the parties interested. In the police and summary court I found there was a great deal of work to attend to, and as the whole judicial business has to be done by Her Majesty's Consular Officers, who have no legal education, and who are besides very young and inexperienced, the hearing of cases occupies a great deal of time, and the result is often most unsatisfactory. I do not think, however, that it would be fair to attribute any blame to the officers themselves, they conscientiously endeavour to do the work before them, but as they have neither the necessary education or experience the result is as unsatisfactory to themselves as it is to the public. Indeed, their position is very like what mine would be if your Lordship insisted upon appointing me to the post of chief surgeon to a London hospital.

I found Sir Harry Parkes very anxious to find a remedy for this state of things, and very desirous that I should join him in recommending the appointment of a permanent judicial officer for Japan. I felt there was very little chance of inducing Her Majesty's Government to consent to such a proposal unless we could see our way to suggest a plan which would not necessarily entail any additional expense; I am on my part willing to curtail the staff of the Supreme Court, in view of the possible diminution of the business from Japan by dispensing with the services of the Assistant Judge, provided I can be supplied with a second Law Secretary, and, after some consideration and conversation, Sir H. Parkes seemed to think that by

following the course pursued at Constantinople, of amalgamating the two offices of Judge and Consul, the present Consular salary at Yokohama might in conjunction with the saving to be effected in the staff of the Supreme Court at Shanghae, provide the salary of a "Judge-Consul." Sir Harry would thus provide 1,000*l.* a-year, and probably also another 100*l.*, by reducing one of the outlying Vice-Consulates, and the saving I should effect of about 800*l.*, would provide for the salary of a Judge and Clerk, while one of the Legation houses could be given to the Judge for a residence, and the Clerk would have quarters found him in the Consulate. If this plan should meet your Lordship's approval, my staff would be reduced by the transfer of the Assistant Judge to Yokohama, his place being supplied by a Senior Law Secretary, my present Law Secretary, Mr. Mowat, retaining his present position. The Assistant Judge's salary is now 1,200*l.* and 700*l.* house allowance, deduct 800*l.* from these two sums and there would remain 1,100*l.*, of which 750*l.* might be considered salary and 350*l.* a-year house allowance for the Senior Law Secretary. The Yokohama staff would be reduced by the salary of a Consul whose services would be dispensed with, and thus the salary of a Judge, say at 1,200*l.* rising to 1,500*l.*, and of a Clerk at 400*l.*, would be provided. Nine-tenths of the work in the Yokohama Consulate is judicial, a Vice-Consul and an ordinary clerk can do the shipping business and prepare the accounts and returns for the Board of Trade, and most of the questions that arise out of this latter branch are legal in their character, having generally reference to the meaning of the Merchant Shipping Act, so that a judicial officer could well perform the Consular duties, and when communication was necessary with the local authorities such could be as well, if not better, made by the Judge-Consul through one of the Interpreters of the Legation attached to the Consulate, or through the Shipping Vice-Consul if he happened to know Japanese. I would endeavour also still further to assist the carrying out of this plan by lending, at least for a time, one of my Clerks who is experienced in the details of judicial business, so that at the commencement it would be unnecessary to make a new appointment of a clerk, and thus for the time until it was seen how the whole worked, a temporary further reduction of expenditure would be effected which might become permanent.

I do not propose that the appellate jurisdiction should be taken away from Shanghae. The Judge in Japan should remain subordinate to the Chief Judge in China so far as Yokohama is concerned, but himself hear all the Japan Appeal cases from the outlying Consulates; but there should be no appeal as a matter of right from the decision of the Yokohama Judge to the Chief Judge, except in cases involving larger amounts than 5,000 dollars, unless the Judge should himself sanction an appeal in cases of smaller amounts, thus throwing on him the responsibility of sending forward frivolous cases. I propose also that the Judge at Yokohama should act as Law Officer to the Legation, so that all claims on the part of merchants against the Japanese Authorities or princes should be first sifted by him before they are sent up to the Minister, in this way the latter would be saved a great deal of trouble, and many frivolous and absurd claims would be summarily rejected before being brought to the notice of the Japanese Authorities.

No. 13.

Consul-General Knox to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received September* 20.)

My Lord, *Bangkok, July* 24, 1869.

AS instructed by your Lordship, I have the honour to inclose a Statement showing the numbers and rates of pay of all servants engaged at Bangkok on this Consulate on the 1st of April, 1868. Also, I beg to inclose a Statement of the rents and rent allowances payable at this Consulate on the 1st of April, 1868.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS GEORGE KNOX.

Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

STATEMENT showing the Numbers and Rates of Pay of all Servants employed on Her Majesty's Service on the Consular Establishment at Bangkok, on the 1st of April, 1868.

Capacity.	Rate of Wages per Month.	Sterling.
	Ticals	£ s. d.
Chief Constable, 60 dollars	100	12 10 0
Second Constable, 12 dollars	20	2 10 0
Gaol Attendant	12	1 10 0
Head Writer	15	1 17 6
Second Writer	12	1 10 0
2 Messengers, at 8 ticals per man	16	2 0 0
Porter	8	1 0 0
Head Boatman	10	1 2 0
12 boatmen, at 8 ticals per man	96	12 0 0
2 Watchmen, at 8 ticals per man	16	2 0 0
Total	305	38 2 6

The only change since the above date is the engagement of a third Writer, at the rate of 12 ticals per month, reported in Explanatory Statement for Quarter ended June 1868, also in Explanatory Statement for Quarter ended December 1868.

British Consulate-General, Bangkok, July 26, 1869.

Inclosure 2 in No. 13.

STATEMENT of the Rents and Rent Allowances payable at Her Majesty's Consulate at Bangkok, on the 1st of April, 1868.

	£ s. d.
Rent allowance payable to Dr. James Campbell, at the rate of 25 dollars per month	5 4 2

Sanctioned by Foreign Office despatch of October 5, 1859.

British Consulate-General, Bangkok, July 24, 1869.

No. 14.

*Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Treasury.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 17, 1870.

I AM directed by the Earl of Clarendon to transmit to you, for the consideration of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the accompanying drafts of the Estimates for services in China, Japan, and Siam, for the year ending the 31st of March, 1871, together with copies of the Reports from Her Majesty's Ministers and Consuls in those countries, upon which these Estimates have been framed.†

These Reports, which, as their Lordships will perceive, are of a very comprehensive character, have enabled Lord Clarendon to make the most searching inquiry into the nature of the expenditure at the Legations and Consulates, and to judge how far, and in what respects, that expenditure will admit of reduction without impairing the efficiency of services on which such important political and mercantile interests depend.

Before proceeding to explain the Draft Estimates in detail, it may be convenient that I should state the general conclusions at which Lord Clarendon has arrived.

The despatch from Sir R. Alcock which forms the first of the series of papers which I inclose, contains a review of the extent and value of the British trade with China, showing that of the total foreign trade with China, of 42,070,788*l.*, 36,949,604*l.* was in British goods, while of the total foreign shipping employed more than half was under the British flag, 7,165 vessels with a tonnage of 3,332,092 tons out of a total of 13,504 vessels with a tonnage of 6,385,771.

The steady increase of British trade with China is further illustrated by the Returns of the Imperial Maritime Customs, which were reprinted in this country and presented to Parliament last year,‡ from which it will be seen that the import of grey shirtings and

* Part of this letter has already been presented to Parliament: see "China, No. 3 (1870)."

† See Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13; also "China, No. 3 (1870)."

‡ See "China, No. 11 (1869.)"

T-cloths (articles of purely British manufacture) had risen respectively from 2,398,410 pieces and 730,604 pieces in 1867, to 4,768,151 pieces and 2,049,521 pieces in 1868.

That this is not an exceptional increase is apparent from the fact, that at the port of Shanghae, the import of grey shirtings and T-cloths in the first six months of 1869 amounted, respectively, to 2,933,341 pieces and 1,413,758 pieces, as against 2,070,782 pieces and 588,825 in the first six months of 1868, the imports in the first six months of 1867 being 1,231,710 pieces and 316,211 pieces, and, for the same period in 1866 890,366 pieces and 48,976 pieces.*

Sir R. Alcock was especially instructed to report upon the supposed tendency of foreign trade to pass into Chinese hands, and the manner in which such a change in the direction of trade would influence the relations between British and Chinese subjects, so as to admit of the withdrawal, wholly, or in part, of Consular protection at the Treaty ports.

In the despatch to which I am now referring Sir R. Alcock states his opinion that more weight has been given to the assertion that the trade is passing into Chinese hands than a full examination of the facts would justify, and that there are contrary tendencies at work. For instance, a direct trade in imports has sprung up within the last three years at Che-foo, Tien-tsin, and New-chwang, "which is rapidly increasing, and promises not only to assume larger proportions and be permanent, but also to establish in the hands of foreigners a trade which, as indirect, in the year 1866 was perceptibly passing into the hands of Chinese."

Sir R. Alcock adds that, "assuming, however, that the preponderating influence tends to restrict or diminish the number of British residents at the secondary ports, it cannot be rightly argued that the necessity for any Consular establishment is by so much diminished; first, because, whether many or few, there must be some Consular authority to protect and control; and, secondly, because the number of British ships and sailors brought to the port increases in a much larger proportion than the residents diminish, and these require much more looking after, and give a great deal more work, than the merchants located at the port."

Consul Medhurst, whose long experience of China enables him to speak with authority on this subject, while his position in the service precludes his being unconsciously influenced by personal reasons in favour of the maintenance of a large Consular establishment, expresses himself still more forcibly:—

"First, as regards direct trade. The Chinese take no share in importing manufactures and other merchandise from Great Britain, nor are they likely to do so until they establish native agencies at home,—a very remote contingency indeed. . . . Second, coast-trade. In this branch . . . the Chinese are daily taking an increasing share. . . . Nor is it a matter, I conceive, to be at all deprecated; for, after all, the merchandise which is thereby distributed is principally British, and an increased development of the general trade is the result. It must not be lost sight of, however, that, apart from British influence, association, and protection, and those of other nations in a minor degree, such a trade could not for a moment exist."†

These views are corroborated in a remarkable degree by the memoranda furnished to Mr. Medhurst by two of the merchants at Shanghae.‡

These memoranda, which no doubt faithfully represent the views of the British mercantile community in China, agree that the entire direct import of British manufactures is in the hands of foreigners, principally Englishmen, as well as the direct export trade. "On the question of this trade passing into the hands of the Chinese there can be but one opinion,—such is not the case; and that the Chinese do participate in it at all is solely due to the facilities afforded to them by foreigners, without whom they could do absolutely nothing."

Both the writers point out that the indirect or distributing trade in which the Chinese have appropriated the local business is nevertheless carried on in foreign bottoms, and is dependent on foreign protection.

"Foreign protection to trade at all the open ports is and must remain the condition of its satisfactory continuance. So far as the main articles of trade are concerned, everything is carried under a foreign flag."

The reports from the other Consulates are in the same strain.

Consul Robertson, whose knowledge of China is probably unrivalled, states that:—

"The old junk trade is entirely annihilated, and Chinese goods and passengers proceed by foreign steamers or sailing-vessels only. . . . . .

"The tendency is to employ foreign steamers and vessels, and whether their cargoes are British-owned or not is of no consequence, for until they are discharged they are under British protection. Indeed, the probability is, goods will always arrive consigned to some

* See "China, No. 3 (1870)," page 19. † Ibid., page 16. ‡ Ibid., page 17.

foreign firm, who will take delivery, and subsequently hand them over to the real owners, the Chinese; and, on the contrary, I am inclined to think a change in the destination of trade, if change of hands may be so termed, is likely to originate more causes for Consular interference from questions of ownership and contracts, and the many causes of dispute which arise, than exist when it is solely in foreign hands; and the more it increases the greater will be the employment of our ships, both with steamers and sailing-vessels."*

It is unnecessary to give further extracts from these reports, but I am to request that you will call the attention of the Board of Treasury to the opinion expressed by Mr. Acting Consul King† as to the importance of retaining a Consul at New-chwang, with a view to the prospective advantages to be derived from the more general opening of Manchouria to foreign commerce and industry, and also to the Report from Consul Markham of the gradual growth of a direct trade with Great Britain at Che-foo.‡

On a review of the independent statements thus received from various parts of China, Lord Clarendon considers that it is shown:—

1. That the direct import trade, as well as the export trade,§ in articles of European consumption remains, and is likely to continue to remain, in foreign hands.

2. That should the indirect or distributing trade be undertaken entirely by Chinese instead of by foreign Commission Agents, as seems probable except perhaps as regards opium,‖ the result may be expected to be beneficial to British trade and shipping, as it will be followed by an increased demand for foreign goods and by the extended employment of foreign vessels.

3. That this indirect or distributing trade, on which the general trade depends, has been created and is maintained by the opening to foreign commerce of the several provincial districts of China by means of the Consular Treaty ports as ports of entry.

4. That, as in the present condition of the country, the distributing trade can only be effectually carried on in foreign vessels, Consular establishments will continue to be required as heretofore at the subsidiary as well as at the primary ports for their supervision and control.

5. That the withdrawal of a Consulate from a provincial district is equivalent to the abandonment of the present and prospective trade of the district, with a proportionate diminution in the general import and export trade and loss to British manufacturers, merchants, ship-owners, ship-builders and seamen.

I am to add that should the Treaty Revision Convention, of which I inclose a copy,¶ be ratified, and Europeans be admitted to travel and rent store-houses in the interior of the country for trading purposes, efficient Consular establishments will be more than ever required to insure the new tariff and transit regulations being faithfully executed by the Chinese authorities, as well as to maintain the peace, order, and good government of Her Majesty's subjects, to which Great Britain is equally pledged.

These considerations do not apply to the islands off the China coast, where the Chinese rule is scarcely established on a firm footing among an alien race, where the constant danger of collision with the people renders foreign trade precarious and uncertain, where the demand for articles of foreign produce is limited to the villages on the seaboard with little promise of any material increase, and where the exports are not of sufficient value to British commerce to entitle the trade to special encouragement or protection on their account.

As the Board of Treasury are aware the right of access to the Island of Hainan, though conceded by the Treaty of Tien-tsin and at one time reported to be of value, has never been claimed and is resigned by the recent Convention.

Sir R. Alcock has now advised the withdrawal, on grounds both of policy and economy, of the Consular establishments in the northern Island of Formosa, and, as a necessary consequence, its exclusion from British commerce.

Lord Clarendon agrees with Sir R. Alcock that the maintenance of the Consulate at Taiwan and Vice-Consulate at Tamsuy has not been attended with commercial or political advantages commensurate either with the expense attendant on it or with the difficulty

* See "China, No. 3 (1870)," page 28.

† Ibid., page 75.

‡ Ibid., page 100.

§ Of 1,540,988 piculs of tea exported in 1868, 1,012,493 piculs were shipped direct to Great Britain, and the remainder principally to British ports. (See Parliamentary Paper, China, No. 11, 1869.) The picul equals 133⅓ lbs.

‖ See Reports from Canton, Amoy, Ningpo, and Foo-chow-foo ("China No. 3, 1870").

¶ See "China, No. 2 (1870)."

experienced in the protection of the trade with the island in the face of the open hostility of the population.

At the same time Lord Clarendon could not withdraw the Consular establishments without giving at least six months' notice to British subjects engaged in the trade of the island, which, although of trifling national value, could not be relinquished precipitately without inflicting serious injury on individuals. Moreover, Lord Clarendon is disposed to instruct Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Peking to make an effort to induce the Chinese Government to exchange the Treaty ports of Formosa for the port of Ichang in the Upper Yang-tze, which would open to British trade a vast area, to which at present, while the employment of steamers is prohibited, it cannot hope to penetrate.

It may also be found necessary to retain a Consular Officer at Kelung, where the coal mines are to be worked under the Treaty Revision Convention; and, on the whole, Lord Clarendon feels that he cannot reduce the Formosa Consular establishments in the Estimates for the ensuing year.

Nor would any real economy be effected by doing so, as those establishments will, under the Convention, be supplanted by establishments required for the new Treaty port of Wen-chow and Wuhu.

The former is described by Sir R. Alcock as affording a ready exit for a sort of tea that reaches Foo-chow-foo after a long, difficult, and expensive transit, and as the port of a comparatively populous and wealthy country which promises to take many foreign commodities. It will also be of material service to British commerce as a port in the line of communication between Foo-chow-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghae.

Wuhu is situated on the Yang-tze, in the vicinity of Chin-kiang, with which it may be found practicable to combine it in a joint Consular establishment. Its opening to commerce is stated by Sir R. Alcock to be of "immense importance, if only for the reason that it makes the Province of Anhui a Treaty-port Province, and thus opens that province for the circulation of British manufactures, in accordance with the freedom and easy terms assented to" in the Convention.

Lord Clarendon is not in possession of sufficient information to enable him to judge accurately of the extent of the Consular establishments which will be required at these new ports, but he sees no reason to believe that the expense of their maintenance will not be fully covered by the saving ensuing from the withdrawal of the Formosa establishments. He will not, therefore, make any recommendation on the subject at present; but the Board of Treasury may rest assured that no steps will be taken involving any transfer of expenditure without full communication and consultation with their Lordships.

With regard to Japan, Lord Clarendon considers that there has not yet been time to form any useful opinion as to the development of British trade by the opening of the ports of Neegata, Yedo, Osaka, and Hiogo; but from the aptitude of the people for foreign civilization and the rapid progress which has been made within the last two years in consolidating the Government of the country, he sees every reason to expect that the existing British trade, estimated at 5,000,000*l.*, may soon, as Sir H. Parkes anticipates, be doubled, or at all events continue to increase in the same ratio as in China.

The question still remains whether, the Consular establishments on the mainland of China and Japan being necessary for the preservation of political and commercial interests, the staff of officers employed in them is in excess of the demands of the service.

A complete answer to this appears to Lord Clarendon to be furnished by the schedules forwarded by Sir R. Alcock and Sir H. Parkes, and by the accompanying Statement of the Distribution of the Officers of Her Majesty's Consulates in China, Japan, and Siam, at the close of the year 1869.

It will be seen from this statement, which is subject to correction when the annual Returns are received, that of the limited numbers employed in these services, seventeen were absent from China, five from Japan, and two from Siam, all but two on sick leave, and in nearly every instance after an uninterrupted residence of several years in these tropical climates.

So far from the numbers of the Consular Service in China being excessive, they have been found during the past year to be insufficient, and recourse has been obliged to be had to the employment of temporary clerks, a practice objectionable for many reasons, at Amoy, Kiu-kiang, Ningpo, and Shanghae. Sir R. Alcock, indeed, reports that in order to raise the service to its proper strength, six additional Assistants are required.

Lord Clarendon trusts that such an addition to the permanent establishments may be avoided, at least for the present, by some of the Student Interpreters, who will have completed their two years' course of study at Peking in the spring, becoming available for duty at the ports; but I mention Sir R. Alcock's recommendation as a proof that the numbers of the Consular Staff, even when thus recruited from the ranks of the Student Interpreters,

will be barely sufficient to meet the requirements of the service, when allowance is made for the constant absence of a large proportion on account of illness engendered by the climate.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, I am to express the great satisfaction which Lord Clarendon experiences at the eminently successful result, both as regards efficiency and economy, of the system commenced when his Lordship was Secretary of State in 1854, for training the junior officers as Student Interpreters, so as to give them an accurate knowledge of the language of the country before admitting them to the higher posts in the profession.

Were it not that the Assistants, who act as Clerks in the Consulates, are also as a general rule capable, when called upon, of discharging the duties of Interpreters, a much larger staff than is at present employed would inevitably be required; while the political advantages can scarcely be overrated of the Consuls and other officers in the Service being able to communicate directly with the Chinese authorities and people, instead of having perpetual recourse to the intervention of special interpreters and English-speaking Chinese.

Such a command of the language, moreover, enables them to travel freely through the interior,* and to procure reliable information as to the commercial needs and resources of many localities, which it would otherwise be both dangerous and useless to visit.

I now turn to Sir R. Alcock's second despatch, of the 29th of October, and the despatches from Sir H. Parkes and Her Majesty's Consuls, relating to the rates of salary assigned to the several grades of the Service, and the details of the Diplomatic and Consular Expenditure.

China.

Salaries.

Sir R. Alcock's recommendations with regard to a readjustment of the Diplomatic and Consular salaries are partly contingent on the occurrence of vacancies and partly immediate.

I am only to remark upon the contingent recommendations, which though useful to be borne in mind do not require present consideration, that Lord Clarendon cannot concur in any proposal for dispensing with the appointment of Secretary of Legation at Peking, as, in his Lordship's opinion, the great political advantages which have been acquired by the residence of a British Representative at Peking might at any time be seriously endangered by the want of a properly qualified officer of due Diplomatic rank to take charge of the Mission in case of the Minister's being absent or incapacitated by ill-health.

The measures which Sir R. Alcock considers should at once be carried out are :—

1. The abolition of the temporary allowances granted to meet the exceptional cost of living at certain Consulates, amounting, including an allowance of 100*l.* a-year to Her Majesty's Consul at Ningpo not specified in the Estimates, to 2,500*l.* a-year.

Instructions were sent by the mail of the 11th instant for the discontinuance of these allowances from the 1st of April next.

2. The transfer of the local audit to Peking, and the consequent saving of the Auditor-General's salary of 500*l.*

Under the new system of accounts proposed in my letter of the 13th ultimo, and approved by the Board of Treasury, the local audit will be altogether dispensed with, the salaries both of the Auditor-General and present Peking Accountant (500*l.* a-year) being saved, and the Auditor-General's Assistant being sent to Peking as an Accountant Assistant.

3. Additions to salaries as personal allowances for good service :—

	£
To Consul at Shanghae	100
„ „ Amoy	100
„ „ Ningpo	100
	£300

Permanent additions to salaries of the posts :—

	£
To Consul at Che-foo	100
„ „ Swatow	100
To Vice-Consul at Taku	100
To Interpreter to be promoted to Vice-Consul at Canton	50
Restoration of the Consulate at Chin-kiang	800
Addition to the salary of the Consul at Tien-tsin, instead of the sum now granted as a special allowance	200

* See the Reports, presented to Parliament in 1869, of the Journeys in China and Japan of Messrs. Alabaster, Oxenham, Markham, and Dr. Willis. Also Mr. Swinhoe's Report of his Journey up the Yang-tze.

Lord Clarendon would be glad to mark the appreciation he entertains of the good services of the officers on whom Sir R. Alcock proposes to confer personal allowances, as well as to improve the condition of the Consular establishments generally, by raising the salaries at the other posts mentioned; but his Lordship refrains from making any recommendation to the Board of Treasury for any addition to the present Estimates not of pressing necessity, though he may hereafter bring Sir R. Alcock's proposals again before the Board when there may be an opportunity of meeting the proposed personal allowances and additions to salaries by the contingent reductions which Sir R. Alcock contemplates.

The restoration of Chin-kiang to its position as a Consular port will, as I have already mentioned, form part of the alterations in the establishments which will be required when the new ports of Wuhu and Wen-chow are opened to trade.

With respect to the addition of 200*l.* to the salary of the Consul at Tien-tsin in lieu of the allowance now granted on account of the unavoidable expense to which he is put in receiving and entertaining official visitors passing to and from Peking, Lord Clarendon thinks that it would be desirable to retain the allowance, which is local, and therefore only payable to the officer on whom the expense of entertainment actually falls, rather than to increase the salary of the Consul; but he would be prepared to adopt the latter course should the Board of Treasury prefer it. The position of a Consul at such a place as Tien-tsin differs so essentially from that of a captain of a vessel of war, to whom the conveyance of official guests is a matter of ordinary routine, that Lord Clarendon cannot think it desirable that visitors at the Consulate should be called upon to pay for their reception. It would be better that a hotel should be attached to the Consulate, an arrangement which would probably be found neither economical nor convenient.

4. Addition of 50*l.* each to the salaries of the Assistants.

This recommendation brings prominently forward the inadequacy of the salaries of the junior officers of the Service to cope with the cost of living in a country where many of the ordinary necessaries of European life are rare and expensive luxuries.

The Reports from the Consulates, especially those from Amoy, Hankow, and Foo-chow-foo, contain such full details of the cost of living in China that it is needless to do more than call attention to them in order to show the straits to which Lord Clarendon fears that Her Majesty's Consular Officers must often be reduced in the attempt to keep free from debt, and save sufficient to pay the journey to Europe, to which a failure of health may at any time compel them to resort.

The Board of Treasury, by their Minute of the 30th of November, 1868, have recorded their judgment, that "serious pecuniary embarrassment, from whatever cause, must be a circumstance which necessarily has the effect of impairing the efficiency of a public servant;" and Lord Clarendon cannot, after a perusal of these Reports, conceal his apprehension that unless there is some revision of the salaries of the junior members of the China Consular Service—I refer more particularly to the Second and Third Assistants —their position, now that the impetus given to promotion by the opening of the Treaty ports under the Treaty of Tien-tsin has subsided, will present a most discouraging prospect.

The difficulties with which they have to contend, will be much aggravated by the withdrawal of the temporary allowances from the Shanghae, Foo-chow-foo, Hankow, and Kiu-kiang Consulates, where four out of the eight Third-Class Assistants are employed. This will be more especially felt at Shanghae, where it has always been the practice to employ a certain number of the junior officers, in order that they may obtain an insight into the conduct of business at a great port, and also have the benefit of gaining experience in magisterial duties, by attending the sittings of the Supreme and Mixed Courts.

Lord Clarendon, therefore, directs me to suggest, that if the Board of Treasury are unwilling to make the addition to the salaries of the three Classes of Assistants recommended by Sir R. Alcock, or, as an alternative, measure to raise the salaries of the Second and Third Classes respectively to 375*l* and 350*l.* a-year,* Her Majesty's Minister at Peking should be authorized to grant an annual allowance, chargeable to contingent expenditure, of 50*l.* each, to the five Assistants in the Second or Third Classes, whom he may consider to be most in want of such aid, it being understood that the grants should in no case be given to Assistants who may also be receiving allowances for acting as Interpreters.

The pressure upon the junior officers might also, Lord Clarendon considers, be further relieved, without an addition to the Estimate, by providing the Assistants with necessary furniture of a plain substantial kind, under the supervision of Major Crossman, thus exempting them from the call upon their resources from the compulsory sale and purchase of furniture when moved from port to port.

* Neither of these additions are inserted in the Estimates.

The salaries given by merchants to clerks are stated in the Consuls' Reports to average from 300*l.* a-year, with an annual increase of 100*l.*, to 800*l.* or 1,000*l.*, together with lodging, medical attendance, and board or mess-allowances, or from 250*l.* to 700*l.* a-year with board, lodging, and medical attendance, and liberty to trade on their own account.

Clerks conversant with Chinese would obtain much higher salaries either in private employment or in the Chinese-European Customs Service.

The only other addition to the salaries of the Consular Officers in China which Lord Clarendon wishes to submit for the sanction of the Board, is the insertion in the present Estimate of 400*l.* a-year as salary for Mr. Tapp, the value of whose services as Shipping Clerk at Shanghae I have, on several previous occasions, been directed to urge upon the attention of the Board. Lord Clarendon has no doubt that it is of great importance to the shipping interests of the British merchants trading with Shanghae that there should be an active officer attached to the Consulate, qualified by a practical acquaintance with harbour duties to assist the captains and mariners of the numerous British craft in their dealings with the Chinese Customs and local authorities and with the Consulate.

The number of British vessels entered and cleared at Shanghae during the year 1868 was 1,826, of 911,171 tons.

Nor are Mr. Tapp's functions confined to the shipping and harbour business, as he has also undertaken the preparation of the voluminous Statistical Tables appended to the Annual Reports from Her Majesty's Consul on the trade of Shanghae and the neighbouring district.

Lord Clarendon therefore trusts that the Board of Treasury, in view of the large reductions in salaries which will be effected in the present Estimates, will no longer hesitate to approve of Mr. Tapp's permanent engagement as Shipping Clerk.

This will only make an increase of 100*l.* in the actual expenditure, Mr. Tapp's salary as Temporary Clerk at the rate of 300*l.* having for some years past been charged as an annual allowance.

Medical Attendance.

The question as to the extent to which medical attendance should be provided at the public cost necessarily follows, and is closely connected with the consideration of the scale of the salaries of Her Majesty's Consular Officers.

Sir R. Alcock's despatch enters fully into the subject,* and recommends that instead of there being allowances only to certain Consulates as at present, the Consul at each port should be instructed to contract on the best terms he could for medical attendance, which should include the officers of the Consulate, European constables, distressed British subjects, prisoners, and seamen; and states his belief that, with the exception of Shanghae, a sum of 1,500*l.* would cover the expense at all the Consulates, with a positive economy on the total sum expended.

Lord Clarendon is disposed to concur in the view taken by Sir R. Alcock, as his Lordship believes that a system cannot but be improvident under which two Departments of Her Majesty's Government, the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, incur separate concurrent expenditure which might be dealt with and diminished by being embraced under a single contract.

The Reports from the Consulates show that it is the practice in China for medical men established at the ports to charge a fixed sum under agreement of 50 taels (about 16*l.*) for each person, medicine not included, and when such an agreement has not been entered into to charge 5 dollars, or even a larger sum, for each visit. The Board of Treasury have recently had before them an instance of the charges for medical attendance upon surgical cases of prisoners and seamen in the claim preferred against Her Majesty's Government by Dr. Carmichael at Che-foo.

When the professional prospects of the port are not such as to induce a medical man to establish himself there, the European residents, among whom Her Majesty's Consul and the Consular officers as compulsorily resident are expected to take a prominent part, have to subscribe a sum as outfit for a medical man, and to guarantee him an income of from 600*l.* to 800*l.* a-year.

While Her Majesty's Consular officers (at the ports where there is no allowance for medical attendance) have to pay thus heavily, Her Majesty's Government have two separate accounts running with the very person subsidized by the Consulate, one on account of distressed British subjects and prisoners on behalf of the Foreign Office, and another on account of distressed seamen on behalf of the Board of Trade.

If, as Sir R. Alcock supposes, by giving a fixed sum to a medical man at each port,

* See page 16.

Her Majesty's Government could secure medical attendance for the officers of the Consulates and European subordinates as well as for prisoners, distressed British subjects, and seamen, at a less cost than is now paid in the aggregate for the attendance on prisoners, distressed British subjects, and seamen alone, Lord Clarendon cannot but think that it would be most desirable to do so.

At the same time it appears to his Lordship that the cost of such an arrangement could not properly fall entirely upon the Consular Estimates, but should be partly borne or repayable by the Board of Trade.

Lord Clarendon, however, doubts whether the information furnished by the Consular Reports, or by Sir R. Alcock, is sufficient to enable such an adjustment of the expenditure on this head to be made in the present Estimates, and has, therefore, only inserted in them a sum of 1,000*l.* to meet the allowances for medical attendance as paid at the end of the past year.

The Board of Treasury will observe that this expenditure, hitherto charged to contingent expenses, is now estimated for as a separate item.

Sir R. Alcock, in his despatch of the 17th of November, gives additional reasons for such an amalgamation of Foreign Office and Board of Trade expenditure for medical attendance in regard to Shanghae, and states his opinion that it would prove a good economy to add a hospital ward to the British prison buildings now in process of construction at that port in which distressed British subjects, prisoners, deserters, and seamen, might be treated in a much more economical manner than at the general hospital of Shanghae, under a Consular medical officer with a salary of 500*l.* a year, being only 300*l.* a year more than is now paid for the attendance on prisoners, while distressed British subjects and seamen have cost in the last three years on this account 23,732 dollars (5,043*l.*)*

As Lord Clarendon understands that these buildings will not be ready for occupation this year, he has not made any provision in the Estimate for carrying out Sir R. Alcock's recommendation in this respect, though he directs me to place on record his opinion that the project is one which is well worth consideration in connection with the charges to be severally borne by the Foreign Office and Board of Trade for the medical attendance in China required for the service of each Department.

Administration of Justice.

There is another item of expenditure, hitherto charged to "Contingencies," which is now inserted in the Estimate under a separate heading, in which it seems to Lord Clarendon that the Board of Trade should properly share, viz., for the maintenance of prisoners in the Consular jails.

It appears from the analysis which has been made of the expenditure that, taking the expenditure of a single year as a guide, this amounts to about 1,500*l.*, of which more than half is incurred at Shanghae and about 400*l.* at Hong Kong.

The greater proportion, nearly the whole, of this expenditure is, as Lord Clarendon has reason to believe, on account of the imprisonment of refractory seamen and seamen who have been found guilty of crimes committed during their temporary visits to the China ports.

The increase in the employment of British shipping, which may be confidently relied on, must lead to an increased charge to Her Majesty's Government, both for medical attendance and administration of justice; and Lord Clarendon, viewing this expenditure as peculiarly incidental to the local trade, would be glad to be favoured with the opinion of the Board of Treasury whether, if the Board of Trade concurred, it would not be advisable to provide for it, as his Lordship is informed is the case at Hong-Kong, by a small tonnage duty (say 6*d.* per ton) on British vessels, to be payable only at certain intervals as regards coasting and short voyage or regular passenger ships.

Lord Clarendon would not propose to make the duty higher than absolutely necessary for providing a proper Seamen's Hospital at Shanghae and medical attendance at the other ports, with such prison buildings as may be required.

To impose any considerable tax would, his Lordship is aware, be to establish a differential duty against British vessels, and to lose the advantages of the carrying trade in which this country is outstripping other nations; but he cannot but see that some steps should be taken to relieve the China Consular Estimates from the burden with which they are threatened when the prison buildings at Shanghae are completed, and when the question how the expenditure incurred on account of prison administration should be provided for will become urgent.

* See page 36.

Salaries of Writers and Linguists.

The China Consular Estimates have since the year 1867-68 contained a charge of 2,800*l.* for Writers and Linguists. This charge was previously detailed to each Consulate, and it will be seen from the Returns now supplied that the expenditure on this head has been on the increase at some Consulates, though reduced at others.*

The persons employed as Writers and Linguists are of such a special class that Lord Clarendon is unwilling to enforce any sudden reduction in the expenditure, as it might be impossible for Her Majesty's Consuls at the several ports to procure equally efficient public servants at lower rates of salary, but his Lordship will send stringent instructions to those Consulates at which it has been exceeded to endeavour to bring back their expenditure on this account to the scale of 1866-67. At Canton, from the great increase of Chinese correspondence which has arisen from the friendly relations which Mr. Consul Robertson entertains with the present Viceroy, this may probably be impracticable; but the high salary of the Writer at Tamsuy will be saved by the removal of the Vice-Consulate, and some saving should also be made, if possible at, Hankow.

There is a charge for Teachers to Student Interpreters, formerly classed with general wages, which Lord Clarendon has caused to be estimated for separately. Sir R. Alcock states it at 573*l.* 15*s.* for salaries of fifteen Teachers for Student Interpreters at 38*l.* 5*s.* a-year.

As there are seldom fifteen Students at a time at Peking, Lord Clarendon has only estimated for eleven, thus reducing the charge by 153*l.* As, however, his Lordship would be most reluctant to hinder in any way the efforts which Mr. Wade has made to maintain a high standard of Chinese scholarship in the Students, this reduction must be considered as dependent on Mr. Wade's agreeing that the services of these teachers can properly be dispensed with.

Wages of Constables, Coolies, Boatmen, &c.

In revising the Consular expenditure Lord Clarendon has been struck by the large amount charged at the China Consulates for wages for office servants, and, as the most effectual means of checking it, he proposes to reduce the establishment of servants of this class from the 1st of June next by placing each Consulate on a fixed allowance, calculated on the scale laid down in the inclosed Statement, making a total reduction, compared with the Return furnished by Sir R. Alcock, of 1,200*l.* a-year for wages, which will be accompanied by a considerable saving in gratuities, clothing, and incidental expenses.

The servants whose numbers it is proposed to reduce are the Boatmen, Messengers, Grooms at Peking, and Watchmen. As the Consular buildings are under the superintendance of an officer of the Board of Treasury, now in England, the Board will no doubt consult him as to the expediency of making the reduction contemplated in the number of Watchmen.

As, however, it is scarcely possible for any one not on the spot to lay down precisely the wants of each Consulate, Lord Clarendon does not desire to tie down Her Majesty's Consuls to the employment of the number of servants allotted to each Consulate, provided that the annual expense for wages does not exceed the amount allowed.

Both in regard to the wages of Office Servants and the salaries of Writers and Linguists, the Board of Treasury will observe that the Estimate as detailed is a net estimate framed on Sir R. Alcock's Returns.

Lord Clarendon has preferred to lay the Estimate before the Board in this detail in order to show the Board as far as possible the exact expenditure in each item of charge; but should it be deemed convenient to take the sums in a different manner, Lord Clarendon leaves it to the Board of Treasury to communicate with the Chief Clerk of this Office as to any alterations which they may wish to have made in the shape in which these Estimates are drawn up.

Lord Clarendon apprehends that, for the first year, it will not be practicable to balance the estimate and expenditure so closely as to prevent an excess occurring on some of the charges.

Office Allowances.

In a similar manner the allowances for petty office expenses and purchase of coal, instead of being estimated for in a lump sum under the head of Contingent Expenditure, have been stated in detail on page 10.

* See page 30.

Rent.

As the rents and buildings in China and Japan are under the immediate control of the Board of Treasury, Lord Clarendon leaves it to the Board to determine on the amount which should be estimated for an account of rents and rent allowances; but a round sum, founded on information supplied by Major Crossman, has been taken, so as not to leave the Estimate incomplete, of 3,450*l.* for China, and 4,050*l.* for Japan, together with 63*l.* for the house-rent allowance of the Medical Officer at Bangkok.

Part of this expenditure is on account of the hire of temporary accommodation during the construction of Consular buildings, and I am to state that it appears to Lord Clarendon that this portion of it is properly chargeable to Vote 1, Class I, and should be paid out of the funds supplied to Major Crossman.

A saving has been made under this head, at the desire of the Board of Treasury, of about 250*l.*, by the discontinuance of the insurance of the Consulates in China and Japan.

Contingent Expenditure.

After the petty expenses of the Consulates are provided for by the fixed allowances, there still remain certain charges varying from year to year in their nature, but averaging about the same amount, which must be anticipated and estimated for.

Lord Clarendon trusts that by the new system of account which will shortly be in operation, introducing the direct supervision of the Consular expenditure by this Department instead of the correspondence passing as heretofore through the Legation, this contingent expenditure may be kept under; but he cannot expect it to be less (including the Extraordinary Expenditure of the Legations) than 3,000*l.* for China, 1,000*l.* for Japan, and 500*l.* for Siam.

Chapels and Chaplains.

By the strict investigation of the accounts of the Church Establishments which has been carried out during the past year, a considerable reduction, as the Board of Treasury have already been informed, has been effected under this head, and a saving as against the Estimate of 1869-70 of 1,800*l.* will result in the Votes for the present year.

The sum of 1,200*l.* which is retained is to provide for the salary of the Chaplain at Peking, the allowances payable for the half-year in closing the Government account with the Church Establishments at Canton and Kiu-kiang, and the grants to the Church Establishments at Foo-chow-foo and Kanagawa. All further grants have also been refused to the Establishments at Hankow and Shanghae.

Legation Escorts.

In consequence of the period for which the escort first appointed to Peking had been engaged having expired, an exceptional expenditure for passages and outfits was incurred during the years 1868-69 and 1869–70. The attack on Sir H. Parkes at Kioto, and the hospital expenses and passage home of the wounded men of his escort, also swelled the charges in Japan. Lord Clarendon, therefore, has considered that it will not be necessary to take so large an amount for the ensuing, as has been required for the current, year. The Estimate is accordingly reduced by 1,566*l.*, of which 500*l.** may be reckoned as saved by the numbers of the Peking escort being now four men and a sergeant, instead of six men and a sergeant.

Lord Clarendon will take the earliest opportunity of making an equivalent reduction in the Japan escort, but he cannot recommend such a reduction while the country continues in its present unsettled political state.

Only five months ago an attempt was made to assassinate Sir H. Parkes in the streets of Yedo, and rumours have recently been reported of an intention to make an attack on the Legation.

JAPAN.

Salaries.

The Board of Treasury will find, in the Reports from Sir H. Parkes and Sir E. Hornby, the reasons which induce Lord Clarendon to recommend that an alteration should be made

* Neither Sir R. Alcock nor Sir H. Parkes, in their Returns of Escort Expenditure, take account of the heavy charges in England for kit and clothing, and the probable cost of remounts, which may have to be incurred during the year.

in the Japan Consular Establishment, which will, he is confident, prove of great public advantage, and at the same time reduce the expenditure.

The want of a qualified judicial officer of legal standing has for some time past, indeed ever since the trade with Japan has been firmly established, been grievously felt, and has only partially been supplied, and then at great inconvenience and expense, by the Chief Judge going on circuit from Shanghae.

The death of the late Consul Fletcher having left the Consulate vacant, the idea naturally suggested itself of appointing a Judge-Consul, but Lord Clarendon, after considering the arguments which could be adduced in favour of such an appointment, has decided that it would be better to merely change the residence of the Deputy Judge from Shanghae to Kanagawa, thus leaving him free to act, when required, as Chief Judge, and to appoint a Vice-Consul at Kanagawa, with a salary of 600*l.* a-year, to perform the commercial duties of the Consulate, and to communicate, under the instructions of Her Majesty's Minister at Yedo, with the local authorities.

This arrangement will avoid the necessity of appointing a Judge-Consul on a salary of 1,500*l.* a-year, the lowest salary which could be offered to him, and will save 400*l.* a-year, the difference between the salary of the late Consul, 1,000*l.* a-year, and the proposed salary of the Vice-Consul.

A further saving will be made by the abolition of the post of Accountant, 500*l.* a year, which will be rendered unnecessary by the new system of accounts.

The Accountant, who is also Interpreter and Assistant, would thereupon have resumed his position in the latter capacities, making, with the three Dutch Interpreters whom it is now intended to amalgamate with the class of Assistants and the present two First Class Assistants, six First Class Assistants. Dr. Willis, the Vice-Consul at Yedo, having recently resigned, one of the First Class Assistants has been appointed to succeed him, thus reducing the number of Assistants to five, that being the number (including the Dutch Interpreters and the Accountant Assistant) which Sir H. Parkes considers sufficient, and enabling an immediate instead of a prospective saving to be made in the whole sum of the Accountant's salary.

Wages of Office Servants.

Lord Clarendon does not see any means of reducing the wages of office servants in Japan, at all events at present, but he will instruct Sir H. Parkes to watch closely this expenditure, and to report how far it may be possible to keep it under.

In the meanwhile Lord Clarendon proposes to fix the allowance for wages of the Japanese Consulates at the scale at which they now stand as shown in the returns.

Medical Attendance.

A sum of 100*l.* a year is added to the Estimate as the allowance claimed by the Medical attendant to the Kanagawa Jail and which, without incurring a probably much heavier expense, it seems to Lord Clarendon scarcely possible to refuse, as he cannot be expected to continue his services gratuitously. For this allowance he will also give medical attendance to the Consulate.

Supreme Court.

A reduction in the salaries of the officers of the Supreme Court has been made by the abolition of the post of Interpreter, 450*l.* a year increasing by 15*l.* a year to 600*l.*

On the other hand, to supply to some extent the place of the Deputy Judge, a Senior Law Secretary will be required at 750*l.* a year, increasing by 25*l.* a year to 900*l.*

The efficiency of the Supreme Court and the onerous nature of its duties have been so repeatedly proved, and are so amply set forth in the despatch from Sir E. Hornby of which a copy was inclosed in my letter of the 26th ultimo,* that Lord Clarendon feels that nothing need be said on the present occasion in support of the necessity of maintaining it in unimpaired capacity, more especially as the salary of the new Law Secretary will be met by the saving not only of the salary of the Interpreter, to whose house rent allowance of 200*l.* a year he can succeed, but by the rent allawance of 750*l.* a year now drawn by the Deputy-Judge, and which he will not require at Kanagawa, where there is a vacant house, formerly used by Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, for his occupation.

* Published in Returns presented to Parliament relating to "Consular Establishments," "ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 14th February, 1870."

Outfits and Travelling; Printing and Stationery; Postage; Relief of Distressed British Subjects.

Her Majesty's Ministers in China and Japan have always been urged to be careful not to move officers from post to post without pressing necessity, and those instructions will now be repeated, but, looking to the nature of the service in climates where overtaxed energies are the sure forerunners of disease, and to the sudden call for assistance which may arise at any Consulate from the illness of the Consul or Interpreter, Lord Clarendon regrets that he can hold out little expectation of any considerable reduction in the heavy charge for travelling expenses.

An instruction recently sent to Sir R. Alcock will, it is to be hoped, diminish the charge for printing and stationery, and the abolition of the Local Audit may reduce the amount of postage.

With respect to this and other sub-heads of expenditure, which are common to the three services, I have only to add that the Estimate, as I have already explained is the case as to some other charges, must be regarded as tentative, and Lord Clarendon cannot undertake to do more than lay it before the Board of Treasury as approximately accurate and framed on the best data procurable.

SIAM.

I have no observations to offer with regard to the Bangkok Consulate-General beyond that a reduction of 200*l.* will be made in the Estimate on account of an intended addition to the salary of the Interpreter on his appointment to be Vice-Consul which it has not been found necessary to carry out.

The following is a summary of the reductions in the expenditure which I have mentioned us having been already effected or being now proposed.

		£
Saving by new system of Accounts:	Salary of Auditor-General	500
	„ Peking Accountant	500
	„ Yedo Accountant	500
Abolition of Temporary Allowances		2,500
Salary of Supreme Court Interpreter		500
Chapels and Chaplains		1,800
Coolies, &c., Wages		1,200
Salary of Kanagawa Consul		400
Legation Escorts		500
Peking Teachers		153
Insurances		250
Siam Vice-Consul's salary		200
Total		£9,003

To this must be added a saving of 900*l.* on rents, making a total saving in the Estimates, as compared with the Estimates of the preceding year, of 9,903*l.*

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. HAMMOND.

Inclosure 1 in No. 14.

TABLE showing the Distribution of the China, Japan, and Siam Consular Service at the Close of the Year 1869.

CHINA.

Post.	Rank.	Observations.
PEKING	Envoy Extraordinary and Chief Superintendent	Absent on leave.
	Secretary of Legation and Chinese Secretary ..	Chargé d'Affaires.
	Second Secretary.	
	Second Secretary.	
	Assistant Chinese Secretary	Absent on leave with Mr. Burlingame's Mission.
	Accountant.	
	Surgeon.	
	One Third Assistant.	
	Three Senior Student Interpreters.	
	Twelve Student Interpreters	(Four vacancies.)
AMOY	Consul.	
	Third Class Interpreter.	
	Temporary Clerk.	
CANTON	Consul.	
	First Class Interpreter.	
	Third Assistant.	
CHE-FOO	Consul	Absent on leave. Vice-Consul from Taku acting as Consul.
	Second Assistant.	
FOO-CHOW-FOO ..	Consul.	
	Third Assistant.	
PAGODA ISLAND ..	Vice-Consul	Absent on leave. Third Class Interpreter acting as Vice-Consul.
HANKOW	Consul	Acting as Consul at Shanghae. Consul from Swatow acting as Consul at Hankow.
	Second Class Interpreter.	
	Third Assistant.	
KIU-KIANG	Consul.	
	Temporary Clerk.	
NINGPO	Consul.	
	Third Class Interpreter.	
	Temporary Clerk.	
NEWCHWANG ..	Consul.	
	First Class Interpreter	Has been acting as Consul.
	First Assistant.	
SHANGHAE	Consul	Absent on leave. Consul from Hankow acting as Consul.
	Vice-Consul	Acting as Consul at Swatow.
	Second Class Interpreter	Acting as Vice-Consul.
	Third Class Interpreter	At Chin-kiang.
	First Assistant.	
	Second Assistant	Acting as Law Secretary in Supreme Court.
	Third Assistant.	
	Third Assistant.	
	Shipping Clerk.	

Post.	Rank.	Observations.
SWATOW	Consul	Acting as Consul at Hankow. Vice-Consul from Shanghae in charge of Consulate.
	Third Assistant.	
TAIWAN	Consul	Absent on leave.
	Second Class Interpreter	Acting as Consul.
	Third Assistant.	
TAMSUY	Vice-Consul.	
	Second Assistant.	
TAKU	Vice-Consul	Acting as Consul at Che-foo.
	Second Assistant	Acting as Vice-Consul.
TIEN-TSIN	Consul.	
	First Assistant.	
	Acting Third Assistant.	
WHAMPOA	Vice-Consul.	

ABSENT ON LEAVE.

Minister.	Two Third Class Interpreters.
Three Consuls.	Law Clerk.
One Vice-Consul.	Three First Assistants.
Assistant Chinese Secretary.	Three Second Assistants.
Auditor-General at Hong Kong.	Auditor-General's Assistant.

JAPAN.

Post.	Rank.	Observations.
YEDDO	Envoy Extraordinary and Consul-General.	
	Secretary of Legation.	
	Second Secretary	Absent on leave.
	Japanese Secretary	Absent on leave.
	Interpreter and Translator.	
	Second Assistant and Interpreter.	
	Assistant Accountant and Interpreter.	
	Medical Officer.	
	Four Student Interpreters.	(One vacancy.)
KANAGAWA ..	Consul	Vacant. Consul from Neegata acting as Consul.
	Vice-Consul (for Kanagawa and Yeddo) ..	Vacant; the Vice-Consul having recently resigned.
	Dutch Interpreter	Employed as Assistant.
	Dutch Interpreter	Employed as Assistant.
NAGASAKI	Consul	Absent on leave. Vice-Consul from Hiogo and Osaka acting as Consul.
	Third Assistant.	
HAKODADI	Consul.	
HIOGO AND OSAKA ..	Consul.	
	Vice-Consul	Acting as Consul at Nagasaki.
	Dutch Interpreter	Employed as Assistant. Acting as Vice-Consul.
	Third Assistant.	
NEEGATA	Consul	Acting as Consul at Kanagawa.
	Second Assistant	Acting as Consul.

ABSENT ON LEAVE.

Japanese Secretary.	One First Assistant and Japanese Interpreter.
One Consul.	One First Assistant.
Second Secretary.	

SIAM.

Post.	Rank.	Observations.
BANGKOK	Consul-General.	
	Interpreter	Absent on leave.
	First Assistant.	
	Second Assistant	Absent on leave.
	Medical Officer.	
	Two Student Interpreters.	

Note.—Of the Diplomatic and Consular Officers absent on leave, all but two are absent on account of ill-health.

Inclosure 2 in No. 14.

Constables, Coolies, Boatmen, &c.—Proposed Reductions in Expenditure.

	Reductions.	Present Annual Wages. £ s. d.	Proposed Saving. £. s. d.
PEKING	One head groom (English)	25 10 0	
	This man has been offered an engagement in the escort. The escort ought not to want an English groom.		
	Two grooms (instead of five)	42 1 6	
			67 11 6
CANTON	Four messengers (instead of eight)	61 4 0	
	Four boatmen	71 8 0	
	The City and Consulate being on the same side of the river, and the shipping being at Whampoa, a permanent staff of boatmen cannot be necessary. The Consul has four chair coolies allowed him.		
	Two watchmen (instead of four)	30 12 0	
	Major Crossman says that one watchman is enough for each building.		
			163 4 0
WHAMPOA	Four boatmen (instead of five)	17 17 0	
	Four are enough at Che-foo, Taku, and Pagoda, the three principal anchorages, and ought to be enough at Whampoa.		
			17 17 0
SWATOW	One gatekeeper (instead of two)	15 6 0	
	One office servant (instead of two)	15 6 0	
	Three coolies	38 5 0	
	Three boatmen (instead of five).	30 12 0	
	Considered enough to be permanently engaged.		
			99 9 0
AMOY	Seven coolies	71 8 0	
	Leaving the Consul two messengers.		
	Four boatmen (instead of eight)	51 0 0	
			122 8 0
TAIWAN	One messenger (instead of two)	16 11 6	
	One Tamsuy courier..	25 10 0	
	Cannot be permanently wanted. The Taiwan courier could journey to Tamsuy when necessary.		
	Four boatmen	61 4 0	
	A boat can rarely be used on account of the surf, and is rarely required from there being so few ships to visit.		
			103 5 6

	Reductions.	Present Annual Wages.	Proposed Saving.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
TAMSUY	One messenger (instead of two)	14 0 6	
	One watchman (instead of two)	12 15 0	
	Four boatmen (see above)	40 16 0	
			67 11 6
FOO-CHOW-FOO ..	Five runners, leaving the Consul two messengers ..	76 10 0	
	Two watchmen (instead of three)	14 9 0	
	One gardener	12 15 0	
	This has already been objected to by the Treasury.		
			103 14 0
PAGODA ISLAND ..	No reduction proposed	..	..
NINGPO	Two messengers (instead of three)	18 9	
	Two coolies	25 10 0	
	One watchman	12 15 0	
	Two boatmen	25 10 0	
	No Consul's boat required in frequent use.		
			82 7 9
SHANGHAE	Five office messengers (instead of ten)	108 7 6	
	Sir R. Alcock has already proposed to reduce them to six.		
	One office coolie (instead of two) .. .	20 8 0	
	Two watchmen	35 14 0	
			164 9 6
KIU-KIANG	One messenger (instead of two)	16 11 6	
	One office coolie	15 6 0	
			31 17 6
CHIN-KIANG.. ..	One office coolie	5 2 0	
			5 2 0
HANKOW	One sub-constable (Chinese) instead of two ..	17 7 0	
	Two messengers (instead of five)	38 5 0	
	One watchman	12 15 0	
			68 17 0
CHE-FOO	One watchman	15 6 0	
	One messenger (instead of two)	15 6 0	
			30 12 0
TIEN-TSIN	One messenger (instead of two)	15 6 0	
	One watchman	15 6 0	
			30 12 0
TAKU	No reduction proposed	..	..
NEWCHWANG. ..	One third servant	45 18 0	
	Two watchmen (instead of three)	25 10 0	
			71 8 0
			1,230 6 3

Summary.

	Present Expenditure and Reduction.		Future Allowance.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Peking	345 10 6	Peking	277 19 0	
	67 11 6			
Canton	489 12 0	Canton	326 8 0	
	163 4 0			
Whampoa	234 12 0	Whampoa	216 15 0	
	17 17 0			
Swatow	425 17 0	Swatow	326 8 0	
	99 9 0			
Amoy	489 12 0	Amoy	367 4 0	
	122 8 0			
Taiwan	277 19 0	Taiwan	174 13 6	
	103 5 6			
Tamsuy	234 12 0	Tamsuy	167 0 6	
	67 11 6			
Foo-Chow-Foo	344 5 0	Foo-Chow-Foo	240 11 0	
	103 14 0			
Pagoda Island	219 6 0	Pagoda Island	219 6 0	
Ningpo	272 4 3	Ningpo	189 16 6	
	82 7 9			
Shanghae	952 8 6	Shanghae	787 19 0	
	164 9 6			
Kiu-kiang	232 1 0	Kiu-kiang	200 3 6	
	31 17 6			
Chin-kiang	165 15 0	Chin-kiang	160 13 0	
	5 2 0			
Hankow	290 14 0	Hankow	221 17 0	
	68 17 0			
Che-foo	285 12 0	Che-foo	255 0 0	
	30 12 0			
Tien-tsin	219 6 0	Tien-tsin	188 14 0	
	30 12 0			
Taku	209 2 0	Taku	209 2 0	
Newchwang	369 15 0	Newchwang	298 7 0	
	71 8 0			
		Total future Allowances ..	4,827 17 0	

	£	s.	d.
Present Expenditure	6,058	3	3
	4,827	17	0
Proposed Saving	1,230	6	3

No. 15.

SERVICES IN CHINA, JAPAN, AND SIAM.

I. ESTIMATE of the Amount required in the Year ending 31st March, 1871, to defray the Expenses of the Establishments in China, Japan, and Siam.

Ninety-Nine Thousand Four Hundred and Fifty Pounds.*

II. Sub-Heads under which this Vote will be accounted for.

	1870-71.	1869-70.	Increase.	Decrease.
	£	£	£	£
I.—SALARIES, ALLOWANCES, AND WAGES ..	68,112	72,337	—	4,225
K.—LEGATION GUARDS	4,500	2,766 †3,300	—	1,566
L.—OUTFITS AND TRAVELLING	5,000	2.500 †2,500	—	—
M.—PRINTING AND STATIONERY	500	300 †200	—	—
N.—POSTAGE	600	500 †300	—	200
O.—RENT	9,413	8,200 †2,700	—	1,487
P.—CHAPELS AND CHAPLAINS	1,200	3,000	—	1,800
Q.—INCIDENTAL EXPENSES	7,275			
R.—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE	1,500	5,000 †5,500	—	625
S.—MEDICAL ATTENDANCE	1,100			
T.—RELIEF OF DISTRESSED BRITISH SUBJECTS	250	50 †200	—	—
	99,450	109,353	—	9,903
		Decrease	£ 9,903	

* The actual expenditure on account of Consular Services *proper* in China, Japan, and Siam in 1868-69 was £105,604

Of which is repaid to the Exchequer out of Indian Revenue one-third of the expenditure in China, amounting to £25,563

While the fees, fines, and other casual receipts for 1868-9, also payable to the Exchequer, amounted to 9,396

34,959

The real cost to this country of the Consular Establishments in China, Japan, and Siam in 1868-69 was therefore only £70,645

† Supplementary Estimate.

DETAIL OF I.

CHINA SALARIES.	1870–71.			1869–70.		
	£	£	£	£	£	£
MISSION AND SUPERINTENDENCY.						
Assistant Chinese Secretary	600			600		
Assistant and Accountant	400			500		
Surgeon	600	1,600		600	1,700	
Colonial Auditor } Officers at Hong Kong.				500		
Assistant }				400	900	
CONSULS.						
Amoy	900			900		
Canton	1,600			1,600		
Che-foo	900			900		
Foo-chow	1,300			1,300		
Hankow	1,300			1,300		
Kiu-kiang	900			900		
New-chwang	900			900		
Ningpo	900			900		
Shanghae	1,500			1,500		
Swatow	800			800		
Taiwan	800			800		
Tien-tsin	900	12,700		900	12,700	
VICE-CONSULS.						
Shanghae	750			750		
Pagoda Island	750			750		
Whampoa	750			750		
Tamsuy	600			600		
Taku	500	3,350		500	3,350	
INTERPRETERS.						
1st Class	700			700		
Ditto	700			700		
Carried forward	1,400	17,650		1,400	18,650	

CHINA SALARIES.	1870-71.			1869-70.		
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Brought forward	1,400	17,650		1,400	18,650	
INTERPRETERS (*continued*).						
2nd Class	600			600		
Ditto	600			600		
Ditto	600			600		
3rd Class	500			500		
Ditto	500			500		
Ditto	500			500		
Ditto	500			500		
Ditto	500			500		
Ditto	500			500		
		6,200			6,200	
ASSISTANTS.						
1st Class	400			400		
Ditto	400			400		
Ditto	400			400		
Ditto	400			400		
Ditto	400			400		
2nd Class	350			350		
Ditto	350			350		
Ditto	350			350		
Ditto	350			350		
Ditto	350			350		
Ditto	350			350		
3rd Class	300			300		
Ditto	300			300		
Ditto	300			300		
Ditto	300			300		
Ditto	300			300		
Ditto	300			300		
Ditto	300			300		
Ditto	300			300		
		6,900			6,900	
Carried forward	..	30,750		..	31,750	

CHINA SALARIES.	1870-71.			1869-70.		
	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£	£	£
Brought forward	..	30,750 0		..	31,750	
Shipping Clerk at Shanghae ..	400			..		
Student Interpreters	3,300			3,300		
		3,700 0			3,300	
Writers or Linguists:—						
Peking	191 5					
Amoy	127 10					
Canton	290 14					
Che-foo	76 10					
Chin-kiang	51 0					
Foo-chow	140 5					
Hankow	153 0					
Kiu-kiang	76 10					
New-chwang	102 0					
Ningpo	107 2					
Pagoda Island	38 5					
Shanghae	823 13					
Swatow	140 5					
Taiwan	114 15					
Taku	76 10					
Tamsuy	178 10					
Tien-tsin	76 10					
Whampoa	48 9					
		2,812 13		2,800		
					2,800	
Allowance to Consul at Tien-tsin ..	200			200		
Temporary Allowances at Shanghae				1,350		
Ditto ditto at Hankow ..				550		
Ditto ditto at Kiu-kiang				325		
Ditto ditto at Foo-chow				175		
		200			2,600	
						40,450
Teachers for Student Interpreters ..	459 7					
		459 7				
			37,922			
Carried forward	..		37,922			40,450

JAPAN SALARIES.	1870-71.			1869-70.		
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Brought forward	..	..	37,922	..		40,450
MISSION AND CONSULATE-GENERAL.						
Japanese Interpreter and Translator ..	500			500		
Assistant, Accountant, and Interpreter	..			500		
Medical Officer	500			500		
		1,000			1,500	
CONSULS.						
Kanagawa	..			1,000		
Hiogo	1,000			1,000		
Nagasaki	900			900		
Neegata	800			800		
Hakodadi	800			800		
		3,500			4,500	
VICE-CONSULS.						
Kanagawa	600			..		
Yedo	600			600		
Osaka	600			600		
		1,800			1,200	
			6,300			7,200
INTERPRETERS.						
Dutch Interpreter	..			500		
Do. do.	..			400		
Do. do.	..			400		
					1,200	
Interpreter's allowances to three Assistants	300			300		
		300			300	
ASSISTANTS.						
1st Class	500					
Do.	400					
Do.	400					
Do.	400			400		
Do.	400			400		
		2,100			800	
2nd Class	350			350		
Do.	350			350		
		700			700	
Carried forward		3,100	44,222		3,100	47,650

JAPAN SALARIES.	1870-71.			1869-70.		
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Brought forward.. ..		3,100	44,222		3,100	47,650
ASSISTANTS—(*continued*).						
3rd Class	300			300		
Do.	300			300		
		600			600	
Student Interpreters	..	800		..	800	
			4,500			4,500
SUPREME COURT FOR CHINA AND JAPAN.						
Judge	3,500			3,500		
Deputy Judge (1,000*l.*, increasing by 50*l.* a year to 1,200*l.*)	1,200			1,200		
Law Secretary (750*l.*, increasing by 25*l.* a year to 900*l.*) .. .	750			..		
Law Clerk (600*l.*, increasing by 25*l.* a year to 750*l.*)	650			625		
Interpreter (450*l.*, increasing by 15*l.* a year to 600*l.*)	..			480		
Chief Clerk	350			350		
Clerk for Civil Causes	306			306		
Clerk for Criminal Causes	306			306		
Assistant Clerk	306			306		
Chief Usher	200			200		
Chief Constable	164			164		
Messengers and Coolies	200			200		
		7,932			7,637	
			7,932			7,637
Carried forward			56,654			59,787

SIAM SALARIES.	1870-71.			1869-70.		
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward			56,654 0 0			59,787 0 0
Consul-General	1,200 0 0			1,200 0 0		
Interpreter	500 0 0			700 0 0		
First Assistant	400 0 0			400 0 0		
Second ditto	350 0 0			350 0 0		
Medical Attendant	400 0 0			400 0 0		
2 Student Interpreters, at 200*l.* a-year each	400 0 0			400 0 0		
		3,250 0 0			3,450 0 0	
			3,250 0 0			3,450 0 0
Wages and Allowances to Gaolers, Constables, Watchmen, Boatmen, Porters, Coolies, and others employed on public service in China, Japan, and Siam :—						
CHINA.						
Peking	277 19 0					
Amoy	367 4 0					
Canton	326 8 0					
Chefoo	255 8 0					
Chin-kiang	160 13 0					
Foo-chow	240 11 0					
Hankow	221 17 0					
Kiu-kiang	200 3 0					
New-chwang	298 7 0					
Ningpo	189 16 6					
Pagoda Island	219 6 0					
Shanghae	787 19 0					
Swatow	326 8 0					
Taku	209 2 0					
Taiwan	174 13 6					
Tamsuy	167 0 6					
Tien-tsin	188 14 0					
Whampoa	216 15 0					
		4,828 4 6				
Carried forward ..	..	4,828 4 6	59,904 0 0			63,237 0 0

	1870-71.			1869-70.		
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward		4,828 4 6	59,904 0 0			63,237 0 0
JAPAN.						
Writers:—						
Yedo (Legation)	367 4 0					
Hakodadi	38 5 0					
Hiogo	38 5 0					
Kanagawa	51 0 0					
Nagasaki	38 5 0					
Neegata	38 5 0					
Osaka	38 5 0					
Yedo (Vice-Consulate) ..	38 5 0					
		647 14 0				
Gaolers, Constables, Watchmen, &c:						
Yedo (Legation)	385 1 0					
Hakodadi	255 18 0					
Hiogo	275 8 0					
Kanagawa	504 18 0					
Nagasaki	265 4 0					
Neegata	184 10 0					
Osaka	184 10 0					
Yedo (Vice-Consulate) ..	219 6 0					
		2,274 15 0				
SIAM.						
Writers	58 4 0					
Gaolers, Constables, &c.. ..	399 6 0					
		457 10 0	8,208 3 6		9,100 0 0	9,100 0 0
TOTAL FOR SALARIES, ALLOWANCES AND WAGES			68,112 3 6			72,337 0 0

DETAIL OF K.

Legation Guards.	1870-71.	1869-70.
	£	£
Pay of Legation Guard and Escort at Pekin ..	621	977
Pay of Escort of Legation in Japan.. ..	1,789	1,789
Expenses for Horses, Clothing, &c., formerly charged to Incidental Expenditure ..	2,090	3,300*
Total for Legation Guards	4,500	6,066

DETAIL OF L.

Outfit and Travelling.	1870-71.	1869-70.
	£	£
Allowances for Passages for Consular Officers and Student Interpreters	5,000	2,500 2,500*
Total for Outfits and Travelling ..	5,000	5,000

DETAIL OF M.

Printing and Stationery.	1870-71.	1869-70.
	£	£
To cover Charges for Printing and Stationery payable in China, Japan, and Siam ..	500	300 200*

DETAIL OF N.

Postage.	1870-71.	1869-70.
	£	£
To cover Charges for Postage payable in China, Japan, and Siam	600	500 300*

* Supplementary Estimate.

DETAIL OF O.

RENT.	1870–71.	1869–70.
	£	£
Rent of Legation and Consular Buildings in China	3,450	5,600
Ditto ditto Japan	4,050	
Ditto ditto Siam	63	
Allowance for House Rent to Officers of Supreme Court	1,850	2,600
Total for RENT	9,413	8,200 2,700*

DETAIL OF P.

CHAPELS AND CHAPLAINS.	1870–71.	1869–70.
	£	£
Contributions of Her Majesty's Government towards support of British Church Establishments in China and Japan	1,200	3,000

DETAIL OF Q.

INCIDENTAL EXPENSES.	1870–71.		1869–70.	
	£	£	£	£
Fixed Allowance for Consular Office Expenses:—				
CHINA.				
Canton and Shanghaé, 275*l.* a-year each	550			
Swatow, Amoy, Foo-chow, Ningpo, Hankow, and Tien-tsin, 100*l.* a-year each	600			
New-chwang, Che-foo, Taiwan, and Kiu-kiang, 75*l.* a-year each	375			
Pagoda Island, Whampoa, Tamsuy, and Taku Vice-Consulates, 40*l.* a year each	160			
		1,685		
Carried forward	..	1,685		

* Supplementary Estimate.

108669

INCIDENTAL EXPENSES.	1870-71.		1869-70.	
	£	£	£	£
Brought forward		1,685		
JAPAN.				
Kanagawa, Hiogo, Nagasaki, Neegata, and Hakodadi, 125*l.* a-year each	625			
Yedo and Osaka Vice-Consulates, 60*l.* a-year each	120	745		
Allowances for purchase of coal :—				
CHINA.				
Shanghae and Tien-tsin, 80*l.* a-year each	160			
Ningpo, Chefoo, and New-chwang, 40*l.* a-year each ..	120			
Taku Vice-Consulate	25	305		
JAPAN.				
Hakodadi, 40*l.* a-year	40	40		
Incidental Expenses of Missions and Consulates not included in fixed Office Allowances :—				
China	3,000			
Japan	1,000			
Siam	500	4,500		5.000
TOTAL FOR INCIDENTAL EXPENSES	..	7,275		{ 5 000 { 5,500*

* Supplementary Estimate.

DETAIL OF R.

Administration of Justice.	1870-71.	1869-70.
	£	£
Maintenance of Prisoners and other Prison Expenses	1,500	

DETAIL OF S.

Medical Attendance.	1870-71.	1869-70.
	£	£
Expense of providing Medical Attendance at Consulates in China and Japan	1,100	

DETAIL OF T.

Relief of Distressed British Subjects.	1870-71.	1869-70.
	£	£
For Relief to Distressed British Subjects under the Act 6 Geo. IV, cap. 87	250	50 200*

* Supplementary Estimate.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic Society.
CLASS XVIII. Ex. e. 124
CX. e 124

ARMY (CHINA AND JAPAN).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 23 February 1869;—*for*,

"COPIES of the CORRESPONDENCE which commenced about October 1867 between Major General *Guy*, C.B., then in command of Her Majesty's Troops in *China* and *Japan*, and the War Office, relative to the SCALE of CONSOLIDATED ALLOWANCES promulgated in 1866, for the OFFICERS serving in *China* and *Japan*:"

"And, of the STATEMENT handed by the Officer Commanding the Troops in *Japan* in October 1867 to the Major General at his Inspection of the 9th Regiment of Infantry relating to it."

War Office,
19 March 1869.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

—I.—

CORRESPONDENCE relative to the CONSOLIDATED ALLOWANCE in *China* and *Japan* generally.

(3145.)

Major General *Guy* to the Military Secretary, Horse Guards.

Sir, Head Quarters, Hong Kong, 29 October 1867.

ON the occasion of my recent visit of inspection at Yokohama, I received from Colonel Knox, commanding 2nd battalion, 9th Regiment, a memorandum, copy of which I have now the honour to submit to the consideration of His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief.

It is an undoubted fact that the necessary expenses to which officers serving in Japan are subjected, exceed even those which prevail in China.

A few weeks after the 2nd battalion, 9th Regiment, arrived in Japan, the benefit arising from the Itzeboo Exchange (which had for some time previously steadily diminished) ceased altogether; the troops have therefore derived no advantage from this source since the 1st July 1866; notwithstanding this fact, however, the officers serving in Japan have been subjected to a reduction of one-fourth of the allowances granted in China, thereby placing the former in the doubly disadvantageous position of having to meet largely increased and still increasing expenditure upon reduced allowances, and they naturally consider this to be a great hardship.

In justice, therefore, to the officers now serving in Japan, and to those who may hereafter be stationed there, I am induced to bring the case to the notice of the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, trusting His Royal Highness may be pleased to recommend a favourable consideration of it to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for War.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*,
Major General Commanding
in China and Japan.

MEMORANDUM.

The officers of the 2/9th Regiment desire on this occasion to revert to the hardship of the 25 per cent. deduction from the consolidated allowances, and most respectfully to request that your Excellency will represent the matter to His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief.

2. It is assumed this deduction was decided upon by the Secretary of State of War because of the advantages derived from the treaty rate of exchange. If this is not embodied in the warrant, it was so stated in the House of Commons.

Your Excellency is aware that, so far as this battalion is concerned, no benefit whatever has been derived from the official exchange, but that, on the contrary, a deficit has accrued which has to be made good to the Itzeboo Exchange Committee.

3. From the former appeals your Excellency is acquainted with the grounds of the request, and it is unnecessary to detain you with any reiteration of details. From residence in both stations, you are conversant with these, and your Excellency knows that the rate of messing for officers in Japan is higher than in Hong Kong, and that due allowance being made for the comparative severity and length of the winter, the other ordinary expenses to which officers are liable are also in excess. There can be no difficulty in establishing these facts.

4. This deduction of allowances, moreover, has been exacted from officers serving in a camp where the quarters, originally provided by the Japanese Government as a temporary measure, are very inferior, and where the necessary addition of ante-room, cellar offices to the mess buildings, &c. have been procured at the expense of the battalion.

Camp, Yokohama,
2 October 1867.

Most respectfully submitted on behalf of the officers under my command.

(signed) *T. E. Knox*, Col.,
Lt. Col. Comg. 2/9 Regt.

(True copy.)

(signed) *W. Roberts*, A. M. S.

(083—3—1425.)

The Assistant Under Secretary, War Office, to the General Officer Commanding, *China*.

Sir, War Office, 30 January 1868.

WITH reference to your letter of the 29th of October last, addressed to the Military Secretary, relative to the present scale of officers' allowances in Japan, I am directed to request that you will take steps to obtain the most trustworthy evidence in your power in regard to present cost of living in China and Japan respectively, and that you will forward the same, with full detail of the current prices of the several items of necessary expenditure, for the consideration of the Secretary of State for War.

I am to refer you to the report of your predecessor, Sir J. Michel, dated 11th March 1862, on a similar subject, and to request that, as far as possible, the same means may be adopted for procuring the information required as were adopted on that occasion.

I am, &c.,
(signed) *Douglas Galton.*

(3373.)

Major General *Brunker* to the Secretary of State for War.

Sir, Head Quarters, Hong Kong, 17 June 1868.

IN accordance with instructions contained in War Office Letter (No. 083—3—1425) of the 30th January 1868, I have the honour to enclose proceedings of boards of officers assembled by my orders at Yokohama and Hong Kong, for the purpose of obtaining the fullest information both in regard to the cost of living and the several items of necessary expenditure at these stations.

2. It

2. It will be observed from the report of the Hong Kong Board, that the cost of living at this station has increased within the last 10 years 25 to 30 per cent., this conclusion having been arrived at from the combined testimony of the leading firms in the Colony.

3. The average of an officer's mess expenses at Hong Kong deduced from the three messes at the station, consisting of 36 officers, and extending over a period of two to three months, was found to be 104 dollars 38 cents, showing an increase of 30 per cent. on corresponding expenses in 1859; to this amount must be added wages of boy coolie and allowance for washing and chair coolies about 28 dollars, which gives a total necessary monthly expenditure of 132 dollars 38 cents; while at "Japan," from an average of four officers' expenses of different corps, extending over periods varying from 6 to 13 months, the monthly expenditure is shown to be 154 dollars.

These sums do not include the expenses attending use of punkahs, which I consider most necessary, and the benefit derivable from which can be best estimated by a reference to the improved sanitary condition of the troops since their introduction into this garrison.

4. I take this opportunity of bringing to your notice the grievous discrepancy which exists between the rates of pay drawn by the officers of the 29th Native Infantry lately arrived, and others in my command; the anomaly is strange, as the officers are serving together, perform the same duties, and have like expenses. This is naturally felt by officers of Queen's regiments as an excessive hardship, and I trust it will not be deemed out of place here, my quoting a clause from the report of the Select Committee lately appointed to inquire into the employment of Indian troops in the Colonies, as it bears on the subject in question, and is strongly confirmatory of my opinion that the pay of officers serving together should be assimilated.

"The pay received by English officers is much lower than that received by Indian officers of similar grade. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge expressed to us very emphatically his opinion, to which much weight must be attached, that wherever Native and British soldiers were serving together, it would be absolutely necessary to place the officers of the two services at least approximately on an equality in this respect."

5. Both boards report upon the disadvantages under which officers rest in consequence of their not being able to avail themselves of the change afforded by leave of absence, without drawing upon their private resources; this is more especially the case in respect to Hong Kong, which, in itself, has so little of local interest to recommend it, that I consider it most essential that officers should be in a position to avail themselves occasionally of the recreation given by short periods of absence.

Since receipt of War Office Letter, No. 083—3—1420, of 4th February 1868, directing the issue of Consolidated Allowances to cease during the periods when at sea, the restrictions as regards leave have been still further increased; but I trust that a further consideration of the matter as advocated by my letter, No. 3331, of 12th May last, may cause a revision of the instructions on this head.

I would direct attention to that portion of the report of the Yokohama Committee which shows that the salaries of the banking houses and Peninsular and Oriental Company's subordinates vary from 300 *l.* to 500 *l.* per annum, exclusive of board, lodging, and medical attendance, which income they receive also while on leave in England, one year in six, their passages being paid to and fro.

6. Officers in this command have of late been liable to still further expenses in consequence of the privilege formerly allowed them of receiving Admiralty packages having been discontinued; when the high rate of freight is considered, and it is remembered that a great part of an officer's equipment has to be supplied from England, the expense entailed by the deprivation of this privilege is apparent as one of much moment.

7. I, in conclusion, beg to refer you to the oft-repeated despatches of my predecessors, viz., Sir J. Michel, Sir C. Van Straubenzee, and others, all of which have borne testimony to the steadily increasing expenses of this station, a fact which the enclosed reports fully support up to this time, and I trust that a

further consideration of the question may lead to an increase of allowances received by the officers of this command, which, at least as regards Hong Kong, enjoys, not without truth, the reputation of being one of the least attractive stations.

I have, &c.
(signed *J. R. Brunker*,
Major General Commanding H. B. M. Troops
in China and Japan.

RETURN showing the Rates of PAY and ALLOWANCES per Mensem drawn by the 29th Regiment Madras Native Infantry, and others serving in *Hong Kong*.
The rupee has been calculated at 2 *s.* 0½ *d.*, in accordance with instructions contained in War Office Letter, No. $\frac{28047}{18}$, dated 31st March 1868.

	29th Regiment Madras Native Infantry, per Mensem.			China Scale, per Mensem.		
	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Colonel Commandant	120	–	–	12	5	–
„ commanding Regiment	1,427	14	–	145	15	2½
Lieutenant Colonel Second in Command	1,097	14	–	112	1	6
Major	873	14	–	89	4	1½
Captain	474	1	8	48	8	–½
Lieutenant	325	12	–	33	5	–¼
„ Attached Officer	256	10	–	26	3	11
„ and Adjutant	475	12	–	48	11	3½
Quartermaster	375	12	–	38	7	1½
Assistant Surgeon	600	–	–	61	5	–

	China Scale, per Mensem.		
	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Colonel Commandant	7	10	–
„ commanding Regiment	—		
Lieutenant Colonel Second in Command	50	5	–
Major	48	15	–
Captain	33	17	6
Lieutenant	24	15	–
„ Attached Officer	22	17	6
„ and Adjutant	32	5	–
Quartermaster	24	15	–
Assistant Surgeon	31	10	–

(signed) *Geo. W. Thompson*,
Actg. A. M. S.

Sir, Hong Kong, 18 May 1868.

WE have the honour to report that, in compliance with General Order, 1st April 1868, as the committee therein appointed by the Major General commanding in China and Japan, we assembled for the first time the 3rd April, to obtain evidence with regard to the present cost of living in China, as per instructions conveyed in War Office Letter, No. 083—5—1425, 20th January 1868, enclosed with your letter, No. 3196, 1st April, 1868.

We were furnished with a copy of Sir J. Michel's Report, 11th March 1862, but the various offices were searched in vain for a copy of the proceedings of the Board to which it makes reference, and which the instructions laid before us desired us to take as our model in procuring information.

We therefore determined to have recourse to the measures adopted by Colonel Haythorne's Board in 1858, viz., to address the leading firms in town for lists of prices of goods, salaries of clerks and their necessary expenses; we also addressed the Colonial surgeon, Dr. Murray, whom, from his experience in China of 23 years, we considered well qualified to give an opinion as to the expenses which are necessary in this climate.

We adjourned from time to time, pending replies to the inquiries which we had instituted, and re-assembled whenever there was matter for consideration.

We annex the answers which we have received to our inquiries, and beg to tender the following observations:—

The firms of Messrs. Jardine, Messrs. Gibb, and the Oriental Bank, are of opinion that the cost of living has advanced 25 or 30 per cent. since 1858; and Dr. Murray considers that they have doubled since 1848.

In comparing the present statement of expenses with those of 1858, it must be borne in mind that, in the latter year, under the heads of "Monthly Subsistence" and "Daily Messing," Messrs. Gibb and Messrs. Dent included wine and beer, while in the present statement, the amounts under the same heads are exclusive of wine and beer, except by Messrs. Gibb, in reply to Question No. 2, "Monthly Subsistence."

There are three messes in Hong Kong, viz., the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, the 73rd, and the Wing Ceylon Rifles.

We

We addressed commanding officers, and have obtained from the presidents of the messes the following averages for one month, including messing, wine and beer, lighting, mess servants,* and general charge.

		For One Month.
		Dols. *Cts.*
Deduced from an average of two months - - - - -	R. A. & R. E., 6 officers (an officer acts as caterer); each officer - - - - -	109 –
From an average of two months	73rd Regiment, 24 officers (messman employed); each officer - - - - -	104 10
From an average of three months	Ceylon Rifles, 6 officers (messman employed); each officer - - - - - - -	100 4

(This shows an increase of upwards of 30 per cent. on the corresponding expenses in 1859.)

There are, then, the further necessary expenses of—

Boy, 8 dollars per month.
House coolie, 3 dollars (*i.e.*, one between two officers, or additional to a chair coolie).
2 chair coolies at 6 dollars each - - - 12 dollars.
Washing - - - - - - - - 6 to 7 „

and, for mounted officers, 20 dollars per month for the wages of a horse boy and keep of one horse.

We beg to point out that, in the proceedings of the Board of 1858, punkahs and the attendant expenses were not included. The Colonial surgeon is of opinion that they are indispensable, "but not at night."

We would, however, point to the fact that it is found necessary to allow punkahs for the soldiers night and day in the hot weather; and the advantage of a night's rest in a hot climate is indisputable, and the difference between what may be obtained under a punkah and without one is known to all who have resided in hot climates.

Chair coolies with a very light day's work with the chair, but not otherwise, would be available for the punkah service by day, but not at all at night.

From the extremes of heat and cold, light and warm clothing in variety is necessary, and, like all articles (whether clothing or food) procured from Europe, is very expensive, owing to the heavy losses to which the merchants are exposed by the rapid deterioration and decay of all goods in this climate, principally from mildew, moth, and white ant.

As stationed in a climate which enjoys, not without reason, but a bad reputation, we consider it most sound to urge that there should be at least the same facilities for taking recreation by short periods of leave within this command as are afforded in better climates, in places possessed of more local interest than Hong Kong.

The heavy expense,† however, of the shortest trips from this island, puts it out of the power of the majority of officers to attempt this. Still further, should private affairs make it urgent for an officer to proceed home, or should sickness in a married officer's family, in this dangerous climate, present to him the fact that immediate change of climate is absolutely necessary, he must abide the consequences of not seeking that change, or involve himself in a debt which may oblige him to leave the service.

We have, &c.
(signed) *N. Gawler*, Colonel,
Commandant of Hong Kong,
President.
L. Hook, Major, Ceylon Rifles.
Geo. H. Phillips, D. A. C. G.

The Assistant Military Secretary,
&c. &c. &c. Hong Kong.

EXTRACT from GENERAL ORDERS.

General Orders. Head Quarters, Hong Kong, 1st April 1868.

I. A Board of officers will assemble at the Garrison Office to-morrow morning at 11 a.m., to inquire into such matters as shall be laid before it.

President:
Colonel Gawler.
Members:
Major Hook, C. R. | Dep. Assist. Com. Gl. Phillips.

By Order,
(signed) *R. Maxwell*, D. A. A. G.

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* *i. e.*, cook and one or two coolies, and a waiter to keep in order the mess apartments and property.

† Rendered still heavier by the recent order withdrawing the consolidated allowance during periods when at sea, in moving from one part of the command to another.—*N. G.*, Colonel.

Sir, Military Secretary's Office, Hong Kong, 1 April 1868.

I HAVE the honour, by direction of the Major General Commanding, referring to General Order, No. 1, of this date, to forward copy of War Office Letter (No, 083—3—1425) which will, as far as relates to China, form the subject-matter upon which the Board will report.

General Straubenzee's letter, dated 21 May 1858.
Proceedings of Board, dated 23 November 1858.
Enclosures to ditto, marked A.
Memo. by D. A. C. G. Ross, 18 December 1858.

Proceedings of the Committee of 1862 cannot be traced, but copy of Sir J. Michel's letter of 11th March in that year is enclosed, as well as the data (as per margin, to be returned) upon which his Board appear to have based their report.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Geo. W. Thompson,*
Acting Assist. Military Secretary.

Colonel Gawler.

REPLIES of Messrs. *Jardine, Matheson, & Co.*

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. WHAT are the average rates of salaries given to gentlemen employed in professional and mercantile houses, according to service?	From 750 to 4,500 dollars per annum, exclusive of board and lodging; the latter sum usually denotes from 12 to 15 years' service.
2. What is the average cost of the subsistence of each such gentleman, exclusive of lodging and servants?	Sixty dollars per month, exclusive of wine and beer.
3. How much does a gentleman pay monthly for his washing?	Six to eight dollars.
4. Do you consider chairs, as a means of conveyance to town or country, necessary?	Undoubtedly, or health and efficiency must suffer.
5. Do you consider punkahs necessary?	In summer unquestionably so.
6. In a bachelor officer's establishment where no regimental mess is available, how many servants do you consider necessary?	1 body and table servant. 1 cook. 1 house coolie. 2 chair coolies and messengers. 5 in all.
7. What are the average rates of wages per month?	
For a cook	Twelve dollars
For a boy	Eight to ten dollars.
For a coolie	For house, six dollars.
For a chair coolie	Six dollars.
For a labourer coolie, punkah coolies	Four to six dollars.
8. Can one description of servants be got to do the work of another?	Chair and punkah coolies, &c., will do anything; house coolies will not do out-door work; table and body servants will not act as coolies.
9. What amount do you consider should cover the messing of an officer daily at a mess maintained in a suitable and liberal scale, and what should cover the daily expenses of an individual officer living by himself?	Sixty dollars per month, messing together; 85 dollars per month messing alone, exclusive of wine and beer.
10. What proportion or rate do your present household expenses, including everything, bear to those of 1858?	Twenty-five per cent. above 1858.

Hong Kong, 4th April 1868. (signed) *Jardine, Matheson & Co.*

REPLIES of Messrs. *Gibb, Livingstone, & Co.*

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. What are the average rates of salaries given to gentlemen employed in professional and mercantile houses, according to service?	In mercantile houses salaries average from 200 *l.* to 1,000 *l.* per annum at exchange of 4 *s.* 6 *d.*, according to position and length of service, with lodging and servants.
2. What is the average cost of the subsistence of each such gentleman, exclusive of lodging and servants?	One hundred dollars per month, including wine and beer.
3. How much does a gentleman pay monthly for his washing?	Six to seven dollars a month.
4. Do you consider chairs, as a means of conveyance to town or country, necessary?	Certainly.
5. Do you consider punkahs necessary?	Certainly.
6. In a bachelor officer's establishment where no regimental mess is available, how many servants do you consider necessary?	Six (6.)
7. What are the average rates of wages per month?	
For a cook - - - - -	Ten dollars a month.
For a boy - - - - -	Six to seven dollars a month.
For a coolie - - - - -	Six dollars a month.
For a chair coolie - - - -	Six dollars a month.
For a labourer coolie - - -	Four dollars a month.
For punkah coolies - - -	Work done by chair coolies
8. Can one description of servants be got to do the work of another?	With difficulty, but as a rule, chair coolies are employed to pull the punkah, and fill and empty their employer's bath tubs.
9. What do you consider should cover the messing of an officer daily, at a mess maintained in a suitable and liberal scale, and what should cover the expense of an individual officer living by himself.	Two dollars and a half daily, exclusive of wine. Five (5) dollars per day, exclusive of wine and beer, including table servants, cook, and extra coolies.
10. What proportion or rate do your present household expenses, including everything, bear with those of 1858?	We consider that our present expenses, as compared with those in 1858, are twenty-five (25) per cent. higher.

Hong Kong, 6 April 1868. (signed) *Gibb, Livingstone, & Co.*

REPLIES of the Manager of the Oriental Bank.

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. What are the average rates of salaries given to gentlemen employed in professional and mercantile houses, according to service?	From 200 *l.* to 1,000 *l.* per annum, with board and lodging.
2. What is the average cost of the subsistence of each such gentleman, exclusive of lodging and servants?	From 80 to 100 dollars per month.
3. How much does a gentleman pay monthly for his washing?	From five to seven dollars.
4. Do you consider chairs, as a means of conveyance to town or country, necessary?	Yes.
5. Do you consider punkahs necessary?	In hot weather they are indispensable.
6. In a bachelor officer's establishment where no regimental mess is available, how many servants do you consider necessary?	Five (5) at least; cook, house boy, house coolie, two chair coolies.

7. What are the average rates of wages, per month?	
For a cook - - - - -	10 to 12 dollars per month.
For a boy - - - - -	8 to 10 „ „
For a coolie - - - - -	5 to 7 „ „
For a chair coolie - - - -	6 „ „
For a labourer coolie - - -	4 to 6 „ „
For punkah coolies - - - -	4 to 6 „ „
8. Can one description of servants be got to do the work of another?	In a small establishment a house coolie could act as bath coolie and bazaar coolie, and the chair coolies could do the duty of punkah coolies.
9. What do you consider should cover the messing of an officer daily, at a mess maintained in a suitable and liberal scale, and what should cover the daily expense of an individual officer living by himself?	Two and a half dollars per day in a mess of not less than six (6) to eight (8) persons; and five dollars per day for an officer living by himself.
10. What proportion or rate do your present household expenses, including everything, bear to those of 1858?	Expenses have increased about 30 per cent.

(signed) *Jas. Berwick*, Acting Manager,
Oriental Bank Corporation, Hong Kong.

Hong Kong, 11 April 1868.

Sir, Hong Kong, 7th April 1868.

In reply to your favour of the 3rd instant, and which unavoidable business has compelled me to delay attending to sooner, I am glad to place at the disposal of the Committee of which you are chairman, the result of nearly 23 years' experience of residence in China, and shall be pleased to answer any special questions you may wish to put to me.

In the first instance, then, I beg to state that the following constitute the principal requisites for the maintenance of health in this climate, on the part of the better class European population:—

1st. Roomy and well-ventilated dwellings.
2nd. Well-cooked and varied nourishment.
3rd. A certain amount of stimulants.
4th. Means for obtaining exercise in hot weather, other than by walking.

Taking these items *seriatim*—

1st. House-rent is one of the heaviest causes of expense. Rents have always been high in Hong Kong, and have not materially changed for four-roomed houses in a good healthy situation, which can scarcely be obtained under 60 dollars to 70 dollars a month.

2nd. In warm weather the appetite is so seriously affected, that a much greater variety and a more generous diet is necessary to maintain health than would be be required in a cooler and less trying climate.

This can only be done by a heavy expenditure, and I do not think it possible to provide a suitable table at less than 50 dollars a head.

Table expenses have nearly doubled since 1858.

3rd. Stimulants are not a luxury, but a necessity in the warm weather. Many men who are abstemious from alcoholic drinks in Europe on principle, find it absolutely necessary to partake *freely of stimulants* in this climate.

I should estimate the necessary expenditure for this item at 20 dollars per month for a single man.

4th. In the summer months, or nearly eight months in the year, it is unsafe to go about without the protection of a chair.

During the same time, walking exercise sufficient to maintain health is scarcely possible.

I am in the habit of recommending horse exercise, and find it one of the most valuable adjuncts to what I consider the best treatment here; viz., the preventive.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. J. Murray*, M. D.,
Colonial Surgeon.

Colonel Gawler,
Commandant, &c.

REPLIES of Doctor *Murray*.

Questions.	*Answers:*
1. What are the average rates of salaries given to gentlemen employed in professional and mercantile houses, according to service?	In my own profession the lowest salary is 300 *l.* a year and quarters; few men, however, make less than 1,000 *l.* a year.
2. What is the average cost of the subsistence of each such gentleman, exclusive of lodging and servants?	Varies from entire salary to any sum; 50 dollars a month is the lowest amount for food alone.
3. How much does a gentleman pay for his washing?	Six (6) dollars.
4. Do you consider chairs as a means of conveyance to town or country necessary?	Certainly.
5. Do you consider punkahs necessary?	Certainly, in hot weather, but not over the bed.
6. In a bachelor officer's establishment, where no regimental mess is available, how many servants do you consider necessary?	See next answer.
7. What are the average rate of wages per month?	
For a cook - - - - -	8 to 20 dollars.
For a boy - - - - -	6 to 12 „
For a coolie - - - - -	6 to 7 „
For a chair coolie - - - -	6 to 7 „
For a labourer coolie - - -	2 dollars for removing night soil.
For punkah coolies - - -	Six to seven dollars; this is unnecessary, as I do not consider punkahs at night requisite, and during meals the other coolies can pull the punkah.
8. Can one description of servants be got to do the work of another?	Not in a decent establishment; the chair coolies and house coolies combine their functions.
9. What do you consider should cover the messing of an officer daily, at a mess maintained in a suitable and liberal scale, and what should cover the daily expense of an individual officer living by himself?	I can scarcely answer this question further than I have already done.
10. What proportion or rate do your present household expenses, including everything, bear to those of 1858?	They are nearly double; wages have more than doubled since 1848.

(signed) *J. I. Murray*, M.D.
Colonial Surgeon.

Sir, Hong Kong, 5 April 1868.

IN reply to your letter, dated 3rd April, I have the honour to inform you, that the sum paid for messing daily by the officers is 1 dollar 25 cents. The greatest expense connected with the mess is the sum of 43 dollars, paid monthly by the comprador for cooks and servants in the mess kitchen.

Total expenses of mess, 229 dollars a month.

(signed) *G. J. Burne*,
Lieut. Col. 73rd Regiment.

There is also a monthly expense of 166 dollars for servants, oil lamps, punkahs, &c. &c.

The regiment has bought no wine out here; that in the cellar was brought out in the ship with the regiment.

A dollar here goes about as far as a shilling would in England.

I have, &c.
(signed) *G. J. Burne*, Lieut. Col.
73rd Regiment.

The Commandant, &c. &c.
Hong Kong.

STATEMENT showing the Charges for Messing, and Prices of Wine at the Mess Detachment, Ceylon Rifles.

	Dols.	*cts.*
Messing, including breakfast, dinner, and tiffin per day -	1	25
Extra expenses per day - - - - - - - -	–	25
TOTAL - - -	1	50

PRICES OF WINE, &c.

Sherry per Dozen - - - - - - - -	10	56
Port „ - - - - - - - -	13	–
Claret „ - - - - - - - -	13	50
Beer „ - - - - - - - -	1	92
Porter „ - - - - - - - -	2	52
Brandy „ - - - - - - - -	10	80

(signed) *Fred. Staples*, Captain, C. R.,
President, Detachment Mess.

Hong Kong, 7 April 1868.

RETAIL PRICES of Articles, best Quality, supplied by *Bowra & Co.*

	Dols.	*cts.*
Porter, per dozen - - -	3	–
Beer „ - - -	3	–
Port Wine „ - - -	12	–
Sherry „ - - -	12	–
Claret „ - - -	10	–
Brandy „ - - -	12	–
Preserved Meats, per lb. - -	–	40
Jams - - - „ - -	–	50
Jellies - - - „ - -	–	50
Pickles, per bottle - - -	–	50
Hams, Overland, per lb. - -	–	60
Bacon - „ - -	–	60
Butter - „ - -	–	60
Cheese - „ - -	–	60
Loaf Sugar, per 28 lb. tin -	5	–
Brown Sugar, per lb. - -	–	6
Candles, Sperm - - -	–	50
Oil, per gallon - - -	1	–
Tea, per lb. - - - -	–	75
Coffee „ - - - -	–	25

The above are prices for articles of the best makers. Other qualities can be supplied at lower rates, and special arrangements made as regards payments.

April 1868. (signed) *Bowra & Co.*

RETAIL PRICES for Articles of the best Quality sold by Messrs. *McEwen & Co.*, Hong Kong.

	Dols.	*cts.*
Porter, per dozen quarts - -	2	75
Beer „ „ - -	2	75
Port Wine „ „ - -	12	–
Sherry „ „ - -	11	–
Claret „ „ - -	7	–
Brandy „ „ - -	11	–
Preserved Meats, per lb. - -	–	40
Preserved Fruits „ - -	–	30
Jams - - „ - -	–	50
Jellies - - „ - -	–	50
Pickles, per bottle - - -	–	50
Hams, per lb. - - -	–	50
Bacon „ - - -	–	40
Butter „ - - -	–	75
Cheese „ - - -	–	50
Loaf Sugar „ - - -	–	20
Brown „ „ - - -	–	10
Candles „ - -	–	50
Oil, per gallon - - -	1	–
Tea, per lb. - - - -	–	75
Coffee, ground, per lb. - -	–	40

Hong Kong, 3 April 1868. (signed) *MacEwen & Co.*

RETAIL PRICES of Articles of the best Quality sold by Messrs. *Lane, Crawford, & Co.*, Hong Kong.

Porter, per dozen - - Quarts, 3 dollars - Pints, 2 dollars.
Beer, „ - - „ 3 „ - „ 2 „
Port Wine - - - - - - - 12 to 16 dollars per dozen.
Sherry - - - - - - - - 10 to 15 „ „
Claret - - - - - - - - 7.50 to 16 „ „
Brandy - - - - - - - - 12 to 15 „ „

Preserved

Preserved Meats, per lb. 1 lb. tins, 5 dollars per dozen, or 50 cents each.
" " 2 " 10 " " 1 dollar each.
Preserved Fruits, 5 dollars per dozen bottles, or 50 cents each.
Jams, 1 lb. jars, 5 dollars per dozen, or 50 cents each.
Jellies, 2 lb. jars, 10 dollars per dozen, or 1 dollar each.
Pickles, 5 dollars per dozen bottles, or 50 cents. each.
Hams, ship, 50 cents per lb.; overland, 60 cents per lb.
Bacon, 60 cents per lb. in tin.
Butter, 9 dollars per keg of 16 lbs.
Cheese, ship, 50 cents per lb.; overland, 60 cents per lb.
Loaf Sugar, 5 dollars per tin of 28 lbs..
Candles, 50 cents per lb.
Tea, per single lb., 75 cents; 10 catty box, 9 dollars.
Coffee, per single lb. 25 cents, or 18 to 20 dollars for a quantity.

3 April 1868. (signed) *Lane, Crawford & Co.*

PROCEEDINGS of a Board of Officers assembled at Yokohama, Japan, on the 16th April 1868, by order of Colonel Norman, C.B., Commandant, bearing date Yokohama, 15th April 1868, under instructions from his Excellency Major General Brunker, commanding the Forces, for the purpose of furnishing information relative to the cost of living at Japan.

President:

Colonel Norman, C.B., 1/10th Regiment.

Members:

V. C. Major Crowe, 1/10th Regiment. | D. A. Purveyor Rains.
D. A. C. General Hughes. | Lieut. Brinkley, R.A.

The Board having assembled pursuant to order, the letters of instructions, &c. were read by the President to the members.

The Board then adjourned for the purpose of gaining the necessary information, until noon on the 17th instant.

Yokohama, 17th April 1868.

The Board re-assembled this day pursuant to adjournment, and proceeded to compare the statements of the various expenses necessary at Japan, furnished by the following gentlemen, viz.:—

Mr. M. H. Smith, Club. | Augustine Heard & Co.
Messrs. Wilkin & Robison. | Messrs. Sitwell, Schoyer & Co.
Messrs. M'Pherson & Marshall. | Sewin Loreiro, Portuguese Consul.
Messrs. Aspinall & Cornes. | Dr. Jenkins, M.D.
The Manager of the Oriental Bank. | Mr. M'Donald.
Agent of the P. and O. Company.

From these documents the Board ascertained that, in mercantile houses, the subordinates receive a salary varying from 200 *l.* to 500 *l.* per annum; in addition to which, they have board, lodging, medical attendance, and in fact everything except the cost of personal servants and washing allowed them.

In banking houses and in the agency of the P. and O. Company, the salaries of the subordinates vary from 300 *l.* to 500 *l.* per annum; in addition, board, lodging, &c., as in mercantile firms is allowed.

These gentlemen also have the privilege of one year's leave of absence in every six, their passage being paid to and from Europe, by the firm; they receive salaries while on leave, varying from 300 *l.* to 500 *l.* per annum.

The manager of the Oriental Bank, who has not completed 14 years' service, receives a salary of 1,500 *l.* per annum, besides fuel, light, and a furnished house (not a wretched hut, but a handsome residence), also medical attendance.

The average cost of the messing of each subordinate would amount to 25 *l.* per mensem.

Washing varies from 12 *s.* 9 *d.* to 17 *s.* per 100 pieces; at the former rate it is done by Japanese, and the wear and tear of the linen makes the price exceed in reality the higher rate.

Four servants are absolutely necessary for a bachelor officer when the regimental mess is available.

The wages of a	Chinese cook is - - - - -	50 *l.* per annum.
"	Chinese house servant - - - -	50 *l.* "
"	Japanese coolie - - - - -	14 *l.* "
"	Japanese labouring coolie - - -	14 *l.* "

It is considered necessary by the residents at Yokohama, that at least one Chinese or European servant should be kept; Japanese servants being liable to be taken away by the Government officials.

None but coolies will do any other servants' work, and they are not able to do it.

An officer's messing, exclusive of all incidental expenses connected with the maintenance of the mess, is 14 *s.* per diem.

An officer's messing when living by himself, including fuel and cook, amounts to 1 *l.* 5*s.* per diem.

The Board have also to report the cost of the under-mentioned articles, &c. &c.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*	
Gloves, per pair	–	6	9	
Buckskin ditto	–	8	6	
A saddle of mutton	2	5	–	
Beer	–	12	–	per day.
Milk	–	1	–	per bottle.
Butter	–	3	–	per lb.
Coals	4	5	–	per ton.

while furniture and glass reach almost fabulous prices.

Officers at Japan are also under great disadvantages in respect of obtaining leave of absence to visit their friends in Europe, the cost of a passage there and back being 300 *l.*; thus rendering it utterly impossible for any officer who has not large private means ever to avail himself of any leave of absence which, under other circumstances, he might be able to obtain. Still more does this press heavily on married officers, who, from the absence of any schools where their children might be educated, are compelled to send them to Europe at a ruinous expense for this purpose, thus rendering void all hope of again seeing them until they themselves may be ordered home.

The Board attach to the original proceedings the documents which have guided them in forming their opinion.

H. Radford Norman, Colonel, 1/10th Regiment, President.

J. P. H. Crowe, Major, 1/10th Regiment.
E. Hughes, D. A. C. G.
Stephen W. Rains, Deputy Purveyor.
T. Brinkley, Lieut. R. A.
} Members.

Yokohama, 17 April 1868.

Submitted,

H. Radford Norman, Colonel Commandant.

AT MARKET.

		Cents.
Beef	per lb.	20
Mutton	„	50 to 65
Pork	„	25
Veal	„	25
Bacon	„	35
Ham	„	40 to 50
Lard	„	30
Fish (average size)	each	12
Fowls		22 to 36
Pigeons		6
Ducks		90 to 130
Geese		165

		Cents.
Pheasants		45 to 90
Hares		45 „ 90
Rabbits		50 „ 90
Snipe		12
Milk	per pint	25
Potatoes	per lb.	—
Vegetables		—

		Dol.	*cts.*
Coals, Japanese		—	
„ English		—	
Wood	per 100 lbs.	25	–
Charcoal	„	1	50

		Dols.	*cts.*
Sherry		12	–
Port		12	–
Vinegar		3	–
Salad oil		8	–
Tea	per lb.	–	75
Sugar, white	„	–	20
„ brown	„	–	15
Butter		–	65
Cheese		–	50
Candles		–	40
Lamp oil	per gallon	1	25

		Dols.	*cts.*
Bottled fruits	per dozen	5	50
Pickles		5	50
Sauces		6	–
Spices	per lb.	1	50
Jams		–	50
Soap, yellow		–	20
„ Windsor	per dozen	1	–
Coffee	per lb.	—	
Mustard		—	
Pepper		—	

At Searle's & Kirby's Stores.		Dols.	cts.	At Chinese Tailor's Shop.		Dols.	cts.
Gloves, kid	per pair	1	50	Cloth, patrol jacket		18	–
„ buckskin	„	2	–	„ trousers		11	–
Flannel	per yard	–	60	Shell jacket		12	–
White calico	„	–	35	Uniform waistcoat		12	–
Boots	per pair	7	–	Forage cap, plain band		5	–
Shirts	per dozen	28	–	„ gold lace or badge		10	–
Collars	„	3	–	White summer tunic		5	–
Socks, woollen	per pair	4	–	„ trousers		3	–
Brushes, hair	each	3	–				
Combs	„	–	75				

(signed) *H. Radford Norman*, Colonel, President.

Replies of *Aspinall, Cornes & Co.*

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. What are the salaries you pay the gentlemen in your employ, according to their term of service; and do you give them board and lodging, or other similar allowances in addition?	From 250 *l.* to 500 *l.* per annum; board, lodging, and medical attendance provided by the firm.
2. What do you estimate to be the cost for the messing of a gentleman in Yokohama, per month?	One hundred dollars per month.
3. What are the wages of the following servants in Yokohama, according to your experience, viz.:—	
Cook	25 dollars per month.
House boy	15 „ „
Coolie	5 „ „
Boy (body servant)	15 „ „
Betto (groom)	5 „ „
and how many of each denomination do you find indispensable in your house?	the number of servants employed depends entirely upon the wants of the establishment.
4. Do you employ Chinese or Japanese servants, and do you consider the employment of the former absolutely necessary?	Chinese boys and Japanese coolies. Do not consider the employment of Chinese absolutely necessary, but advisable.
5. At what amount do you estimate the keep of a house per month?	One hundred and fifty dollars per month.
6. Have you found the cost of living in Yokohama to have increased of late, and have you found it necessary to make a proportionate increase in the salaries of your employés?	Considerably in the last two or three years. Employés being found by the firm, the salaries are not increased.
7. Do you think it likely that there will be a decrease in the price of living and general expenditure in Yokohama?	No; much more likely to be increased with increase of foreign population.

(signed) *Aspinall, Cornes & Co.*

Replies of the Agent of Messrs. *A. Heard & Co.*

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. What are the salaries you pay to the gentlemen in your employ, according to their term of service; and do you give them board and lodging, or other similar allowances in addition?	£. 300 to 500 *l.* per annum, including board and lodging; these are, however, for persons who have knowledge of specialties, as silk or tea.
2. What do you estimate to be the cost for the messing of a gentleman in Yokohama per mensem?	About 100 dollars, including food, wines, and all household expenses, except house-rent.

3. What are the wages of the following servants in Yokohama, according to your experience; viz.:—	
Cook - - - - - - -	Chinese, 25 dollars; Japanese assistant, 12 dollars.
House boy - - - - -	Chinese, 15 dollars 20 cents.
Coolie - - - - - -	12 dollars, with rice; 16 dollars, without.
Boy (body servant) - - -	Chinese, 15 dollars; Japanese, 12 dollars, with rice.
Betto (groom) - - - -	Japanese, 12 dollars.
and how many of each denomination do you find indispensable in your house?	1 Chinese cook, 1 Japanese assistant, 1 house boy, and 1 boy for each gentleman; 2 house coolies.
4. Do you employ Chinese or Japanese servants, and do you consider the employment of the former absolutely necessary?	I employ a Chinese house boy and Chinese cook; the former I consider indispensable.
5. At what amount do you estimate the keep of a horse per mensem?	28 dollars, including betto's wages.
6. Have you found the cost of living in Yokohama to have increased of late, and have you found it necessary to make a proportional increase in the salaries of your employés?	The cost of living has increased, as prices of many articles of food and wages are higher. Beef has increased from 12 cents to 15 cents, and within the past year to 20 cents per lb.; many other articles of food are also higher. We make no increase in salaries, as we provide everything for our employés.

(signed) *A. O. Gay.*

REPLIES of Mr. *E. A. Schoyer*, of Messrs. *Sitwell & Co.*

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. What are the salaries you pay to the gentlemen in your employ, according to their term of service; and do you give them board and lodging, or other similar allowances in addition?	According to position, from 300 *l.* to 500 *l.* per annum, and board, lodging, and medical attendance.
2. What do you estimate to be the cost for the messing of a gentleman in Yokohama per mensem?	Eighty dollars.
3. What are the wages of the following servants in Yokohama, according to your experience, viz.:—	
Cook - - - - - - -	Japanese, about boos 20; Chinese, 20 dollars.
House boy - - - - -	Japanese, boos 16; Chinese, 12 dollars.
Coolie - - - - - -	Japanese, boos 12.
Boy (body servant) - - -	Japanese, boos 16; Chinese, 12 dollars.
Betto (groom).	
and how many do you consider indispensable of each denomination to be kept in your house?	One cook, one house boy, one coolie, a body servant to each individual, and one groom to each horse.
4. Do you employ Chinese or Japanese servants, and do you consider the employment of the former absolutely necessary?	I consider Chinese quite indispensable.
5. At what amount do you estimate the keep of a horse per mensem?	Including betto's wages, 9 dollars, if more than one is kept; if only one, fully 12 dollars.
6. Have you found the cost of living in Yokohama to have increased of late, and have you found it necessary to make a proportional increase in the salaries of your employés?	The cost of living has decidedly increased 50 % during the past year.

(signed) *E. A. Schoyer.*

REPLIES of Assistant Commissary-General *Murray*.

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. How long have you lived in Yokohama?	I lived one year as a bachelor, 1863-4, and have lived rather more than two years as a married man, 1866-7-8.
2. What has been the average amount per mensem it has cost you to provide a suitable table for yourself and family?	It is difficult to answer this question without many details, but a certain amount was always set aside and seldom exceeded; this was 100 dollars per month; occasionally it was less, sometimes more; but in the two years of my married experience by the housekeeping books, &c., that sum is within the average.
3. Have you found the prices of the necessaries of life to have increased during your residence in Yokohama, and if so, to what extent?	After the great fire of November 1866, owing to the destruction of large quantities of supplies, prices rose considerably, and did not fall again until very lately. In June 1866, by combined arrangements among the butchers, the price of beef was raised 25 per cent., and of mutton 33 per cent. Beef has not been reduced again, although mutton has. At present, Beef is -*s.* 10 *d.* sterling per lb. „ Mutton, 2 *s.* 1½ *d.* „ „ „ Bread, -*s.* 5 *d.* „ „ „ Milk, 1 *s.* 1 *d.* per bottle.
4. What staff of servants have you found indispensable to be kept, whether Chinese or Japanese, and do you consider it necessary for Chinese servants to be kept?	With a family, I have found it necessary to keep— One Chinese nurse, 25 dollars per month. One cook - 7 to 12 „ „ One boy - 7 to 12 „ „ Two coolies - 4 to 8 „ „ each. Chinese nurses are indispensable, and are kept by almost every married civilian with a family, as Japanese nurses or women servants cannot be relied on to stay; they leave at any moment without warning. China cooks, and China house-boys are constantly employed in general as a necessity, but occasionally as a check on Japanese, who leave without notice. If Japanese servants only are employed, a house may be left suddenly without a single domestic. In addition to the above, washing is done separately by a hired washerman.
5. What has been the average cost to you per mensem for the keep of a horse?	The contract price paid by Government, being the lowest tender after public competition, was 38 cents per diem per horse = 1 *s.* 7 *d.* per diem. A groom's wages are from about 18 *s.* to 20 *s.* per month, double what it was four years ago. Shoeing a pony costs 4 *s.* 6 *d.* to 7 *s.* 6 *d.* each time, the first being the native charge for bad work.
6. What has been the rate of wages you have had to pay your servants?	*See* Answer to 4. Those rates I have paid for more than two years every month, with the addition of a groom and washerman; my average monthly expenditure for wages and washing has been 65 dollars, or 13 *l.* 16 *s.* 3 *d.* per month; and, on the occasion of the birth of a child, the charge for a nurse for one month was 40 dollars, or 8 *l.* 10 *s.*, besides her keep. I can certify that this statement of average wages actually paid is not the least exaggerated.

7. Can

7. Can you give any details as to the prices you have had to pay for furniture for your quarters?	For a drawing-room suite, consisting of a sofa and six chairs, I paid 150 dollars = 31 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.*; dining-room table, 25 dollars = 5 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.*; plain dining-room chairs, 5 dollars each = 1 *l.* 1 *s.* 3 *d.*; dumb waiter, plain, 15 dollars = 3 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.*; four stoves (which are indispensable), 15 dollars each = 3 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.* The above will give an idea of the cost of furniture of plain description.
8. What have you paid for washing?	*See* Reply to 6.
Yokohama, Japan, 17 April 1868.	(signed) *Jas. W. Murray*, A. C. G.

On arrival here, when obliged to stop at an hotel, the charge for myself and wife was 10 dollars, or 2 *l.* 2*s.* 6 *d.* per diem, without wine or beer.

REPLIES of Mr. *Wilkin*, of Messrs. *Wilkin* and *Robinson*.

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. What are the salaries you pay to the gentlemen in your employ, according to their term of service; and do you give them board and lodging, or other similar allowances in addition?	From 200 *l.* to 300 *l.* per annum is the lowest for not long terms of service, say two or three years; in addition to this, board and lodging, and indeed everything but washing, personal servants, and medical attendance, is provided without expense to the employé.
2. What do you estimate to be the cost for the messing of a gentleman in Yokohama per mensem?	From 75 dollars to 135 dollars per person per month. It cannot be done for the former sum, except by living carefully at the *table d'hôte* of the club or elsewhere.
3. What are the wages of the following servants in Yokohama, according to your experience, viz.:—	
Cook - - - - - -	20 dollars to 25 dollars, if a Chinaman.
House-boy - - - - -	The same.
Coolie - - - - - -	Boos 10, and rice, say boos 15.
Boy (body servant) - - -	Boos 15 to 20, without rice.
Betto (groom) - - - -	Boos 12 to 15.
and how many of each denomination do you find indispensable in your house?	One cook, one house boy to each person; a boy and two to three coolies for a household of four; a betto to each horse.
4. Do you employ Chinese or Japanese servants; and do you consider the employment of the former absolutely necessary?	Of late we have not employed Chinamen in the house, but we have a Portuguese cook. I consider the employment of a least one Chinaman desirable, if not indispensable, unless a coloured man is kept, or unless an unusually good Japanese servant as head boy can be obtained.
5. At what amount do you estimate the keep of a horse per mensem?	Of late it has cost 12 dollars or more per horse, including betto's wages.
6. Have you found the cost of living in Yokohama to have increased of late; and, have you found it necessary to make a proportional increase in the salary of your employés?	Wages of servants, cost of vegetables, meat, fowls, eggs, oil, &c., have very much increased of late; nearly doubled itself within the last four or five years. As our employés have board, &c. found them, it has not been necessary to make them any allowance in consequence.
	(signed) *A. J. Wilkin.*

REPLIES of Dr. *Jenkins*, Civilian Medical Man.

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. What do you consider to be the cost of messing for a gentleman living by himself, or for a small family, in Yokohama, *per mensem*?	For a bachelor, 160 dollars, comfortably. For a small family, 280 dollars to 300 dollars.
2. What are the wages of the following servants in Yokohama, according to your experience, viz.: Cook - - - - - - House-boy - - - - - Coolie - - - - - - Boy (body servant) - - - Betto (groom) - - - - and how many of each denomination do you find indispensable in your house?	Japanese. Chinese. 12 dollars to 20 dollars. 8 „ 20 „ 5 „ 5 „ 5 „ One of each for a small establishment. I consider a Chinese head servant indispensable.
3. Do you employ Chinese or Japanese servants; and do you consider the employment of the former absolutely necessary?	I employ a Chinese cook and Chinese head servant; the latter I have found almost indispensable.
4. At what amount do you consider the keep of a horse to come to *per mensem*?	Nine dollars, without groom's wages.
5. Have you found the cost of living in Yokohama to have increased of late?	It has steadily increased during the last five years.
6. Do you think there is a prospect of a decrease in the cost of living and general expenditure in Yokohama?	I have no reason to hope for any decrease in the prices of provisions and living generally.

(signed) *G. R. Jenkins*, M.D.

Yokohama, 16 April 1868.

H. Radford Norman,
Colonel, President.

ESTIMATE of Average Monthly Expenditure of four Officers quartered in Japan, for periods varying from 13 to 6 months.

	Dols.
Monthly mess accounts, messing and wine, averaged - - - - -	100
Servants: China boy at 12 dollars; Japanese coolie at 6 dollars - - -	18
Washing at 4 dollars per 100 pieces. - - - - - - - -	8
Candles at 50 cents per lb.; oil lamps - - - - - - - -	4
Water, bath and house purposes - - - - - - - - -	1
Forage, &c., for one pony; farriery, shoes at two dollars per set - - -	16
Fuel, average summer and winter, for one stove - - - - - -	7
TOTAL - -	154

(signed) *R. W. Buckle*, Lieut. R.E.
F. Brinkley, Lieut. R. A.
Richard Jackson, Staff Assistant Surgeon.
Joseph Carne Ross, Lieut. 73rd Regiment.

H. Radford Norman,
Colonel, President.

REPLIES of Mr. *William Davison*.

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. What are the salaries you pay the gentlemen in your employ according to their term of service, and do you give them board and lodging or other similar allowances in addition?	Salaries of subordinates in China and Japan vary from 120 to 300 dollars per month; quarters, medical attendance, oil, coals, and candles, also cook and coolies.
2. What do you estimate to be the cost for the messing of a gentleman in Yokohama per month.	About 120 dollars per month.

3. What are the wages of the following servants in Yokohama, according to your experience, viz.:	
Cook - - - - - -	Chinese, 20 dollars.
House-boy - - - - -	Ditto 18 „
Coolie - - - - - -	Japanese, 6 „
Boy (body servant) - - -	Chinese, 14 „
Betto (groom)	
and how many of each denomination do you find indispensable in your house?	
4. Do you employ Chinese or Japanese servants, and do you consider the employment of the former absolutely necessary?	Chinese butler and body servant, also cook, I find indispensable.
5. At what amount do you estimate the keep of a horse per month?	Including wages of groom, 14 dollars.
6. Have you found the cost of living in Yokohama to have increased of late, and have you found it necessary to make a proportionate increase in the salaries of your employés?	Cost of living has increased considerably and a general increase in the pay of our employés has been made in consequence.
7. Do you think it likely that there will be a decrease in the price of living and general expenditure in Yokohama?	No.

(signed) *William Davison,*
Agent P. & O. Company,
17 April 1868.
H. Radford Norman,
Colonel, President.

REPLIES of Mr. *William Marshall.*

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. What are the salaries you pay to the gentlemen in your employ, according to their term of service; and do you give them board and lodging, or other similar allowances in addition?	Silk inspector and book-keeper, 500*l.* a year; house found, and an allowance of 100 dollars per month each for mess.
2. What do you consider to be the cost of messing for a gentleman in Yokohama *per mensem*?	
3. What are the wages of the following servants in Yokohama, according to your experience, viz.:—	
Cook - - - - - -	20 dollars to 25 per month.
House-boy - - - - -	20 „ to 25 „
Coolie - - - - -	12 „ 16 boos.
Boy (body servant) - - -	15 „
Betto (groom) - - - -	14 boos.
and how many of each denomination do you find indispensable in your house?	
4. Do you employ Chinese or Japanese servants, and do you consider the employment of the former absolutely necessary?	I prefer Chinese, but do not think them absolutely necessary.
5. At what amount do you consider the keep of a horse to come to *per mensem*?	About eight dollars per month, exclusive of betto.
6. Have you found the cost of living in Yokohama to have increased of late, and have you found it necessary to make a proportionate increase in the salaries of your employés?	The cost of living has greatly increased within the last three years.
7. Do you think there is a prospect of a decrease in the cost of living and general expenditure in Yokohama?	I do not.

(signed) *William Marshall.*
H. Radford Norman,
Colonel, President

REPLIES of Mr. *M'Donald,* Marine Surveyor, &c.

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. What do you consider to be the cost of messing for a gentleman living by himself, or for a small family, in Yokohama, *per mensem*?	For a small family, to live respectably I should say from three to four hundred dollars is the inside expense.
4. What are the wages of the following servants in Yokohama, according to your experience; viz.:—	
Cook - - - - - - -	Japanese, 7 dollars; Chinese, { 20 to 25 dollars.
House-boy - - - - -	„ 6 „ „ 20 dollars.
Coolie - - - - -	„ 6 „
Boy (body servant) - - -	„ 6 „ „ 20 „
Betto (groom) - - - -	„ 6 „ „ 20 „
and how many of each denomination do your find indispensable in your house?	Ten, all told, Japanese and Chinese inclusive.
3. Do you employ Chinese or Japanese servants, and do you consider the employment of the former absolutely necessary?	Both; and during my residence in Japan, dating from 1861, I have always had Chinese in my service.
4. What amount do you consider the keep of a horse to come to *per mensem*?	Twelve dollars *per mensem.*
5. Have you found the cost of living in Yokohama to have increased of late?	I have found a steady increase, year by year, since I first settled in Japan.
6. Do you think there is a prospect of a decrease in the cost of living and general expenditure in Yokohama?	None whatever: on the contary, my experience goes to prove that any increase of charges in any way in this country is sure to be maintained, as the Japanese fully understand a maximum in their charges, but never revert to a minimum.

Yokohama, 16 April 1868.

(signed) *William M'Donald.*

H. Radford Norman,
Colonel, President.

REPLIES of Mr. *M. Smith.*

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. What are the salaries you pay to the gentlemen in your employ according to their term of service, and do you give them board and lodging or other similar allowances in addition?	To club stewards forty (40) dollars *per mensem,* and find them board and lodging.
2. What do you consider to be the cost of messing for a gentleman in Yokohama per month?	One of a number (say 30), 50 dollars per mensem; under that number, 60 dollars, without wines or extras, cooks, wood, &c.
3. What are the wages of the following servants in Yokohama, according to your experience?	
Cook - - - - - - -	Chinese cook from 20 to 40 dollars *per mensem.*
House-boy - - - - -	7 to 12 dollars *per mensem.*
Coolie - - - - - -	4½ to 5 „ „
Boy (body servant) - - - -	5 to 8 „ „
Betto (groom) - - - -	4½ to 7 „ „
and how many of each denomination do you find indispensable in your house?	
4. Do you employ Chinese or Japanese servants, and do you consider the employment of the former absolutely necessary?	Chinese and Japanese: for strangers, I consider the employment of Chinese to be highly necessary.
5. At what amount do you consider the keep of a horse to come to per month?	Ten dollars without betto, but includes shoeing.
6. Have you found the cost of living in Yokohama to have increased of late, and have you found it necessary to make a proportionate increase in the salaries of your employés?	All articles of consumption have greatly increased within the last three years, and many things are double the price.

7. In addition to the 50 dollars per month for messing, what amount per month do you consider necessary to cover the expenses of wines, fuel, light, and servants?	Forty-five dollars.
8. What do you consider the fair rate of wages for a cook in charge of a mess of about 30 members?	Forty dollars.
9. What do you consider to be the extra cost of foreign articles of consumption?	Forty per cent.
10. Give us your opinion about the other extras necessary for a mess of 30?	English coal very dear, 22 dollars per ton, and Japanese coal very inferior at 12 dollars per ton. Oil, wick, lamp-glasses, &c., are very dear. Washing, 2 dollars 75 cents per 100.
11. Do you think it likely that there will be a decrease in the price of native articles of consumption?	No; on the contrary, an increase, on account of Yokohama becoming an important port in the East, and natives consuming articles of food hitherto only used by foreigners.
12. Can you give similar particulars regarding the messing, living, and general expenditure of individuals, or of a small family, as you have of a mess of 30?	No; my experience has only been confined to a large establishment.

(signed) *M. Smith,* Secretary,
Y. U. Club.
H. Radford Norman,
Colonel, President.

REPLIES of Mr. *Loureiro,* Portuguese Consul.

Questions.	*Answers.*
1. What do you consider to be the cost of messing for a gentleman living by himself, or for a small family, in Yokohama, *per mensem*?	For a bachelor, 200 dollars, comfortably.
2. What are the wages of the following servants in Yokohama, according to your experience, viz.:	
Cook - - - - - -	Chinese, 20 dollars. Japanese, 5 dollars.
House-boy - - - - -	„ 20 „ „ 6 „
Coolie - - - - - -	„ 10 „ „ 5 „
Boy (body servant) - - - -	„ 20 „ „ 6 „
Betto (groom) - - - - -	„ 20 „ „ 6 „
and how many of each denomination do you find indispensable in your house?	one of each at least, and one Chinese head servant indispensable.
3. Do you employ Chinese or Japanese servants, and do you consider the employment of the former absolutely necessary?	I employ one Chinese servant, and I consider it necessary to have, at least, one Chinese servant, and the rest Japanese.
4. At what amount do you consider the keep of a horse to come to *per mensem*?	10 dollars without betto's wages.
5. Have you found the cost of living in Yokohama to have increased of late?	I have found a steady increase every year since my first arrival here, in December 1857.
6. Do you think there is a prospect of a decrease in the cost of living and general expenditure in Yokohama?	None whatever; on the contrary, it is more likely to increase. The price of beef when I first came here was 6 cents per lb., and now is up to 20 cents, and I hear it is likely to be 25 soon.
Yokohama, 16 April 1868.	(signed) *E. Loureiro.*

H. Radford Norman,
Colonel, President.

Major General *McMurdo* to the Assistant Adjutant General, Dublin.

INSPECTION OF THE 2/9TH REGIMENT.

Sir, Dublin, 7 October 1868.

I HAVE the honour to forward the enclosed representation from Colonel KNOX, C.B., and the officers of the 2nd Battalion, 9th Regiment, with a view to the correspondence being laid before His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. M. S. McMurdo*, Major General,
Inspecting Officer.

Submitted to the Deputy Adjutant General for transmission through the proper channel.

(signed) *A. Borton*, Major General,
8 October 1868. for Major General Commanding.

Adjutant General's Office, Dublin,
11 October 1868.

Referred to the Military Secretary.

The previous correspondence appears to have been sent to the Military Secretary, Horse Guards.

By Order,
(signed) *Kenneth D. Mackenzie*,
Deputy Adjutant General.

COLONIAL ALLOWANCES.

Sir, Dublin, 6 October 1868.

I HAVE the honour to enclose a Statement (A), made on behalf of myself and the officers of the 2nd Battalion, 9th Regiment, lately serving in Japan, accompanied by two copies of letters which I beg may be returned to me (B) and (C).

I trust that you will be good enough to transmit our claim to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for War for settlement. The only answer I have received, in August last, on the subject, was to the effect that it was under consideration.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Thomas E. Knox*, Colonel,
Lieutenant Colonel Commanding 2nd Battalion, 9th Regiment.

Major General McMurdo, C.B.,
Commanding 1st Infantry Brigade,
Dublin.

(A.)

STATEMENT.

THE officers of the 2nd Battalion, 9th Foot, take this opportunity to inform the Major General that at the last inspection of the battalion at Yokohama, a complaint was submitted to the Major General Commanding in China and Japan, relative to the 25 per cent. deduction from the China scale of allowances enforced against the officers serving in Japan.

This complaint was accepted, approved of, and forwarded by the then Inspecting General.

It is known that a commission was appointed to inquire into the subject, and it is believed that the commission has sent in its report. It would not be right at this stage to re-state details, but feeling confident that the facts upon which the complaint referred to was grounded cannot be contested, and that the altered rates of exchange and consequent collapse of the Itziboo fund rendered the 25 per cent. deduction unfair and harsh, the officers of the 2nd Battalion 9th Regiment, respectfully request that it may be noted on this occasion for the information of His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, that no reply has yet been received to the representations made by the officers of the battalion at the last inspection.

Thos. E. Knox, Colonel,
Lieut.-Colonel, Commanding 2/9th Regiment.

Richmond Barrack, Dublin, 6 October 1868.

(083—3—1461.)

The Assistant Under Secretary of State, War Office, to the Military Secretary, Horse Guards.

Sir, War Office, 18 November 1868.

WITH reference to your letters of the 31st August last, and 19th ultimo, transmitting, by direction of His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, certain correspondence relative to the scale of allowances for China and Japan, I am directed by Secretary Sir John Pakington to request that you will be good enough to inform His Royal Highness that he has applied for the consent of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to assimilate the rates allowed for Japan to those granted in China.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Douglas Galton.*

The Military Secretary, Horse Guards.

The Military Secretary, Horse Guards, to the Under Secretary of State, War Office.

Sir, Horse Guards, 30 November 1868.

HAVING laid before the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief your letter of the 18th instant, intimating that Secretary Sir John Pakington has applied for the consent of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to assimilate the rates of allowances for Japan to those granted in China, I am directed to acquaint you that His Royal Highness is gratified to learn that the above measure has been recommended to the Treasury, and presumes that it is intended to be retrospective to a certain extent, so as to meet the case of the officers of the 2nd Battalion (now serving in Ireland), 9th Foot, whose appeal on the subject was made in October 1867, and renewed in October last.

I am at the same time to observe, that as the reports forwarded by the general officer commanding the troops in China and Japan, clearly demonstrate the justice of increasing the allowances throughout the command, His Royal Highness trusts that an early decision will be arrived at on the general question, and also in regard to the advisability of there being no distinction of pay and allowance between the European officers of line and native regiments when serving together, and in reference to Major General Brunker's renewed application on the subject of the hardship of depriving staff and other officers of their consolidated allowances while proceeding on duty from one station to another in the command.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. F. Forster.*

(083—3—1468.)

The Assistant Under Secretary of State, War Office, to the Military Secretary, Horse Guards.

Sir, War Office, 18 December 1868.

WITH reference to your letters of the 19th October last, and 30th ultimo, on the subject of the scale of consolidated allowances granted to officers stationed in China and Japan, as well as to the letter from this office, dated the 18th ultimo, upon the same subject, I am directed by the Secretary of State for War to acquaint you, for the information of His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, that the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have declined to sanction any addition to the authorised scale of allowances.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Douglas Galton.*

(Pressing.)

The Military Secretary, Horse Guards, to the Under Secretary of State, War Office.

Sir, Horse Guards, 22 December 1868.

WITH reference to your letter* of the 18th instant, intimating that the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have declined to sanction any addition to the authorised scale of allowances granted to officers stationed in China and Japan, I am directed by the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, to request that you will let me know, for His Royal Highness's information, whether this decision affects the question of assimilating the rates allowed for Japan to those granted in China, a measure which it appears, from your letter† of the 18th ultimo, the Secretary of State for War had recommended for the approval of the Treasury.

* 083—3—1468.

† 083—3—1461.

I have, &c.
(signed) *E. B. Johnson*, Colonel,
For Military Secretary.

(083—3—1469.)

The Under Secretary of State, War Office, to the Military Secretary, Horse Guards.

Sir, War Office, 24 December 1868.

IN reply to Colonel Johnson's letter, dated the 22nd instant, on the subject of the refusal of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to authorise any increase to the consolidated allowances issued in the China command, I am directed by the Secretary of State for War to acquaint you, for the information of His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, that the Treasury decision, which was communicated to you in the letter from this office of the 18th instant, had reference to the increase of the Japan scale of allowances, which increase the Secretary of State had recommended for their Lordships' favourable consideration, as notified in the letter addressed to you on the 18th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

The Military Secretary, Horse Guards, to the Under Secretary of State for War.

Sir, Horse Guards, 28 December 1868.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters‡ of the 18th and 24th instant respectively, intimating that the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury have declined to sanction any addition to the authorised scale of allowances granted to officers stationed in China and Japan; and I am directed by the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief to request you will express to Mr. Secretary Cardwell his Royal Highness's great regret that this decision should have been arrived at, notwithstanding the reports received from China showing the inadequacy of the present allowances throughout the command. The Duke of Cambridge cannot think that the Lords Commissioners would wish that officers of Her Majesty's army should be compelled to serve in a distant country on allowances which have been shown to be insufficient to maintain them, and far below the amount which is looked upon as necessary in the case of gentlemen in civil and mercantile employ.

‡ 083—3—1468 and 1469.

I have, &c.
(signed) *E. B. Johnson*, Colonel,
For Military Secretary.

— II. —

CORRESPONDENCE relative to the ALLOWANCES of STAFF OFFICERS in the CHINA COMMAND.

(3180.)

Major General *Guy* to the Secretary of State for War.

Head Quarters, Hong Kong,
9 December 1867.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward for your favourable consideration the accompanying applications from the officers of the general staff in this command.

I am well aware that the representations contained therein are well founded, and that the officers in question are, as regards allowances, in a worse position than the regimental officers serving in China, while their expenses are much greater. I trust, therefore, that you will be pleased to take a favourable view of their claims, and place them upon at least the same footing as officers holding similar appointments in Ceylon.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*, Major General,
Commanding H. B. M's
Troops in China and Japan.

(F.—4424.)

Quarter Master General's Office, Hong Kong,
4 December 1867.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to request that you will lay before his Excellency the Major General Commanding, the following statement connected with my pay and allowances as Deputy Adjutant Quarter Master General in China, with a view to an increase to the same being recommended by him for the favourable consideration of the Secretary of State for War.

I am allowed 11 *s.* per diem consolidated allowance, in common with every other captain in the garrison, and being a mounted officer, I also draw 1 *s.* 6 *d.* per diem groom's allowance. This last is given to all officers entitled to keep a horse, if they do keep one, but is not supposed by the wording of the warrant to cover the expense of forage, for which a calculation is made and allowed to every officer in his consolidated allowance. Most officers in Hong Kong, not of field rank, who are entitled to keep a horse, do so in lieu of a chair. I am obliged to keep a horse as much as a field officer of a regiment, and I cannot perform my duties without a chair also, having to go constantly about during the heat of the day.

In the new scale of allowances recently published for Ceylon, a station much less expensive than this, the Deputy Adjutant Quarter Master General gets (in addition to the same staff pay of 9 *s.* 6 *d.* per diem which I draw) 11 *s.* 4 *d.*, captain's consolidated allowance, 2 *s.* 8 *d.* forage, and 3 *s.* per diem as head of his department; in all, 4 *s.* 6 *d.* per diem more than I do in Hong Kong, where living is dearer and the climate worse.

Contrasting my pay and allowances, in this command, with those of a regimental captain, there is less actual difference between mine and his than there would be were we both serving at Aldershot in similar positions, or in other words I receive less for serving on the staff in China than I should in England.

I need not observe that I have many expenses that a regimental captain has not, and I trust the Major General will recommend that such an increase may be made to my allowances as will bring them up to those of Ceylon.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Wilkinson Shaw*,
Deputy Adjutant Quarter Master General.

The Assistant Military Secretary,
Hong Kong.

(No. 3135.)

Military Secretary's Office, Hong Kong,
5 December 1867.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to request that you will be good enough to forward to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for War, this my application to be permitted to draw the same allowances as are granted to the staff officer holding my appointment in Ceylon, viz., the allowance granted to the head of a department, and 2 *s.* 8 *d.* per diem forage allowance. At present my staff pay is less than the staff pay of an officer holding a similar

similar staff appointment in England. I receive 9*s.* 6*d.* per day staff pay and 1*s.* 6*d.* per day groom's allowance, in addition to one ration of forage, which is included in my consolidated allowance and drawn in common with every officer in the garrison. In England I would receive the same rate of staff pay and forage as a field officer.

I may add that the Regent's allowance, a very great boon granted by War Office letter No. 083—3—1380 of the 14th April 1866, is not shared in by officers of the staff who are also, in consequence of the distance of their quarters from their offices, &c., compelled to keep a chair in addition to a horse, though drawing the same conveyance allowance as regimental officers, who are not obliged to keep either one or the other for the performance of their duties.

It is well known that Hong Kong is a much more expensive station than Ceylon, and a residence of six years in India enables me to affirm that the expense of living in that country is about half what it is in China.

I trust therefore that the Secretary of State for War will be pleased to give his favourable consideration to my request.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. S. Roberts,*
Asssistant Military Secretary.

His Excellency Major General Guy, C.B.,
&c. &c. &c.

(F.—4426.)

Sir, Hong Kong, 7 December 1867.

I HAVE the honour to request that you will be good enough to submit to the Major General Commanding, for his favourable consideration, this my application to be granted such an increase to my allowances (viz., 4*s.* 6*d.* a day; that is, 3*s.* a day as head of a department, and 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, the difference between the sum of the consolidated and horse allowances here, and of the same allowances at Ceylon) as will make them equal to those granted to the Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General at Ceylon, as the head of his department. I would ask you to bring the following facts to his Excellency's notice. While China is in itself a more expensive station than Ceylon, and perhaps than any other in the world where British troops are quartered (India not excepted), it is also one where the expenses incurred by an officer serving on the staff are greater in comparison with those of a regimental officer of the same rank than they are elsewhere; but in this command the pay and allowances of the staff bear a smaller proportion to those of regimental officers than is the case in England; for while the latter when serving here receive an increase to their income in the shape of a consolidated allowance, the officers of the former receive precisely the same allowance, and nothing additional whatever, for being on the staff, unless it be 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, "groom's allowance," which they have in common with all officers, regimental or otherwise, who are entitled to, and who keep horses, and which amounts to very little more than one-half the cost of keeping one. Here an officer on the staff is obliged to incur numerous expenses from which one serving in a regiment is exempt, owing to the necessity (from the difficulty of procuring houses) of living at such a distance from the regimental messes as prevents his making use of them, to the impossibility of his carrying on his duties without keeping both a horse and a chair, to the absence of any advantage accruing to him from the "Regent's allowance," and to other causes.

Trusting that the Major General will take such a view of these circumstances as will induce him to recommend my case to the favourable consideration of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for War,

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. Maxwell,* Captain,
Deputy Assistant Adjutant General.

The Assistant Military Secretary,
&c. &c. &c.
Hong Kong.

(7070—813.)

The Assistant Under Secretary, War Office, to the General Officer Commanding, China and Japan.

Sir, War Office, 22 April 1868.

WITH reference to your letter of 9th December last, forwarding applications from officers of the general staff at Hong Kong for an increase of their allowances, I am directed by Secretary Sir John Pakington to acquaint you that he regrets he is unable to make any alteration in the scale of allowances fixed for the stations.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Douglas Galton.*

ARMY (CHINA AND JAPAN).

COPIES of the CORRESPONDENCE which commenced in October 1867 between Major General *Guy*, C.B., then in Command of Her Majesty's Troops in *China* and *Japan*, and the War Office, relative to the SCALE of CONSOLIDATED ALLOWANCES promulgated in 1866, for the OFFICERS serving in *China* and *Japan*; and, of the STATEMENT handed by the Officer Commanding the Troops in *Japan* in October 1867 to the Major General at his Inspection of the 9th Regiment of Infantry relating to it.

(*Colonel North.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
7 *April* 1869.

Under 3 *oz.*

MORTALITY IN TROOPS (CHINA AND JAPAN).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 8 February 1866;—*for*,

"COPY of all CORRESPONDENCE which has taken taken place relative to the SICKNESS and MORTALITY in the 2d Battalion of the 9th Regiment and 2d Battalion of the 11th Regiment in *China* and *Japan*."

War Office,
19 February 1866.

HARTINGTON.

(*Colonel North.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
21 *February* 1866.

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COPY of all CORRESPONDENCE which has taken place relative to the SICKNESS and MORTALITY in the 2d Battalion of the 9th Regiment and 2d Batalion of the 11th REGIMENT in *China* and *Japan*.

— No. 1. —

Major General *Guy* to the War Office.—(Received December 27.)

Head Quarters, Hong Kong,
My Lord, 12 November 1864.

WITH reference to instructions received from the Horse Guards relative to the relief of the 67th and 99th Regiments by the 2d Battalions of the 9th and 11th Regiments, I have the honour to inform you that I propose making the following arrangements for carrying out this service, and the distribution of the troops to remain in China.

Her Majesty's ship "Adventure" has been placed at my disposal to concentrate the 67th Regiment at Hong Kong for embarkation. This regiment, strength as per margin,* may be expected here early next month, and will be accommodated in Murray and North Barracks.

On the arrival of the 67th Regiment, I purpose forwarding to Shanghae, in "Adventure," head quarters of the 99th Regiment, 400 men, with a proportion of officers. These troops can be accommodated in the settlement at that station.

Two officers and 61 men of this regiment are already on detachment at Taku. The remainder of the corps, 244 men, will be provided for at Kowloon.

On the arrival, about February next, in Her Majesty's ship "Tamar," of the 2d Battalion 9th Regiment, strength as per margin,† the 67th will be forwarded to the Cape, the 2d Battalion 9th Regiment taking its place in Murray and North Barracks, 18 officers and 500 men being quartered in the former, 221 men in the latter. 18 officers and 117 men will remain to be provided for.

The men, with a proportion of the officers, will be accommodated at Kowloon, but additional accommodation for at least 12 officers will be required at Hong Kong; and, as Murray Barracks is only constructed for two field officers, two rooms each, and 16 other officers, one room each, it will be absolutely necessary to hire a building for this purpose. I would beg to draw attention to this fact, and to request the favour of your Lordship's instructions thereon.

With reference to the annexed extract of a letter from Her Britannic Majesty's Minister in Japan to the officer commanding the troops in that country, from which it appears that a wing of the 2d Battalion 20th Regiment can be spared from Yokohama within six months, I would beg to propose the following arrangement, viz., that this regiment be distributed between Yokohama, Shanghae, and Taku. There will then remain no available accommodation for troops in this command except the barracks and huts at Hong Kong and Kowloon, which will be absolutely required for the 2d Battalion 9th Regiment, their families, and those of the 8th Battery, 2d Brigade Royal Artillery.

I would, therefore, request your Lordship's instructions as to the disposal of the 2d Battalion 11th Regiment, which, by Horse Guards letter of the 26th August last, it is proposed to send to China, as, under existing circumstances, it will be impossible to provide for it in this country.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*, Major General,
Commanding Troops, China.

[For reply, *see* No. 6, p. 7.]

* 26 officers and 705 men.

† About 36 officers and 838 men,

Enclosure in No. 1.

EXTRACT from a Letter from Sir *Rutherford Alcock*, Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at Japan, to Lieutenant Colonel *Browne*, Commanding Troops in Japan, dated Yokohama, 27 October 1864.

"I WOULD, however, call your attention to the fact, that so far as I can foresee there is no probability that the troops now here will be required to remain at furthest more than six months from this date.

"I have indeed, at this moment, instructions from Lord Russell, received by last mail, to the effect, that when all danger of an attack on Yokohama has entirely ceased, the wing of the 20th Regiment brought up from Hong Kong on my requisition may be sent back."

(True extract.)

R. Gammell, Major,
Deputy Assistant Adjutant General.

Hong Kong, 12 November 1864.

— No. 2. —

The Foreign Office to the War Office.

Sir, Foreign Office, 1 December 1864.

I AM directed by Earl Russell to request that you will acquaint the Secretary of State for War that his Lordship is of opinion that the time is arrived when Her Majesty's land forces may properly be withdrawn from Shanghae; but that he is also of opinion that no less than three battalions of European infantry should for the present be allotted for service in Hong Kong, China, and Japan.

I am, &c.
(signed) *E. Hammond.*

— No. 3. —

The War Office to Major General *Guy*.

Sir, War Office, 3 December 1864.

I AM directed by the Secretary of State for War to acquaint you that, looking to the circumstance of the capture of Nankin, and that Shanghae is no longer threatened by the Taepings, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the time has arrived when the troops may properly be withdrawn from Shanghae and Taku.

This measure will enable a reduction to be made in the force serving under your command. It has been decided, therefore, to dispense with the services of the two regiments of Indian troops, leaving, for the present, three battalions of European infantry and the existing force of Royal Artillery and Engineers to be allotted for service in Hong Kong, China, and Japan.

I am accordingly to instruct you to lose no time in making the necessary arrangements for the withdrawal of the troops from Shanghae and Taku, and for sending back to India the two regiments of Bombay Native Infantry.

The distribution of the troops which will remain at your disposal in the command between Hong Kong, Kowloon, and Japan, is left to your discretion, subject, of course, in the case of Japan, to your consulting Her Majesty's Minister in that country on the subject.

I am, &c.
(signed) *J. Crofton.*

[For reply, *see* No. 9, page 9.]

— No. 4. —

The War Office to the Military Secretary.

Sir, War Office, 3 December 1864.

I AM directed by Earl de Grey and Ripon to acquaint you, for the information of his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, that Her Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that—looking to the circumstance of the capture of Nankin, and that Shanghae is no longer threatened by the Taepings —the time has arrived when the troops may properly be withdrawn from Shanghae and Taku.

This measure will enable a reduction to be made in the China Command. It has therefore been decided to dispense with the services of the two regiments of Bombay Native Infantry, leaving, for the present, three battalions of European Infantry and the existing force of Royal Artillery and Engineers to be allotted for service in Hong Kong, China, and Japan.

Major General Guy has been informed of this decision; but the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief will doubtless furnish that officer with such instructions for giving effect to it as his Royal Highness may deem necessary.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. Crofton.*

P.S.—General Guy has been instructed that the distribution of the troops which will remain at his disposal in the Command between Hong Kong, Kowloon, and Japan, is left to his discretion, subject, of course, in the case of Japan, to his consulting Her Majesty's Minister in that country on the subject.

J. C.

— No. 5. —

The Military Secretary to the Director General, Army Medical Department.

Sir, Horse Guards, 7 December 1864.

I AM directed by his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief to transmit, for your information and guidance, the accompanying copy of a letter from the War Office, stating that Her Majesty's Government have decided that the force for service in China may be reduced by two regiments of Bombay Native Infantry, and that Major General Guy has been informed accordingly.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. F. Forster.*

[For reply, *see* No. 7, p. 8.]

Enclosure 1 in No. 5.

[*See* No. 4.]

— No. 6. —

The War Office to Major General *Guy*.

Sir, War Office, 6 January 1865.

IN General Crofton's letter* of the 3d ultimo, you were informed that it was proposed to retain, for the present, the existing force of Royal Artillery serving under your command.

* No. 3, p. 6.

I am now to acquaint you that on further consideration Her Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that the G Battery of the 14th Brigade, which belongs to the Indian establishment, and is now divided between Shanghae and Japan, can be spared without inconvenience. Earl de Grey desires, therefore, that you will make the necessary arrangements for sending this battery back to India.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

[For reply, *see* No. 11, p. 15.]

— No. 7. —

The War Office to Major General *Guy*.

Sir, War Office, 10 January 1865.

I AM directed by Earl de Grey and Ripon to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch* dated the 12th November last, in which you call attention to the difficulty which you anticipate in providing barrack accommodation for the whole of the force serving under your command.

* No. 1, p. 5.

You have been informed by the letters† which were addressed to you, by his Lordship's directions, on the 3d December and 6th instant, that Her Majesty's Government have determined on the withdrawal of the troops from Shanghae and Taku, and on sending back to India the two battalions of Native Infantry, and one battery of Royal Artillery. This will leave three battalions of European troops, one battery of Artillery, and one company of Engineers to be distributed between Hong Kong, Kowloon, and Japan; and Earl de Grey can only rely on your making the best and most economical arrangements in your power for the proper accommodation of these troops until such time as one of the battalions can be brought away.

† No. 3, p. 6; No. 6, p. 7.

I am to add that it is intended to reduce the establishment of regiments serving in China to 800 rank and file, depôt included, from the 1st April next.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

— No. 8. —

The Medical Department to the Military Secretary.

Sir, Army Medical Department, 11 January 1865.

As the withdrawal of the troops from Shanghae and Taku, as notified to me in your letter‡ of the 7th ultimo, and its Enclosure, has enabled me to recommend the reduction of a Staff Surgeon in the China Command, I have the honour to submit, for the approval of his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, that the military authorities in China may be instructed to order Staff Surgeon F. W. Moore, who will complete a tour of foreign service on 15th June next, to return to this country with as little delay as possible, either on duty or otherwise.

‡ No. 5, p. 7.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. B. Gibson,*
Director General.

— No. 9. —

Major General *Guy* to the War Office.—(Received 23d March.)

My Lord, Head Quarters, Hong Kong, 23 January 1865.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your information the report of a Medical Board which assembled by my order to inquire into the sanitary condition of that part of the peninsula of Kowloon occupied by Her Majesty's troops.

Soon after my arrival at Hong Kong, on the 26th October last, the unsatisfactory state of health of the 99th Regiment attracted my serious attention and inquiry. The removal of this corps from Victoria, Hong Kong, to the above station, by order of his Excellency the Governor, on the 15th September last, unfortunately became necessary, in consequence of the very serious riots which occurred in the town on the two previous evenings, when a portion of the 99th regiment came into collision with the police force and some of the native inhabitants, resulting in the loss of two lives and a considerable amount of damage to persons and property.

Under these unfortunate circumstances, it was deemed indispensable for the preservation of the peace that the 99th Regiment should not be permitted to return to Victoria.

I found, on inquiry, that the sickness which prevailed among the troops was mainly attributable to the excavations then going on for building purposes in the close vicinity to the huts. I therefore directed that the 99th Regiment should be placed under canvas, which was accordingly done on the 18th of November last. The site selected for the encampment was extremely eligible in every respect, being on elevated ground, open to the breeze, and sufficiently removed from the excavations to be out of the reach of malarious influence. The sickness diminished considerably almost immediately upon this change, although fever still prevailed to an extent difficult to account for, considering the apparent salubrity of the spot; the cases, however, were of a mild type, the patients generally being seldom more than from six to ten days in hospital. The mortality during the last quarter has been inconsiderable; eight deaths only, or little over one per cent. of the total strength of the corps.

I am inclined to coincide in the opinion expressed by the Medical Board as to the cause of the unhealthiness of Kowloon, and I fear that until good barracks are built, trees planted, the place thoroughly drained, and wholesome water obtained, sickness, to a certain extent, will continue to prevail among the troops stationed there; it will therefore be desirable, under existing conditions, to reduce the number at that post to the lowest possible amount. I have enclosed, with the proceedings of the Board, the opinion of a medical gentlemen in this colony of considerable experience in the climate of Southern China, which appears to be deserving of mature consideration.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*, Major General,
Commanding Troops, China.

[For reply, *see* No. 15, p. 19.]

Enclosure 1, in No. 9.

The Medical Board convened under the authority of paragraph 1, General Order, dated 3d November 1864, to inquire into such matters as may be brought before it, and with reference to instructions of the same date from the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General has the honour to report for the information of the Major General Commanding.

President.

Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals, Dr. DICK.

Members.

Staff Surgeon, F. W. MOORE.
Assistant Surgeon, R. A. SMITH, R.A.

The Board having assembled, and having considered their instructions, it appeared to it convenient that the question proposed for its investigation should be arranged as follows:—

1st. As regards the general sanitary condition of the military station of Kowloon.

2d. As regards the recent outbreaks of disease which have occurred in the 99th Regiment since it has been stationed at Kowloon.

3d. As regards the deaths of Private Sullivan and others of the 99th Regiment, and the circumstances attending them, as requested in the Commandant's letter of 29th October 1864.

I. With regard to the first question considerable difficulties present themselves with respect to the earlier medical history of Kowloon. The statistical reports emanating from that station may lead to a fallacious conclusion, inasmuch as they show only the stations at which diseases first manifest themselves without giving any clue to that at which they really originated. From the frequent interchange of detachments, for instance, many of the cases of fever which appeared in the Hong Kong returns may really have resulted from infection at Kowloon; and, on the other hand, cases of this disease which appeared in the Kowloon returns may have originated at Hong Kong; and that until December 1863, when Kowloon was occupied by the 2d Battalion 20th Regiment, no positive conclusion can be drawn from these returns without tracing the history of each separate case of disease occurring at either station from August 1860, when Kowloon was first occupied as a military post to the date just mentioned.

The other documentary evidence is still less conclusive, for while on the one hand Kowloon has been represented as superior in a sanitary point of view to the island of Hong Kong, it has been, on the other hand, described as very far inferior to it. This apparent discrepancy might perhaps be reconciled if the circumstances under which each separate report was written could be properly ascertained, for it is very possible that even Kowloon might have been comparatively healthy at one period, and quite the reverse at another, which indeed has been the case even during the present year.

The general effect of the evidence taken in the course of this inquiry will be considered by the Board, and the evidence itself will be attached to this Report as an Appendix. But in the first place it is necessary to the objects of this investigation that a broad distinction should be drawn between the present and former sanitary condition of Hong Kong, and the evidence of Mr. Fisher, one of the oldest and most respectable inhabitants of the colony, shows what that condition was once, and what it now is. And had one of the questions proposed for the consideration of the Board been whether the actual sanitary condition of Kowloon is superior to the former sanitary condition of Hong Kong, there would have been no hesitation in giving an affirmative reply.

Or had the question submitted been whether, in the opinion of the Board, Kowloon (possessing, as it does, the undoubted sanitary advantage of being open to the influence of the south-west monsoon, which prevails during the hot season), might not be rendered even more salubrious than Hong Kong is at present, the answer would be that, with efficient drainage, the protection from solar influence afforded by trees, the erection of good substantial buildings, well ventilated, and a supply of wholesome water for drinking purposes, it would have every reason to anticipate the desirable and beneficial result indicated; but it is the duty of the Board to deal with matters as they are, and not as they have been, or may hereafter be.

The 2d Battalion 20th Regiment occupied Kowloon from December 1863, and remained there until the end of June of the present year, about which time it embarked for Japan.

During the first three months its sanitary condition was good; but in April some cases of fever appeared, and they gradually increased until the 17th June, when the weekly per-centage of sick amounted to 14·165, and the number of fever cases to 73.

After this date the regiment was encamped on the Kowloon peninsula for some short period, and within the next two months no fewer than 20 deaths occurred in it, of which 12 were from cholera, five from diarrhœa, one from fever, and two from apoplexy, and there is only too much reason to fear that the germs of 18 of these fatal diseases were sown during the latter portion of the period the corps was quartered at the station just named.

The testimony of Surgeon Snell, 99th Regiment, and of Staff Assistant Surgeon Beath, M. D., shows that during the year 1863 the garrison of Kowloon was principally furnished by the 99th Regiment, and that it was relieved several times by detachments of the same corps, and that a considerable increase of the general regimental sick list in each instance followed the return of these detachments to Hong Kong, the men having contracted fever and other diseases when stationed at Kowloon. Staff Assistant Surgeon Beath also states that while Dr. Home was principal medical officer in China he was employed by him to draw up a table of the per-centage of sick at Kowloon and Hong Kong, respectively, for a period of three years, and that, on the whole, those of the former exceeded the latter by about 33 per cent.

The evidence of W. H. H. Scott, Esq., acting barrack master, shows that the huts occupied by the troops at Kowloon are most of them mat huts, which do not, in his opinion, afford sufficient protection from ordinary vicissitudes of weather.

The evidence of Major Brine, R. E., shows that extensive marshes and abandoned paddy-fields exist on two sides of the military station, the dimensions of which can be ascertained from the enclosed tracing.

The evidence of Staff Assistant Surgeon Curtis shows that he was employed by the principal medical officer to analyse the water used for drinking purposes by the troops at Kowloon, and that he found it of bad quality and unwholesome in its native condition.

Taking

Taking all these circumstances into its mature and anxious consideration, the Board is of opinion that the sanitary condition of Kowloon is and has been unsatisfactory, and that no proper means have been adopted to improve it.

It is of importance to this part of the investigation that the Board should here refer to some of the most obvious causes of fever, and to the periods of time which observation has shown generally elapsed between the reception of the infection and the invasion of febrile diseases; these have been termed the periods of incubation.

The ordinary existing causes of fever are cold, miasmatic influence from marshes, emanations from the ground, or from cesspools and other receptacles of filth, and from direct contagion, which, however, is believed to be confined chiefly to fevers of a putrid character, and to certain eruptive fevers, while the fever arising from cold is usually ephemeral, and quickly disappears.

The predisposing causes of fever may be described generally as those which lower the general health, and among them may be classed, undue exposure to solar influence and night duties.

The period of incubation is very uncertain, and may vary from a few hours to forty-two days; but the ordinary period between the infection and the invasion may be stated at seven to twenty-one days.

The principal facts, with reference to this part of the investigation, which appear in the evidence before the Board are as follows:—

On the 6th September last, Her Majesty's troop-ship "Adventure" arrived at Hong Kong from England, having on board the 8th Battery 2d Brigade Royal Artillery, and a draft of 60 men of the 67th regiment; and the evidence of Assistant-Surgeon Smith, R.A., shows, that up to that period, these two bodies of men had been very healthy. The battery of Royal Artillery disembarked at Hong Kong, where it is still quartered, the draft of the 67th Regiment at Kowloon, where it remained for a period of 10 days.

When the 8th Battery, 2d Brigade Royal Artillery, landed at Hong Kong, the 6th Battery, 12th Brigade Royal Artillery, proceeded to Kowloon. Many of the men had previously served in China for a period of eight years, and some of them had never before been affected with fever.

The evidence of Lieutenant Cane, the commanding officer, shows that up to the arrival of this battery at Kowloon, it had been very healthy. It remained there for eight days, when it returned to Hong Kong.

The subsequent medical history of the draft of the 67th Regiment, appears in the evidence of Surgeon Snell, 99th Regiment; that of the 6th Battery, 12th Brigade Royal Artillery, and 8th Battery, 2d Brigade Royal Artillery, in the evidence of Assistant-Surgeon Smith, of that corps: the general effect of which is, that while the health of the two bodies of men stationed at Kowloon (the one having just arrived in the Colony, the other having served in it for years) soon afterwards became very bad, and that much fever prevailed amongst both, while the health of the 8th Battery, 2d Brigade Royal Artillery, which had been disembarked at Hong Kong, has been and continues to be very good. The obvious inference therefore is, that the bad health of the first, viz., the 6th Battery, 12th Brigade Royal Artillery, and draft of the 67th Regiment, was caused by residence at Kowloon.

The evidence of Assistant-Surgeon Wheatley, 22d Bombay Native Infantry, shows that a detachment of his regiment, 165 strong, was quartered at Kowloon from the 29th June to the 15th September last, and that the head-quarters, 465 men, were stationed at Hong Kong; that previous to the first date, the men of that detachment had been healthy; that while there stationed, fever began to prevail among them; and that after its return to Hong Kong, 162 cases of fever occurred in his corps, and of that number 117 cases were from the Kowloon detachment, being in the proportion to respective strengths of 78 per cent. of the Kowloon detachment, and rather under 10 per cent. of the head-quarters. The inference therefore is, that most of these 117 cases originated at Kowloon.

On the 15th September, the 99th Regiment was ordered to Kowloon. For a considerable period previously, it had enjoyed good health. For two weeks after its arrival there, the health of the corps does not appear to have been seriously affected, although the number of sick had increased.

On the 7th October, there was a great increase in the number of sick, caused chiefly by fever. The number of fever cases continued to increase until the 14th of the month, when it amounted to 81. It afterwards decreased, and went on decreasing until the 25th of October; but about the 29th of the same month, a fresh invasion of fever occurred, and went on extending until the 19th of November, when the number of fever cases in hospital amounted to 117.

The obvious inference therefore again is, that the health of the 99th Regiment has been greatly deteriorated and its efficiency impaired, by influences existing at Kowloon.

The evidence of Major Brine, R.E., and Lieutenant Williams of the same corps, shows that cuttings on an extensive scale were first commenced on 9th August 1864, at Kowloon, and continued until the 17th of September, and that these cuttings were in close proximity to a portion of the barrack buildings. At the above date, they were discontinued, but new cuttings at a greater distance from the buildings were commenced about the same time; and the newly-turned earth from these second cuttings was brought to a point farther from the barracks than the first cuttings, but much nearer than the others, and used in the formation

of a Government road just under them. That the original cuttings were recommenced on the 20th October, and were being then continued, and that some portion of these are within a few yards of the huts.

It appears further, from the evidence of Mr. Thwaytes, that on the day following the removal of the 99th Regiment to Kowloon, and some time before any extraordinary sickness appeared among any portion of the troops, the attention of the commandant was specially directed to the danger likely to be caused to the health of that corps by the continuance of the cuttings, and that the principal medical officer pointed out in his letter that fever was likely to result therefrom; that other letters were addressed to him, having reference to the same subject, on the 26th September and 6th October; and it certainly is a coincidence that disease in the particular form indicated by the official sanitary adviser of the military authorities appeared within a very short period from the date of his first letter. But the Board does not regard this circumstance as of itself conclusive testimony that the subsequent sickness of the 99th Regiment was caused by the cuttings then going on, as other causes of fever might exist at Kowloon, but only as a connecting link in the chain of evidence.

But there are other considerations: the amount of the sickness at Kowloon had never been before so great as it lately has been, while the cool and dry state of the weather has been unfavourable to the propagation of fever by ordinary miasmatic influences.

No cesspools or other receptacles of filth exist at the station, with the exception, perhaps of a tank of foul water kept there for use in cases of fire; and as regards the influence of cold, by far the greater number of the fever cases have not shown any of the characteristics of febrile affections arising from this cause alone.

Notwithstanding the rather inconsistent testimony of Dr. Murray, the Colonial surgeon, who is not friendly to, though he does not ignore, the theory that the former prevalence of fever at Hong Kong resulted from exposure of fresh earth, a general opinion does exist and has existed for many years, that the turning over of virgin soil had much to do with its production in the early days of the Colony; and the testimony of Mr. Fisher shows, as a matter of fact, that when what he calls the Hong Kong fever was at its worst, many years before Dr. Murray became a resident, much fresh earth was being turned up; and Major Brine, R.E., who has been some years in China, says in his evidence, that his impression is, that turning up of earth and excavations for public works conduce to sickness among the Europeans; and Deputy Inspector General, Dr. Mackay, R.N., states, as a matter of fact, that since the cuttings at Kowloon had commenced, fever had been more prevalent on board Her Majesty's Hospital Ship "Melville" than it ever was before.

The evidence of Dr. Shetely, who has had six years' experience in the Colony, shows that he has met with many cases of fever which, in his opinion, resulted solely from the turning over of fresh earth, and the exposure thereby of disintegrated granite, and he is of opinion, that it is at all times a fertile source of fever; and, as a matter of direct testimony, having a most important bearing on this question, the Board beg to refer to the very strong and decided statement of Mr. Rawlings, a man, perhaps, of as great practical experience in building operations as any person now in the colony (having superintended the building of over 300 houses), which clearly shows that the natives of China themselves are not exempt from the injurious influences arising from the turning over of fresh earth.

It also results, from a comparison of dates, that extraordinary coincidences have existed between the progress and localities of the cuttings at Kowloon and some of the accessions of fever which have occurred lately at that station.

The draft of the 67th Regiment and the 6th Battery 12th Brigade Royal Artillery arrived there when the cuttings were going on in the immediate vicinity of the barrack huts; the results were similar in both cases, and need only again be referred to in this place.

The 99th Regiment arrived at Kowloon while the same cuttings were still in progress; and though they were discontinued two days afterwards, much fresh earth was still exposed, and fever supervened, just about the period it might have been expected to appear, if it resulted from the injurious influence of these cuttings. The evidence further shows that the cuttings nearest the military post, and almost in contact with some of the barrack buildings, were resumed on the 20th of October, at which date fever had greatly decreased in the 99th Regiment, and then again, a new accession of fever occurred, just at the period that might have been anticipated, if it could be demonstrated with the accuracy of a mathematical problem that the infection had been the result of the malarious influence of the newly turned up earth; this second accession of fever went on increasing from day to day, until it predominated to an extent before unknown in the regiment.

But if anything is still wanting to place the pernicious influence of these cuttings on the health of the 99th Regiment beyond a doubt, the Board has only to refer to the testimony of Assistant Surgeon Kerans, and Lieutenant and Adjutant Ffolliott of that corps, by which it appears, that of 12 officers who lived in a range of quarters immediately overlooking the cuttings, nine had been more or less seriously affected with fever, and that of six officers quartered in another range of buildings at some distance from them, only one has been affected with fever.

Major Brine, in his evidence, has suggested that the large proportion of fevers among the officers living in the first range of buildings may have resulted from fermentation taking place in the bamboo leaves entering into the composition of the huts through moisture and heat, but it must be remembered that the construction of both ranges is similar, that the weather has been comparatively dry and cool. Farther, it has been ascertained, by the personal

personal inspection of the Board, that no apparent difference exists between the condition of these two ranges of huts. Moreover, Major Brine has himself stated that he considers both ranges of huts in tolerable repair.

The Board, on review of the whole evidence affecting this question, is of opinion, that though the ordinary causes of disease existing at Kowloon may have operated in its production in an inferior degree, yet that the recent outbreaks of sickness in the 99th Regiment were mainly produced by the malarious influences of the cuttings which have recently been going on there; and the Board is further of opinion, that had these cuttings been effectually stopped in the first instance, much of the sickness and mortality which has since ensued, would not have occurred.

3d. The Board having given its attention to the letter of the Commandant, dated the 29th October, and referring to the evidence of Lieutenant and Adjutant Ffolliott, Assistant Surgeon Kerans, and Serjeant Major Short, of the 99th Regiment, has not been able to discover any circumstance in the mode of life of Private Sullivan for some days previous to the accession of his fatal fever, which can warrant it in coming to the conclusion that his death was hastened or his fever induced by any excess or imprudence on his part. The same observations apply to two other fatal cases of fever which have since occurred in the 99th Regiment, viz., to those of Serjeant Carter and Private Fagan; and the only opinion at which the Board can arrive, with reference to these cases, is, that death was the result of the malarious influences indicated in the previous conclusion.

(signed) *William Dick*, M.D.,
Deputy Inspector General, President.
Frederick Moore,
Staff Surgeon.
A. R. Smith,
Assistant Surgeon, R.A.
} Members.

Hong Kong, 26 November 1864.

(True copy.)

Geo. W. Thompson, A.D.C.,
Officiating Assistant Military Secretary.

Enclosure 2, in No. 9.

MEDICAL OPINION on *Kowloon*.

FROM an experience of the climate of the south of China during a residence of upwards of nine years at Macao and Hong Kong, I have no hesitation in giving as my opinion that the illness which has occurred among Her Majesty's troops at Kowloon has been the consequence of the disturbing of the surface of the soil from the excavations going on there. I unhesitatingly aver that I am certain, while the present condition of things there obtains, any persons who may be obliged to reside there will be subject to the same diseases, fever (intermittent and remittent), and bowel complaints; but I also believe that, when proper habitations are built, the ground allowed to settle, and the surface protected by trees and herbage from the direct solar rays, proper drainage, and a supply of good water afforded, Kowloon will become, from its position and exposure to the south west monsoon, far more healthy as a station than Victoria, which has since my knowledge of it become as healthy a town as perhaps any within the tropics.

(signed) *William Kane*, M.D.

Hong Kong, 13 January 1865.

P.S.—I ought to say that I have had the opportunity kindly afforded me of perusing the report of the medical board, and the evidence on which that report was founded.

W. K.

(True copy.)

Geo. W. Thompson, A.D.C.,
Officiating Assistant Military Secretary.

— No. 10. —

Major General *Guy* to the War Office.—(Received March 15.)

Head Quarters, Hong Kong,
28 January 1865.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter,* dated 3d December 1864, informing me that Her Majesty's Government have decided that the time has arrived when the troops may properly be withdrawn from Shanghae and Taku; also that the two regiments of Bombay Native Infantry, now serving

* No. 3, p. 6.

in this command, are to be sent back to India, and that no time is to be lost in making the necessary arrangements for carrying these changes into effect.

I beg to inform your Lordship in reply, that, in accordance with the above instructions, I have written to Admiral Sir A. Kuper, to obtain shipping for the transport of the two native regiments to Bombay as early as practicable.

With respect to the 67th and 99th Regiments, I propose to make the following arrangements:—

On the arrival at Hong Kong of Her Majesty's Ship "Tamar," with the 2d Battalion 9th Regiment from Gibraltar, the 99th Regiment, now at Kowloon, will embark for the Cape of Good Hope, agreeably to the instructions on that head contained in a letter dated Horse Guards, 26th August 1864. Such portion of the 67th Regiment now at Hong Kong as can be accommodated in the "Tamar" will also embark with the 99th Regiment.

The head quarters of the 67th Regiment now at Shanghae, will remain there until the return of the "Tamar" from the Cape of Good Hope, with the 11th Regiment, about the end of July next. By this arrangement there will be no additional expense incurred, as the buildings occupied by the 67th Regiment are engaged until the 14th November and October, and the withdrawal of the whole of the troops from Shanghae will have been effected ere this. If brought at once to Hong Kong, it would be impossible to accommodate them without entailing considerable expense upon the Government for the hire of buildings, as the 9th Regiment will take up all the accommodation available here.

The half battery of artillery at present at Shanghae will be brought to Hong Kong.

The 99th Regiment has been selected to embark first, on account of the great amount of sickness which has prevailed, and still continues in that corps. The health of the 67th Regiment, on the other hand, is now in a very satisfactory state. For these reasons I have considered it necessary to alter the former arrangement of embarking the 67th Regiment for the first trip to the Cape, and removing the 99th to Shanghae. The earnest representations of the medical officers as to the state of health of the latter corps, have induced me to comply with their recommendations, which will not, I presume, in any degree interfere with the convenience of the service. I beg to enclose copy of a letter received from the principal medical officer on this subject.

With respect to Japan, I can only repeat the opinion I have expressed in former correspondence, that it will not, on any account, be advisable, for the present, to remove any portion of the 20th Regiment, or the half battery of artillery now at Yokohama.

Previous to the receipt of your Lordship's instructions, the following changes had taken place in the command, none of which will in any way interfere with the contemplated reductions.

The detachments 67th Regiment * and 2d Belooch Battalion † left Yokohama on the 20th ultimo, and arrived at Shanghae on the 31st December last. The detachment 2d Belooch Battalion was disembarked at Shanghae, and arrangements were made for the embarkation of the head quarters and the remainder of the 67th Regiment with a view to the entire corps proceeding to Hong Kong for embarkation for the Cape, on the arrival of Her Majesty's Ship "Tamar." As the head quarters of the 67th Regiment were about to embark, two cases of small-pox were reported on board the "Adventure," and a medical board pronounced it unadvisable to proceed with the embarkation. The "Adventure" accordingly sailed with the Yokohama detachment of the 67th Regiment only, and reached this on the 13th instant.

I would beg to request your Lordship's consideration of my letter, No. 764, of the 12th November last, pointing out the impossibility, under existing circumstances, of providing for the 2d Battalion 11th Regiment in China, at least until additional accommodation be prepared for a second regiment at Hong Kong, and request, therefore, further instructions on this head.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*,
Major General, Commanding Troops, China.

[For reply, *see* No. 12, p. 15.]

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* 8 Officers, 248 non-commissioned officers and men.
† 2 Officers, 4 native officers, 151 non-commissioned officers and men.

Enclosure 1, in No. 10.

The Principal Medical Officer to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General.

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
Sir, 16 January 1865.

THE intended departure of a portion of the 99th Regiment for Shanghae at this season of the year, has directed my special attention to the probable effects of great and sudden reduction of temperature, and more sudden and great variation of the same, on men already enfeebled by disease and exposure to malarious influences during a residence of nearly four months at Kowloon, and nearly five years in the south of China, and the conclusion I have arrived at, after mature consideration and anxious inquiry, is that while the change in question may be beneficial to a few, it will be very injurious to the others, more especially to those who have lately suffered from fevers and from bowel complaints, and to those who have any tendency to affections of the liver or spleen; and indeed I have been informed by a medical gentleman of great local experience that the very worst cases of inflammation of the liver he has known of have been induced entirely by sudden exposure to severe cold, in persons who have resided for a considerable time in the south of China, proceeding to the north during the winter season.

I have the honour to request that you will be pleased to bring this communication under the notice of his Excellency the Major General Commanding.

I have, &c.
(signed) *William Dick*, M.D.,
Deputy Inspector General, Principal Medical Officer.

(True copy.)

Geo. W. Thompson, A.D.C.,
Officiating Assistant Military Secretary.

— No. 11. —

Major General *Guy* to the War Office.—(Received May 1.)

Head Quarters, Hong Kong,
My Lord, 15 March 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report the departure of the 2d Belooch Battalion from Shanghae to Bombay, on the 10th and 14th instants, and the head quarters and 600 men of the 22d Bombay Native Infantry from Hong Kong to Bombay this day. The remainder of the latter corps, one officer and 128 men, will embark in a few days for Bombay.

Application has been made to the Navy for transport to India for the G Battery, 14th Brigade, Royal Artillery, as directed in your letter* of the 6th January last. * No. 6, p. 7.

This battery, at present divided between Shanghae and Yokohama, will be concentrated at the former station, and forwarded from thence to India with the least possible delay.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*, Major General,
Commanding Troops, China and Japan.

— No. 12. —

The War Office to Major General *Guy*.

Sir, War Office, 23 March 1865.

I AM directed by Earl de Grey and Ripon to acknowledge the receipt of your letter* of the 28th of January last, in which you report that, in compliance with the instructions you had received, you were about to send back to India the two battalions of native troops, and you explain the arrangements you proposed to make for carrying out the relief of the 67th and 99th Regiments. * No. 10, p. 13.

In reply, I am to signify to you Earl de Grey's approval of these arrangements.

With regard to the difficulty which you anticipate in providing sufficient accommodation for a second regiment at Hong Kong and Kowloon, I am to acquaint you that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have decided on withdrawing the Royal Marines now serving in Japan. There will, therefore, be no objection to your sending the 2d Battalion 11th Foot on its arrival from the Cape, or such portion of it as you may be unable to accommodate at Hong Kong, to Yokohama, where the climate is better suited than that of China to the European constitution.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

[For reply, *see* No. 17, p. 19.]

— No. 13. —

The Quartermaster General to the War Office.

Sir, Horse Guards, 6 April 1865.

ADVERTING to the War Office letter of the 10th January last, No. 091-626, and to previous correspondence relative to the distribution and accommodation of the force serving in China, I am instructed by the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief to forward, for the information of the Secretary of State for War, the accompanying letter from the Major General Commanding in China, with its enclosures, on the subject of the sanitary condition of that part of Kowloon occupied by Her Majesty's troops; also a letter from the Director General of the Army Medical Department, enclosing a report from Deputy Inspector General Dr. Dick, on this question, and also in regard to insufficient barrack accommodation for a second European regiment at Hong Kong.

I am to request that the enclosures may be returned to this office.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. H. Clifford*, Colonel,
Acting for Quartermaster General.

[For reply, *see* No. 16, page 19.]

Enclosure 1, in No. 13.

Major General *Guy* to the Military Secretary.

Hong Kong, 24 January 1865.

[In the same words as No. 9 to the War Office, page 9.]

Enclosure 2, in No. 13.

The Medical Department to the Military Secretary.

Sir, Army Medical Department, 31 March 1865.

HAVING perused your letter of the 28th instant, with its enclosures, I have the honour herewith to return them, and in continuation of the subject therein contained, beg to forward, for the information of his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, the accompanying letter, which I have just received from Deputy Inspector General Dr. Dick, principal medical officer of the China command, the purport of which, I presume, has already been brought to the notice of his Royal Highness by the local military authorities. Dr. Dick further specially directs attention to the insufficiency of the barrack accommodation for a second European regiment at Hong Kong, and I would respectfully beg to observe that I cannot but concur in the views he has expressed.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. B. Gibson*, Director General.

Enclosure 3, in No. 13.

Deputy Inspector General *Dick* to the Medical Department.

Sir, Hong Kong, 27 January 1865.

ADVERTING to the correspondence which has already taken place, more especially to my letter of 25th October, and its enclosures, and to that of the 30th November, and its enclosures, on the subject of the occupation of the peninsula of Kowloon by the 99th Regiment, I have now the honour to inform you that the corps has continued to suffer from the causes before alluded to; that its efficiency is not only greatly impaired, but that its general health is so deteriorated by disease, and by exposure to the malarious influences of the station, as to render it, in my opinion, perfectly unfit for general service; and though the mortality has not been very considerable, I have no doubt it will be found necessary to invalid a large portion of the regiment, within the next two or three years, solely on account of organic disease of some description, and from the further effects of intermittent and other fevers, contracted within the last few months; but as it has been decided to dispatch this corps to the Cape of Good Hope, on the arrival of Her Majesty's ship "Tamar," now daily expected, it is unnecessary for me to enlarge further on this subject.

There is a matter, however, to which I would beg to direct your particular attention. It has been decided by the Home Authorities to withdraw the 22d Bombay Native Infantry from this station, and to replace it by a European regiment; but as there is scarcely proper barrack accommodation for one corps, the other must either occupy Kowloon, Stanley, or the mat huts, which will be vacated by the 22d Native Infantry. We have the recent experience of the 20th and 99th Regiments at Kowloon, and the former experience of Stanley, to guide us with respect to them; and the rude mat huts, though perhaps adapted for native soldiers, are in my opinion perfectly unfit, in a sanitary point of view, for the occupation of European troops.

Experience has shown that the health of European troops cannot be maintained in this Colony unless they are well housed in stone or brick buildings, and not even then without the aid of every practicable sanitary precaution. I very much fear, therefore, that if a second European regiment is sent to Hong Kong before proper provision is made for its reception, that the measure will defeat its object, and that should a force be required for any emergency, after a residence of one hot season in the Colony, one of the regiments will be totally inefficient as regards any active military service; and that should Hong Kong be again visited by another unhealthy season, the risk of very serious mortality among the troops will be greatly aggravated by the impossibility of adopting any efficient sanitary measures. I need scarcely refer to the alternative of hiring buildings for the occupation of troops, because suitable ones could not, I believe, be obtained here at any cost.

Under these circumstances, I would beg of you to exercise your influence with the military authorities to delay, if possible, the dispatch of a second English regiment to Hong Kong until proper barrack accommodation be provided for it.

Of course it is not within my province to discuss the military necessities of China. If one European regiment at Hong Kong will suffice, there is just barely sufficient proper barrack accommodation for it. If a second is to be stationed in the Colony, I venture to suggest that one of the native regiments ordered to India would be more efficient, under existing circumstances, than it is at all probable a second regiment of Europeans would be.

I have, &c.
(signed) *William Dick*, M.D., Deputy Inspector General,
Principal Medical Officer.

— No. 14. —

Major General *Guy* to the War Office.—(Received 1 June.)

My Lord, Head Quarters, Hong Kong, 8 April 1865.

I HAVE the honour to transmit a report from Dr. Dick, Principal Medical Officer at this station, showing the influence of climate in China upon the health and efficiency of European troops and native troops of India respectively.

The details contained in the above report will be found both interesting and important, and being taken from the recorded facts of a daily register, they afford matter for serious consideration both in a financial and a sanitary point of view, as to the expediency of substituting a regiment of native infantry from India for one of the two regiments of the line in the China command. I am of opinion that many of the duties which soldiers are called upon to perform in this

climate should be done by native troops, with a view to preserve, as far as possible, the health and efficiency of British soldiers, and, at the same time, diminish the great expense attendant upon replacing the casualties in a regiment of the line in such a climate as China.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*,
Major General, Commanding Troops, China.

[For reply, *see* No. 18, p. 20.]

Enclosure 1, in No. 14.

Deputy Inspector General *Dick* to the Assistant Military Secretary, Hong Kong.

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
Sir, 29 March 1865.

In the course of a somewhat laborious investigation into the sanitary statistics of the forces serving in China for the years 1862, 1863, and 1864, the following facts were established with reference to the comparative efficiency of white and black troops in this command, and which I have the honour to request that you will bring under the notice of his Excellency the Major General Commanding.

1st. That the average number of deaths per annum among white troops has amounted to 61·170 per 1,000 men employed.

2d. That the average annual mortality among the black troops has amounted to 23·883 per 1,000 men employed.

3d. That the annual average invaliding among the white troops has amounted to 40·816 per 1,000.

4th. That the same average of invaliding among the black troops has amounted to 16·788 per 1,000 men employed.

5th. That the daily average of sick among the white troops has amounted to 72·011 per 1,000 men employed.

6th. That the daily average of sick among the black troops has amounted to 45·632 per 1,000 men employed.

7th. That the average annual decrease of strength among the white troops, caused by deaths and invaliding, has been 97·265 per 1,000 men employed.

8th. That the average annual decrease of strength among the black troops from the same cause has been 40·700 per 1,000 men employed.

The facts indicated by the above figures (at the present time, when China is about to be garrisoned wholly by white troops) afford matter for very serious reflection, both in a financial and sanitary point of view. It is not within my province to discuss the first, nor indeed am I in possession of sufficient data to enable me to do so with advantage; but there cannot be any doubt that the expense of replacing casualties at a station so distant from England as China is very great. But, as regards the other point, there can be no question that little more than 10 years would be required to expend (if I may use the word) a force of white troops, and that 25 years would be required to expend a similar force of black troops by deaths and invaliding. Then as regards the difference between the daily averages of sick, among the white and black troops, it results, supposing the men to have six nights in bed (and no soldier in this Colony ought to have less), that there have been 26 more men available daily for garrison duty per 1,000 men among the black than among the white troops, or, in other words, that a force of 1,000 black troops has really represented a force of 1,156 white troops for all purposes of garrison duty, independent altogether of the protection they have afforded the white soldier, by rendering his exposure to solar influence during the hot season unnecessary, and the absence of which will no doubt contribute materially to the increase of disease.

I have, &c.
(signed) *William Dick*, M.D., Deputy Inspector General,
Principal Medical Officer.

— No. 15. —

The War Office to Major General *Guy*, C.B.

Sir, War Office, 10 April 1865.

I AM directed by Earl de Grey and Ripon to acknowledge the receipt of your letter* dated the 23d January last, enclosing the report of a Medical Board on the sanitary condition of Kowloon. * No. 9, p. 9.

With regard to the opinion expressed in the concluding paragraph of your letter, that it will be desirable to reduce the number of troops at Kowloon to the lowest possible amount, I need only refer you to the letter† which I addressed to you on the 23d ultimo, in which you were authorised to remove to Japan such troops as you are unable to provide for at Hong Kong. † No. 12, p. 15.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

— No. 16. —

The War Office to the Quartermaster General.

Sir, War Office, 11 April 1865.

I HAVE received your letter* of the 6th instant, together with its enclosures, from the officer commanding the troops in China, on the subject of the sanitary state of that part of Kowloon which is occupied by Her Majesty's troops. * No. 13, p. 16.

In reply, I am to request that you will acquaint the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief that Earl de Grey has received similar reports† from the officer commanding, and has caused them to be referred to the Army Sanitary Commission. † No. 9, p. 9.

With regard to the opinion expressed in the concluding paragraph of General Guy's letter, that it will be desirable to reduce the number of troops at Kowloon to the lowest possible amount, I am to state that Major General Guy has been authorised ‡ to remove to Japan such troops as he is unable to provide for at Hong Kong. ‡ No. 12, p. 15; No. 15, p. 19.

The enclosures of your letter are returned as requested.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

— No. 17. —

Major General *Guy* to the War Office.—(Received 11 July.)

Head Quarters, Hong Kong,
My Lord, 11 May 1865.

WITH reference to War Office letter,* No. 083—1479 of the 23d March last, authorising me to forward the whole or a portion of the 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment, to Yokohama, on the departure of the Royal Marine Battalion from that station, I have the honour to inform you that I shall only be able to detach, for service in Japan two companies, about 150 in all, the withdrawal of the 22d Regiment Bombay Native Infantry rendering it absolutely necessary to detain the remainder of the corps at Hong Kong and Kowloon for the performance of the garrison duties. * No. 12, p. 15.

As the families of the 2d Battalion, 20th Regiment, 69 in number, have been separated from the regiment since June 1864, and are occupying accommodation at Stanley, which will be required for part of the families of the 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, and 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment, I purpose forwarding them to

Yokohama, if it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to detain the 2d Battalion, 20th Regiment, in Japan for any lengthened period, and on this point I request the favour of your Lordship's instructions by return mail.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*, Major General,
Commanding Troops, China and Japan.

— No 18. —

The War Office to Major General *Guy*.

Sir, War Office, 30 June 1865.

I HAVE laid before the Secretary of State for War your letter* of the 8th April last, enclosing a report from Dr. Dick, the principal medical officer in China, showing the influence of the climate upon the health and efficiency of European and native troops of India respectively, serving in China.

* No 14, p. 17.

In reply, I am to acquaint you that Lord de Grey, while concurring with you as regards the interest which attaches to the results exhibited in this report, is not prepared to sanction the substitution of native for European troops, as suggested.

His Lordship relies with confidence on the efficacy of the measures which have been authorised for improving the sanitary condition of the British soldier in China; and there should be no relaxation of your efforts, as there will be none on the part of Her Majesty's Government, in this direction.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

— No. 19. —

Major General *Guy* to the War Office.—(Received 6 November.)

Head Quarters, Yokohama,
My Lord, 24 August 1865.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, in consequence of the great amount of sickness prevalent amongst the troops at Hong Kong, the buildings appropriated as hospitals are quite insufficient to accommodate the number of sick. I enclose herewith a copy of a letter from the Officer Commanding Royal Engineers, and have to request that you will be good enough to authorise the immediate commencement of these works, in order to prevent the delay which must otherwise accrue if I await the approval and return of the usual annual estimate of the Royal Engineer Department.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*, Major General,
Commanding the Forces, China and Japan.

[Reply to this Letter was rendered unnecessary by the receipt of No. 22, p. 22.]

Enclosure 1, in No. 19.

The Commanding Royal Engineer to the Assistant Military Secretary (China, &c.)

Royal Engineers' Office, Yokohama,
Sir, 24 August 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Major General, that the approximate estimate for providing additional accommodation for about 80 patients, at Hong Kong, will be about 2,000 *l.*, which I would expend in adding another story to the present hospital, as the cheapest plan of effecting the object.

I have &c.
(signed) *J. W. Lovell,*
Lieutenant Colonel and Commandant, Royal Engineers.

(True copy.)
W. Hartman, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General.

— No. 20. —

Surgeon *Saunders* to the Medical Department.—(Received 28 October.)

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
Sir, 10 September 1865.

I HAVE the honour to request that you will be pleased to send to this station, with the least possible delay, two assistant-surgeons for the 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment, and, in addition, four staff assistant-surgeons, for the duties specified in the accompanying return.

The duties of the medical officers at Hong Kong during the present sickly season continue to be most onerous, and it is most important that further medical aid be provided.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Geo. Saunders*, Surgeon,
2d Battalion, 9th Regiment,
for Principal Medical Officer in Japan.

[For reply, *see* No. 34, p. 33.]

Enclosure 1, in No. 20.

DISTRIBUTION of MEDICAL OFFICERS Serving in China, 10th September 1865.

Rank.	Name.	Station.	Duties.	Number of Sick Men.	Medical Officers required in Addition.		Remarks.
					Regimental.	Staff.	
Surgeon, 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment	George Saunders -	Victoria, Hong Kong.	Charge of 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, and Senior Medical Officer.	180	- -	- - - - -	Also attending Sick in Hospital of 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment.
Surgeon, 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment	W. T. Black* -	Ditto - -	Charge of 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment.	90	2 Assistant-Surgeons for 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment, it being deficient that number.	For Victoria, Hong Kong—1 Assistant-Surgeon, for Staff and Depts.; 1 Assistant Surgeon, for Temporary Hospital, Alexander's Buildings, one mile from General Hospital; 1 Assistant Surgeon, for General Duty.	* Now on Sick List, and not likely to be efficient.
Assistant - Surgeon, Royal Artillery.	A. R. Smith - -	Ditto - -	Charge of Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, and Staff Corps, Staff and Depts., and Sick of 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment, in quarters.	90			
Assistant - Surgeon, 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment.	C. C. Piper - -	Ditto - -	Women and Children, part of Staff and Depts., Prisoners, &c.	-	- -		
Ditto - -	J. N. Stock - -	Stanley, Hong Kong	Charge of Detachments - -	40	- -		
Staff Assistant-Surgeon.	G. F. Adams† -	Ditto - -	Sick - - - - - -	-	- -	For Stanley—1 Assistant-Surgeon.	† To proceed to England *in* charge of Invalids, if sufficiently well.
Ditto - -	J. L. Curtis - -	On Passage to Japan.	Charge of Detachments proceeding to Japan.	-	- -	Total—4 Staff Assistant-Surgeons.	
Ditto - -	W. H. B. Clapp, M.D.	Taku Forts	Detachment, 2d Battalion, 20th Regiment.	2	- -	- - - -	

* Assistant-Surgeon Macintyre, M.D., 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment, died at Victoria, Hong Kong, 5th September 1865.

(signed) *George Saunders*, Surgeon,
2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, Senior Medical Officer,
for Principal Medical Officer in Japan.

— No. 21. —

Major-General *Guy* to the War Office.—(Received 4 December.)

Head Quarters, Yokohama,
My Lord, 18 September 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have sanctioned transport having been taken up at Hong Kong for the conveyance of about 100 invalids of the garrison to England.

I forward a copy herewith of a letter addressed by the Senior Medical Officer to the Commandant at Hong Kong, which will, I trust, show that this measure was imperatively called for.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*, Major General.
Commanding Forces, China and Japan.

[Approved in Letter dated 9 December 1865.]

Enclosure 1, in No. 21.

The Senior Medical Officer to the Commandant, Hong Kong.

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
31 August 1865.

Sir,

HAVING been informed that my application for transport (24th inst.) to convey 100 invalids to England, though marked "Immediate," has been referred to his Excellency the Major-General Commanding at Japan, I have the honour most respectfully to acquaint you that the consequent delay (one month) ere his reply can be received is a most solemn responsibility; many of these men will have perished, whose lives might be otherwise saved.

There are women and children also who will succumb to this climate, whose lives might be preserved by immediate removal; and further, the hospital being frightfully over-crowded is a serious embarrassment, rendering the air of the wards impure, and bidding defiance in many instances to medical treatment, whereas the removal of about 100 invalids who are totally unfit for further service here would be a positive benefit to the sick who would remain.

You will, I trust, bear with me, in making these remarks, as I am solely moved by a deep sense of duty and the cause of humanity.

I have, &c.
(signed) *George Saunders*,
Surgeon, 2d Battalion, 29th Regiment,
Senior Medical Officer.

(True copy.)
W. Hartman,
Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General.

— No. 22. —

Major-General *Guy* to the War Office.—(Received 4 December.)

Head Quarters, Yokohama,
18 September 1865.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that I have found it necessary to direct that additional hospital accommodation should be taken up for the use of the garrison at Hong Kong, and that two houses tendered by Mr. Alexander, at the monthly rental of 500 dollars for both, have been engaged as a temporary hospital, and that I have authorised the expenditure of about 20 *l.* for kitchen arrangements.

This additional accommodation was rendered necessary by the great amount of sickness prevalent at Hong Kong. On the 26th August there were 304 sick; and of these, 54 soldiers were treated in quarters, and 48 sleeping on the verandahs of the existing hospital, which rendered it imperatively necessary that additional hospital accommodation should be provided.

I enclose herewith the proceedings of a Board of Officers ordered to report on the subject.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*, Major General,
Commanding Her Britannic Majesty's Forces,
China and Japan.

Enclosure 1, in No. 22.

PROCEEDINGS of a Board of Officers assembled at Hong Kong on the 19th August 1865, by order of Colonel *Wyatt*, Commanding Garrison, bearing date 18th August 1865, for the purpose of Reporting upon Two Houses, tendered by Mr. *Alexander* as a Temporary Military Hospital, in conformity with War Office Circular, No. 361.

PRESIDENT:

Major Edwards, C.R.E.

MEMBERS:

Captain Roberts, D.A.Q.M.G.
J. Thomson, Esq., Purveyor.
Surgeon Saunders, 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, Senior Medical Officer attending the Board.

THE Board having assembled pursuant to order, and having carefully inspected to buildings in question, beg to annex the following report:

1. Branch

1. Branch of the service for which accommodation is required.	The accommodation is required for hospital purposes. There is only room for 126 sick in the General Hospital; 195 are at present treated in it, and 73 in barracks.
2. Number and description of persons, &c., &c.	About 60 patients.
3. Whether by re-arrangement of existing accommodation, the additional accommodation requisite could be provided.	No; in addition to the men treated in the General Hospital and in barracks, there are convalescents in the hospital at Stanley.
4. Situation, extent, and description of buildings, &c., with reasons for its selection.	Very well situated; about 400 feet above sea level; detached, well built. The two houses can be thrown into one by arches in passage walls above and below stairs. Proprietor will do this.
5. Precise use for which it is proposed to appropriate it.	Sixty patients.
6. The time for which it is proposed to hire it.	For one year.
7. Rent and conditions of hiring.	Five hundred dollars per mensem for both houses, for one year certain.
8. Name and address of landlord.	W. H. Alexander, Esq., Acting Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong.
9. Present condition and state of repair, and any expenditure it may be intended to incur, to render it fitted for the object for which it is intended.	In first-rate condition. An expenditure of about 20 *l.* will be necessary to fit the kitchen for hospital cooking.

(signed) *J. Edwards*, Major, Commanding Royal Engineers, President.
W. Roberts, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General.
John Thomson, Purveyor to the Forces.
George Saunders, Surgeon, 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, Senior Medical Officer.

(Approved.)
P. M. N. Guy, Major General.

— No. 23 —

(Extract.)

The Officer Commanding 2d Battalion, 11th Foot, to the Adjutant General.

Sir, Hong Kong, China, 25 September 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, that the battalion under my command in China is at the present time deficient of a surgeon and two assistant surgeons. In fact, Assistant Surgeon Piper, 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, is in medical charge of the corps.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Augustus Jenner*, Colonel,
Commanding 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment.

— No. 24. —

The Senior Medical Officer, Hong Kong, to the Medical Department.

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
Sir, 26 September 1865.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of correspondence which has taken place on the subject of sending invalids to England from this station, and to acquaint you that, as the result thereof, the ship "Gresham" has been taken up for the conveyance of about 160 men, and a number of women and children, and will sail probably in the first week of October; Staff Assistant Surgeon Adams proceeding in medical charge.

I have also to acquaint you that Surgeon Black, 2d Battalion, 11th Regi-

ment, having been found unfit for service in this climate by a Medical Board, will proceed to England by this opportunity.

I have, &c.
(signed) *George Saunders*, Surgeon,
2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, Senior Medical Officer.

Enclosure 1, in No. 24.

The Senior Medical Officer to the Commandant, Hong Kong.

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
Sir, 24 August 1865.

As there are about 100 men belonging to the different corps at this station, whose constitutions are greatly shattered by this climate, I have the honour to recommend that transport be taken up for their conveyance to England.

I have, &c.
(signed) *George Saunders*, Surgeon,
2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, Senior Medical Officer.

Enclosure 2, in No. 24.

The Senior Medical Officer to the Commandant, Hong Kong.

(See Enclosure 1, in No. 21, page 22.)

Enclosure 3, in No. 24.

The Commandant to the Senior Medical Officer, Hong Kong.

Garrison Office, Hong Kong.
Sir, 31 August 1865.

* Query 31st, *see* Enclosure 2.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter * of the 30th, relative to the removal of 100 invalids, women and children, to England; in reply thereto, I have the honour to state that I have this day given instructions to the Quartermaster General to provide the transport you require.

I have to add that your statement is so forcible, and rendered in so humane a spirit, bearing in mind the great amount of sickness we have had among the troops this season, that I congratulate myself on its receipt, as it enables me to anticipate his Excellency the Major General's instructions on this subject.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. H. S. Wyatt*, Colonel Commandant.

— No. 25. —

Major General *Guy* to the War Office.—(Received 4 December.)

My Lord, Head Quarters, Yokohama, 27 September 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival here on the 18th instant, on board Her Majestys' ship "Adventure," of the detachments, strength as per margin.*

† No. 12, page 15.

The Royal Marine Light Infantry Battalion having embarked for England, I was enabled to carry out the instructions contained in the War Office Letter,† No. 083—1479, of the 23d March, by transferring two companies of the 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment, from Hong Kong to Yokohama, and by this means I have

---

* 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment (*a*)—2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 8 serjeants, 7 corporals, 2 drummers, 133 rank and file, 5 women, and 8 children.
2d Battalion, 20th Regiment (*b*)—1 captain, 1 serjeant, 1 corporal, 1 drummer, 19 rank and file, 55 women, and 78 children.

(*a*) 1 man died during the passage. (*b*) Two men died during the passage; 2 children born.

I have diminished the amount of extra accommodation which it would have otherwise been necessary to hire during the present unhealthy season.

With a view also to afford additional accommodation to the over-crowded garrison of Hong Kong, and to utilise the huts vacated by the Royal Marine Battalion, I have also removed the women and children of the 2d Battalion, 20th Regiment, from the Stanley Barracks at Hong Kong, to Yokohama.

The length of time the married non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the 2d Battalion, 20th Regiment, had been separated from their families rendered this measure desirable, as previously communicated to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*, Major General,
Commanding Troops, China and Japan.

— No. 26. —

(No. 620.)

Major General *Guy* to the War Office. (Received 23 December.)

My Lord, Head Quarters, Hong Kong, 31 October 1865.

It is with much regret I have to report to your Lordship the considerable amount of sickness and mortality which has prevailed in the 2d Battalion 11th Regiment, since their arrival at this station.

The last summer has unfortunately been one of extreme unhealthiness, and has proved unusually fatal to Europeans, both among the civil and military communities; indeed, the prevalence and severity of what is termed the Hong Kong fever have been greater than at any other period during the last seven years.

The enclosed return will show the number of deaths and admissions into hospital in the two battalions at Hong Kong.

Although the other troops in this garrison have suffered severely, the condition of the 2d Battalion 11th Regiment is far worse than that of any other corps; this is to be accounted for by the following circumstances:—

1. The battalion arrived at Hong Kong on the 28th of May, the worst season for Europeans to encounter the climate of Southern China, more particularly as in the case of the 2d Battalion 11th Regiment, after having experienced a very hot passage from the Cape, which station it left at the termination of the summer.

2. The arrival of the battalion at Hong Kong a month earlier than was expected, and the unavoidable necessity of placing a portion of the corps at Kowloon until the buildings which were in course of preparation were ready for the reception of the troops. The buildings which were taken for the 2d Battalion 11th Regiment, were the very best that could be procured, and no means were neglected to make them as suitable as possible in all respects, for the occupation of troops. Yet it is undeniable that buildings constructed as godowns are inferior in all respects to regular barracks, which are provided with spacious verandahs and other requisites for the health and comfort of the occupants.

Another cause seriously affecting the health of the troops is the increased amount of duty unavoidably thrown upon the efficient portion of the garrison by the large number of sick, reducing the number of nights in bed to three.

This fact necessitated the hiring of Chinese watchmen to replace some of the sentries, doubtless an expensive arrangement, but one without which it would have been impossible to carry on the duties, as the guards had been reduced to the utmost extent.

The annexed extracts from a letter addressed to me by the Principal Medical Officer in China show the present condition of the 2d Battalion 9th Regiment and 2d Battalion 11th Regiment, and I do not think that the statements therein contained are in any degree exaggerated. I coincide in the opinion that the removal of the latter battalion from China will be most desirable before the commencement of the next hot season.

I would, in conclusion, request your Lordship's attention to the often expressed opinion of the medical officers who have served in China, viz., that the presence

of a native battalion, for the performance of garrison duty during the invariably unhealthy summer season at Hong Kong, is absolutely essential for the preservation of the lives and health of the European troops.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*, Major General,
Commanding Troops in China and Japan.

P. S.—It may be explained, that on the receipt at Hong Kong, on the 24th February 1865, of the War Office letter dated 10th January, notifying that it had been decided to send the 2d Battalion 11th Regiment to this station, immediate steps were taken to make the necessary arrangements for the hire of suitable buildings for the occupation of the troops. The Board of Officers had assembled within a week of the receipt of the letter; and although considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining these buildings, they were finally engaged on the 17th March; thus no delay, beyond what was absolutely unavoidable, had occurred in concluding the necessary arrangements. As considerable alterations were indispensable, viz., the adding of upper stories, constructing cooking houses, latrines, &c., and various internal fittings, nearly four months had elapsed before the buildings could be got ready for occupation by the troops.

(signed) *P. M. N. Guy.*

Enclosure 1, in No. 26.

Principal Medical Officer to the Assistant Military Secretary, Hong Kong.

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
31 October 1865.

Sir,

In compliance with the request contained in your memorandum, No. 1058, of yesterday's date, I have the honour to transmit, for the information of his Excellency the Major General Commanding, a statement of the admissions into hospital, and deaths among the men, women, and children of the 2d Battalion 9th, and 2d Battalion 11th Regiments.

Return showing the Admissions into Hospital, and Deaths among the Men, Women, and Children of the 2d Battalion 9th, and 2d Battalion 11th Regiments, from 1st June to 20th October 1865.

Regiment.	Admissions.	Deaths.
2d Battalion, 9th Regiment:		
Men	1,354	29
Women	-	6
Children	-	24
2d Battalion, 11th Regiment:		
Men	1,261	43
Women	-	3
Children	-	48

I have, &c.
(signed) *William Dick*, M.D.,
Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals.

Enclosure 2, in No. 26.

(Extract.)

Principal Medical Officer to the Assistant Military Secretary, Hong Kong.

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
27 October 1865.

Sir,

* * * * * *

In a letter* addressed to you, dated the 28th March 1865, for the information of his Excellency, it was shown that the average annual decrease of strength among the white troops serving in China, caused by deaths and invaliding, during the years 1862, 1863, and 1864, amounted to 97·265 per 1,000 men employed.

By the calculations I have recently made, it appears that the decrease of strength in this

* Query 29th March, Encl. 1, in No, 14, p. 17.

this garrison from the same causes has amounted to 166·669 per 1,000 men employed since the 1st of July last; and from what I know and have observed, I have too much reason to fear that it will be necessary to add largely to that amount before the end of the present year, already so near its termination.

The casualties among the women and children have also been very great, eight of the former, from a strength of 101, and 71 of the latter, from a strength of 171, having died within almost the period specified above.

The casualties among the officers have also been considerable, four having died and seven having been invalided, being in the ratio of 130·952 per 1,000 since the beginning of last quarter.

Having made this general statement, it is desirable that I should enter more into detail, as the different corps forming the garrison have not been all equally unhealthy.

2d Battalion, 9th Regiment.—During the quarter ending the 30th September last, 725 cases of malarious fevers, and 59 cases of bowel complaints, besides other diseases, have been treated; and the loss of strength from deaths and invaliding together has amounted to 121·621 per 1,000 men. The general health of the battalion is very much shaken.

2d Battalion, 11th Regiment.—During the same quarter, 706 cases of malarious fevers and 64 cases of bowel complaints, besides other diseases, have been treated; and the loss of strength from deaths and invaliding has amounted to 228·898 per 1,000 men. This regiment has lost both its medical officers, one having died, and the other having been invalided. The general health of the men of this corps is in a far worse condition than that of the 2d battalion, 9th Regiment, and is in fact so deterioriated as to render its removal from the command inevitable.

* * * * * *

I have, &c.,
(signed) *William Dick*, M.D., Principal Medical Officer,
Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals.

—No. 27.—

The Medical Department to the Quartermaster General.

Army Medical Department,
Sir, 4 November 1865.

I have the honour to transmit, for the information of His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, the enclosed proceedings of a Board of officers, and accompanying papers, which I have received from the principal medical officer in China, relative to the crowded state of the barracks and hospital at Hong Kong.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. B. Gibson*,
Director General.

Enclosure 1 in No. 27.

The Senior Medical Officer to the Commandant, Hong Kong.

Principal Medical Officer's Office,
Sir, Hong Kong, 5 July 1865.

I HAVE the honour to request that additional hospital accommodation be provided for 60 patients with the least possible delay.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Geo. Saunders*,
Surgeon, 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment,
Senior Medical Officer.

The above letter being referred by the commandant to the deputy assistant quartermaster general, the latter officer stated in a memorandum that the hospital hulk "Hercules" afforded accommodation for 80 sick, and the hospital at Stanley 40; and the following memorandum was then written:—

Principal Medical Officer's Office,
18 July 1865.

The "Hercules" has been considered unsafe for occupation; there is at present accommodation for only 28 sick at Stanley, one room in the hospital at that station being in the hands of the Royal Engineers, undergoing repairs, and will not be ready for five weeks.

There are now upwards of 60 sick unaccommodated in hospital, the hospital itself being overcrowded. Unless additional hospital accommodation is provided, the sick list will increase, and the sick will seriously suffer.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Geo. Saunders*,
Surgeon, 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment,
Senior Medical Officer.

(Memo.) 20 July 1865.

A copy of the correspondence will be forwarded by first mail to Dr. Dick, Deputy Inspector General at Japan, for further action.

(signed) *Geo. Saunders,*
Senior Medical Officer,
Surgeon 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment.

Enclosure 2, in No. 27.

The Senior Medical Officer to the Commandant, Hong Kong.

Murray Barracks, Hong Kong,
28 July 1865.

Sir,

WITH reference to the accompanying correspondence which you have handed to me directing you to accommodate the men of the 2d battalion, 9th Regiment, in Fletcher's-buildings elsewhere, I have the honour to observe that at present 375 men occupy these barracks, giving to each man about 725 cubic feet, being 275 cubic feet less than the regulations allow for this climate as the minimum space.

I have also to observe that cholera has been making ravages among the men of the regiment, and only yesterday two men were buried who fell victims to this awful disease.

It was my intention this very day to advise you to thin the rooms, in order to give each man more space.

I would fail in the discharge of my duty as your sanitary officer, if I did not give the full expression of my conviction, that by overcrowding the men at this, and for the next two months, the most unhealthy period of the year, nothing short of considerable mortality can be expected.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Geo. Saunders,*
Senior Medical Officer,
Surgeon 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment.

Though this application was supported by the commanding officer 2d battalion, 9th Regiment, the result was that 70 more men were put into the barracks.

(signed) *Geo. Saunders,*
Surgeon 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, Senior Medical Officer,
For Principal Medical Officer, absent at Japan.

Enclosure 3, in No. 27.

The Commandant to the Principal Medical Officer, Hong Kong.

Garrison Office, Hong Kong,
11 August 1865.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that in consequence of your report relative to the want of hospital accommodation, a Board of Officers, consisting of the commandant, the quartermaster general, and the principal medical officer, are requested to meet at the latter's office at 12 noon to-morrow, for the purpose of ascertaining whether, by some changes suggested by you, increased accommodation may be provided.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. L. Wyatt,*
Colonel Commandant.

Enclosure 4, in No 27.

PROCEEDINGS of a Board of Officers, assembled by order of the Commandant, to consider the re-appropriation of certain portions of the Garrison Hospital Buildings, with a view to increased accommodation being afforded for the sick.

Hong Kong, 12 August 1865.

President.

Colonel Wyatt, 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment, Commandant.

Members.

Surgeon Geo. Saunders, 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment.
Captain Roberts, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General.

The Board having examined the state of the hospital buildings, find that there is only accommodation for 126 sick in the Garrison Hospital, while at present the number amounts to 195, frightfully overcrowding the wards to the injury of the patients.

We further find that 73 men are treated in barracks who should be in hospital; and

and as there is not the slightest expectation of the sick list diminishing, but, on the contrary, there is a certainty of an increase, owing to the unhealthiness of the season, and particularly as the general health of the troops is indifferent, we therefore recommend that additional hospital accommodation be provided immediately for at least 100 patients, allowing each from 1,200 to 1,500 cubic feet.

(signed.) *Lewis Wyatt*, Colonel Commandant, President.
Geo. Saunders, Surgeon 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, Senior Medical Officer.
J. W. Roberts, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General.
} Members.

— No. 28. —

The Medical Department to the Quartermaster General.

Army Medical Department,
Sir, 6, November 1865.

With reference to my letter to you, dated the 4th instant, I have the honour to transmit, for the information of His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, the accompanying papers which were attached to the Monthly General Sanitary Report of the senior medical officer in China, for July, received this morning.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. B. Gibson*, Director General.

For reply, *see* No, 29, p. 30.

Enclosure 1, in No. 28.

[See Enclosure 1, in No. 22, page 22.]

Enclosure 2, in No. 28.

The Senior Medical Officer to the Commandant, Hong Kong.

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
Sir, 22 July 1865.

Observing that the men have only $4\frac{3}{4}$ nights in bed, I have the honour to acquaint you that it is the opinion of Dr. Dick, Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals, as well as my own, that in order to maintain the health of the troops at this station, the men should have not less than six nights in bed.

I therefore earnestly trust you will take this circumstance into your serious consideration in the "detail of Guards."

I have, &c.
(signed) *Geo. Saunders*,
Surgeon 2d Battalion 9th, Regiment,
Senior Medical Officer.

Enclosure 3, in No. 28.

The Senior Medical Officer to the Commandant, Hong Kong.

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
Sir, 12 August 1865.

Observing that the men of 2d Battalion 11th Regiment, have only from one to three nights in bed, and the men of the 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, about $3\frac{1}{3}$, which does not allow sufficient rest at night to preserve the health of the troops, I have the honour to recommend that steps be taken to ensure each man from five to six nights in bed.

I beg to refer you to a former communication of mine on this subject, dated 22d July last.

I have, & c.
(signed) *Geo. Saunders*,
Surgeon 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment,
Senior Medical Officer.

Enclosure 4, in No. 28.

The Senior Medical Officer to the Commandant, Hong Kong.

Murray Barracks, Hong Kong,
8 August, 1865.

Sir,

HAVING had the flooring of the men's rooms and the verandahs taken up in certain places, with the view of examining into the condition of the part underneath, where I apprehended noxious matter has been accumulating to the injury of the health of the troops, I have the honour to bring to your notice the following facts as revealed by that examination.

1st, C. Range, basement west. Colour-Serjeant Reaside's room, occupied by himself, wife, and four children, beneath the floor three dead rats and one dead cat were found in an advanced stage of decomposition, also foul rags, tin plates, sardine boxes, old boots, bottles, leakage from adjoining bath-room, decomposed wood, and a quantity of most offensive matter yielding pestilential gases, which readily passed up through the numerous openings in the floor, thus rendering the air of the apartment most impure. The consequence has been that the serjeant is dangerously ill, his wife (who has since died) and his four children have all suffered in health from the same cause.*

2d. A quantity of decomposed matter was found beneath the floor of the Schoolmaster Serjeant's room (the one which adjoins the schoolroom) where the whole family, consisting of the serjeant, his wife, and two children, became seriously ill, and had to be invalided to England.

3d. A quantity of offensive matter was likewise found beneath the floor of the guard room and verandahs; in the latter, cases of cholera have occurred, several proving fatal.

I have therefore to recommend as follows:—

1st. That the flooring of the guard room, Schoolmaster Serjeant's room, and that of all the verandahs, B. and C. ranges, be taken up, all foul matter removed, and dry lime freely used.

2d. That all ventilators opening beneath floors be trapped.

In the instance of Serjeant Reaside's room there was no such provision, and consequently cats, rats, &c., could readily enter.

Being of opinion that closed verandahs on both sides of the men's rooms are decidedly objectionable as obstructing light and air, two primary elements for the preservation of health,—

3d. I beg to recommend the removal of the screens of the back verandahs, and that the upper louvres and basement only remain, removing, however, much of the woodwork of the latter.

4th. A louvred ventilator is required in the passage wall of the Quartermaster Serjeant's room, canteen buildings.

As cholera is likely to break out again next month (September), particularly as my appeal against the overcrowded state of the men's rooms has been disregarded, I earnestly trust that orders may be given for remedying the foregoing defects.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Geo. Saunders,*
Surgeon 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment.

— No. 29. —

The Quartermaster General to the Medical Department.

Sir,

Horse Guards, 8 November 1865.

No. 28, p. 29.

WITH reference to your letter of the 6th instant, enclosing papers which were attached to the Monthly General Sanitary Report of the senior medical officer in China, for July, I have the honour, by desire of the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, to acquaint you that the portion of the correspondence which relates to lightening the guard duties at Hong Kong, has been referred to the Adjutant General as belonging to his department.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. Hope Grant,*
Quartermaster General.

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* The defects of this room have been since remedied.

— No. 30. —

The Medical Department to the Adjutant General.

Army Medical Department,
8 November 1865.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to submit, for the approval of His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, that the officer named in the margin* who has been recommended for appointment to the 2d Battalion, 11th Foot, Vice Assistant Surgeon A. Macintyre, deceased, may be ordered to join the head quarters of that corps by the first opportunity. No. 26, p. 21.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. B. Gibson,*
Director General.

— No. 31. —

The Medical Department to the Military Secretary.

Army Medical Department,
8 November 1865.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to submit, for the approval of His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, that passage to China overland, by the first opportunity, may be provided for Staff Assistant Surgeon G. R. O'Toole, who proceeds to this station as successor to Staff Assistant Surgeon G. F. Adams, who is returning home on a Medical Board.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. B. Gibson.*
Director General.

— No. 32. —

Major General *Guy* to the War Office—(Received 3 January 1866).

Head Quarters, Hong Kong,
11 November 1865.

Sir,

REFERRING to my letter to your Lordship, No. 620, dated 31st October, I have now the honour to submit the result of a consultation with the senior medical officers in this command, on the subject of what measures appear to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the lives and health of the European troops serving in Hong Kong; the following recommendations are based upon the experience of the last 20 years of this most trying and too often fatal climate. No. 26, p. 25.

It is considered:—

1st. That the presence of an Indian or other native regiment of the East, is indispensable for the performance of the garrison duties in Hong Kong during the hot season.

2d. That no European regiment should, under any circumstances, remain longer than two years at Hong Kong.

3d. That a sanatorium should be established in Japan, which would tend very materially to preserve the efficiency of the European corps in this command, and at the same time considerably diminish the heavy expense of sending all invalids home.

4th. That if it should be determined to keep a second European regiment in Hong Kong, it will be absolutely necessary to build good and commodious barracks, as well as a sufficient number of quarters for married soldiers, the present temporary arrangement of placing British troops in hired buildings being

* Assistant Surgeon J. W. Purefoy, M.D., at present stationed at Portsmouth.

being not only most unsatisfactory in a sanitary point of view, but at the same time enormously expensive; a very large addition to the present hospital accommodation would also be indispensable.

5th. That it would be most desirable to effect, if possible, an annual, or at least a bi-annual relief of regiments, between Hong Kong and Japan.

This arrangement would doubtless entail considerable expense, but it would, on the other hand, be the means of saving many lives, and of preserving the health and efficiency of the troops.

6th. Experience has shown that to garrison Hong Kong by European troops alone is not only destructive to their general health and efficiency, but involves the question, as to whether it is not actually the most costly arrangement that could be made. The expense of sending home invalids, and of replacing the casualties caused by the effect of climate during the past summer will be enormous, and the extent can scarcely yet be determined, as many men now in the ranks will (in the opinion of the medical officers) require change of climate in a very few months, or at all events before the commencement of another hot season.

The cost for the hire of buildings for one year, including those occupied as hospitals, amounts to 13,158*l.*, and yet every measure has been adopted to carry out the service in the most economical manner consistent with the absolute requirements of the troops.

I am aware of the difficulty that exists respecting the establishment of a permanent station in Japan; but from the experience obtained during my recent visit to that country, I do not think it will be possible to withdraw British troops from it for a considerable time to come. I believe I am justified in stating that such is also the decided opinion of Her Majesty's Minister, Sir H. Parkes. This sentiment seems to be fully shared by the French Government, as every movement on their part has been to establish more firmly their footing in Japan; and inspection of their substantial stone buildings, such as barracks, storehouses, hospital, &c. at Yokohama, as also the recent landing there of heavy guns and ammunition, clearly prove the permanent nature of their establishments in Japan.

I take this opportunity of bringing to the notice of your Lordship the condition of the huts occupied by the 2d Battalion, 20th Regiment, at Yokohama; they were built in July 1864, by the Japanese Government, at the request of Sir R. Alcock, and were intended to last only from six to nine months; by frequent repairs, however, they have been kept in tolerably good condition, and may, by great care (it is considered), be preserved in a habitable state for a longer period of from 12 to 18 months from the present date; before the end of that time it will of course be necessary to decide in what manner the troops are to be put up, if it should be decided to retain them in Japan: the hire of buildings in Yokohama for that purpose would, I believe, be an impossibility, and even, if obtainable, the cost would be something fabulous; it would, therefore, become a question of building new huts or barracks. In conclusion, I would again urge upon your Lordship the necessity of sending to Hong Kong, before the commencement of the next hot season, a native regiment of some description, and of removing the 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment, to another station before the 1st of April next.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*, Major General,
Commanding H.B.M. Troops in China and Japan.

P.S.—The following is an approximate estimate, received from the Commanding Royal Engineer, Lieutenant Colonel Lovell, C.B., for hutting a native infantry regiment, 600 strong, allowing 600 cubic feet to each man:—

The huts to be of brick, substantial and comfortable barracks for native troops, and even capable of being made available for European soldiers on an emergency.

Nine pounds per man, or 5,400*l.* for 600 men, exclusive of European officers, who would not most probably exceed six. Should the recommendation contained in this letter be acceded to, it would be desirable to receive the earliest possible intimation by telegraph, to enable the engineers to commence work.

The

The site, upon which the temporary barracks of the 22d Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, were built, is government property, and would be admirably adapted for this purpose.

P. M. N. Guy, Major General.

— No. 33. —

The Principal Medical Officer, Hong Kong, to the Medical Department.
(Received, 3 January 1866.)

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
Sir, 14 November 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report for your information, that sickness, chiefly fevers and bowel complaints, still prevails to a serious extent among the troops of this garrison; but it affords me satisfaction at the same time to mention, that mortality seems to be on the decrease, as only three fatal cases of disease have occurred since the beginning of this month.

The cold season is now beginning to set in, and I trust the change will have a beneficial influence generally on the health of the garrison, though I do not anticipate that any very decided decrease in the ratio of sick will occur much before the end of the year, when it usually happens at this station that sickness abates.

I have, &c.
(signed) *William Dick*, M.D.,
Deputy Inspector General.

— No. 34. —

The Medical Department to the Principal Medical Officer, Hong Kong.

Sir, Army Medical Department, 14 November 1865.

IN acknowledging the receipt of your letter * of the 10th September last, I have the honour to inform you that assistant surgeons have already embarked, or are under orders for embarkation, to complete the establishment of the 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment, and the Staff in China; and should you consider any augmentation necessary, you should make your representation to the General Officer commanding, who will forward the same, should he think it advisable, for the consideration of his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief; and I have to request you will fully explain why the Deputy Inspector General and the staff surgeon allowed for the China command are both in Japan, also a staff assistant surgeon, as I do not see the necessity for such an arrangement.

* No. 20, p. 21.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. B. Gibson*,
Director General.

— No. 35. —

The Medical Department to the Principal Medical Officer, Hong Kong.

Sir, Army Medical Department, 20 November 1865.

IN forwarding to you the enclosed letter and correspondence which I have received from Surgeon G. P. M. Woodward, 2d Battalion, 20th Regiment Foot, which does not appear to have passed through your hands, I have the honour to request you will point out the irregularity which he has committed; and I trust in reply to this letter, you will be able to explain satisfactorily, for the information of his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, why either Staff Surgeon Woolfreys or yourself are absent from Hong Kong during the sickly season, and at a time when there is such a serious amount of sickness amongst the troops; and are at a station where the climate is so good, the force so small and healthy, and for whose medical care the regimental officers are quite sufficient.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. B. Gibson*,
Director General.

— No. 36. —

The Principal Medical Officer, Hong Kong, to the Medical Department.—
(Received, 19 January 1866.)

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
Sir, 30 November 1865.

*No .33, p. 33.

REFERRING to my letter * of the 14th instant, respecting the then state of health of the garrison of Hong Kong, I have now the honour to report, for your information, that since the above date there has been a slight increase both in the per-centage of sick, and in the number of fever cases and bowel complaints.

I am happy, however, to have it in my power to state that there have been only three deaths among the troops since the departure of the last mail.

The state of health of many of the men here is, however, such as to require their removal from the station for change of climate, and I have called upon the military authorities to furnish the means of sending such invalids to England. Their number will probably amount to about 100.

Adverting to paragraph 3 of my letter to you, dated head quarters, Yokohama, the 20th September last, in which I stated that I had turned my attention to the possibility of providing a temporary sanatorium for the reception of invalids from Hong Kong at that station, I have the honour to enclose a set of meteorological observations for the years 1863-64, for which I am indebted to Dr. Hepburn, of the American Legation; and it seems to me that it would neither be safe nor expedient to expose men suffering from organic disease to the low temperature obtaining there during the months of December, January, February, and March; most of the men I propose to invalid do so suffer, and the cases of few of them would admit of so long a delay as would be requisite to enable us to send them there with safety.

I may further add, as having an important bearing on this matter, that the buildings available at Yokohama for the purpose are in fact American or other deal huts, very imperfectly adapted for the protection of even healthy men from the effects of a low temperature.

I have, &c.
(signed) *William Dick*, M. D.,
Deputy Inspector General.

— No. 37. —

The War Office to the Military Secretary.

Sir, War Office, 6 December 1865.

I AM directed by Earl de Grey and Ripon to acquaint you, for the information of the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, that Her Majesty's Government have determined on reducing the force in the China command by one battalion of infantry.

I am accordingly to request that you will move his Royal Highness to take the necessary steps for bringing away one battalion from Hong Kong, as the force in Japan is not to be reduced.

I have, &c.
(signed *Har tington.*

[For reply, *see* No. 40, p. 37.]

— No. 38. —

The Principal Medical Officer, Hong Kong, to the Medical Department.—
(Received, 3 February 1866.)

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
Sir, 14 December 1865.

In continuation of my letter* of 30th ultimo, reporting on the state of health of the troops at this station, I have now the honour to report that a slight diminution in the daily average of sick and in the number of fever cases has taken place, and that there have been only two deaths (in the 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment) since the 1st instant, one from intermittent fever, and the other from diarrhœa.

* No. 36, p. 34.

I have, &c.
(signed) *William Dick*, M.D.,
Deputy Inspector General.

— No. 39. —

The Military Secretary to the War Office.

Sir, Horse Guards, 15 December 1865.

I am directed by his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the Director General, Army Medical Department, with its enclosures, respecting the unsatisfactory state of health of the garrison at Hong Kong, and to request that you will lay the same before the Secretary of State for War, together with the copy of a further communication from Sir James Gibson on the subject of the medical staff allowed for China.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. F. Forster.*

Enclosure 1, in No. 39.

The Medical Department to the Military Secretary.

Sir, Army Medical Department, 6 December 1865.

I have the honour herewith to forward, for the information of his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, copies of two letters which have been received at this department, one from the surgeon of the 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, and the other from the principal medical officer at Hong Kong; and I have to express my regret that the health of the troops at that station continues to suffer so severely, and that such an unusual amount of invaliding has been necessary.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. B. Gibson*, Director General.

Enclosure 2, in No. 39.

The Principal Medical Officer, Hong Kong, to the Medical Department.

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
Sir, 14 October 1865.

With reference to my letter, dated Head Quarters, Yokohama, 20th ultimo, I have the honour to report that, in consequence of the information I received respecting the unsatisfactory state of the health of the garrison at Hong Kong, I proceeded immediately to this station.

On my arrival here I found that previous arrangements had been made to dispatch 175 invalids to England, the far larger proportion of which belong to the 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment. I have specially inspected all these men, and they appear to me to be cases of such urgency as to require immediate removal.

I regret at the same time to state that, from what I have observed, it seems to me that

further invaliding, on an extensive scale, will still be required; but before giving any positive opinion, it may be well to watch the effects of the approaching change of season.

It will be observed, that the 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment is now without any medical officers of its own, in consequence of the death of Assistant Surgeon McIntyre, and the necessity which has arisen of invaliding Surgeon Black, of that corps; and as I am of opinion that the latter will be unfit to serve again in the climate of South China, I venture to hope that no time will be lost in replacing these two officers.

The departure of Assistant Surgeons Beath and Adams to England, in charge of invalids, has reduced the medical establishment in the command by two, and as it will probably be necessary to detach another staff medical officer, on a similar duty, at no very distant period, I consider it necessary that at least three other medical officers should, without delay, be ordered to the command.

I shall probably have occasion to address you again on the subject of the unhealthy condition of the garrison at Hong Kong, by the next or following mail.

I have, &c.
(signed) *William Dick*, M.D.,
Deputy Inspector-General,
Principal Medical Officer.

Enclosure 3, in No. 39.

The Senior Medical Officer to the Commandant, Hong Kong.

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
Sir, 13 October 1865.

ADVERTING to the large amount of sickness and mortality during the hot season, now over, which I am sure has deeply concerned you, I deem it my duty briefly to point out the principal causes which, in my opinion, have led to such lamentable results.

TABLE of Strength, Deaths, and Invaliding, from date of Arrival (7th February 1865) to 13th October 1865; Eight Months.

2d Battalion, 9th Regiment.	Strength.	Died.	Invalided.
Officers	34	1	1
Men	839	36	78
Women	47	5	20
Children	79	23	29
TOTAL	999	65	128

From 29th May to 13th October 1865; Four and a-half Months.

2d Battalion, 11th Regiment.	Strength.	Died.	Invalided.
Officers	25	2	3
Men	704	49	124
Women	54	3	16
Children	92	48	14
TOTAL	875	102	157

CAUSES OF SICKNESS, &c.

1. *The Occupation of Kowloon.*—Being devoid of all sanitary measures, the 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment, and 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment, suffered severely from malarious fever.

2. *Insufficient*

2. *Insufficient and Defective Barrack and Hospital Accommodation.*—On the arrival of the 2d Battalion, 11th Regiment, from the Cape of Good Hope, no suitable accommodation had been prepared for the regiment. The men, too, were ill-adapted to contend with the excessive heat at the time, in consequence of having just passed through a Cape summer.

The godowns subsequently built were badly situated on the main street, low ground, having no verandahs, and without recreation rooms.

The women and children have also been occupying very defective quarters, except the upper rooms of St. Francis' Hospital, which are good, but the vicinity is unhealthy.

The sick could not all be treated in hospital for want of room, though the verandahs were filled with patients. Many, therefore, had to remain in their barrack-rooms.

3. Overcrowding the men in their barrack-rooms, the cubic space to each man being from about 740 to 920 cubic feet.

4. Insufficient number of nights in bed, the average having been three or three and a-half, and in some instances less than three.

5. Intemperance, and want of in-door employment.

Recommendations.

1. Well-situated, well-built, and well-ventilated barracks, affording to each man at least 1,200 cubic feet.

2. Every man to have not less than six nights in bed continuously.

3. Spacious and well-lighted recreation rooms.

4. Workshops.

5. Suitable accommodation for married soldiers and their families, but far better if women and children were not sent to China.

6. Regimental canteens to be always supplied with porter by the Commissariat Department, and no ardent spirits sold, which are decidedly injurious to health and their excessive use fatal in China.

7. Hospital accommodation, affording to each patient 1,500 cubic feet.

I have, &c.
(signed) *George Saunders,*
Surgeon, 2d Battalion, 9th Regiment,
Senior Medical Officer.

Enclosure 4, in No. 39.

The Medical Department to the Military Secretary.

Sir, Army Medical Department, 12 December 1865.

Adverting to your letter of the 11th instant, I have the honour to state, for the information of his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, that the medical staff allowed for China, exclusive of the regimental medical officers, is one deputy inspector-general, one staff surgeon, and four staff assistant-surgeons, which I consider to be sufficient for the strength of the garrison.

Should it, however, be determined to establish a sanatorium at Yokohama, it would be necessary to send out an additional staff surgeon to take charge of the same.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. B. Gibson,* Director-General.

— No. 40. —

The Military Secretary to the War Office.

Sir, Horse Guards, 15 December 1865.

Having submitted to the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief your letter * of the 6th instant, stating that Her Majesty's Government had determined on reducing the force in the China command by one battalion of infantry, I am directed to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a memorandum on the subject by Lieutenant General Sir J. Hope Grant, and to request that in submitting the same to the Secretary of State, you will acquaint Earl de Grey that his Royal Highness quite concurs in the views now expressed by Sir H. Grant,

* No. 37, p 34.

and trusts, therefore, that his Lordship will fully consider the important matter which that distinguished officer, with his local experience, brings forward against the adoption of the measure now proposed.

His Royal Highness considers that the force occupying Hong Kong should be two strong European regiments, or, if reduced to one, that there should be at least two native corps, in addition to one European regiment. In his Royal Highness's opinion the latter arrangement would be more satisfactory, and would serve to relieve the European regiment greatly; but that in the event of the above proposition not meeting with the concurrence of Lord de Grey, the Field Marshal Commanding-in Chief would propose that the 2d Battalion, 9th Foot, should proceed from Hong Kong to Japan, and the 2d Battalion, 20th Regiment, from Japan to Bengal, the latter corps to form one of the five battalions for India next year.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. F. Forster.*

[For reply, *see* No. 43, p. 40.],

Enclosure in No. 40.

MEMORANDUM by the Quartermaster General.

Horse Guards, 8 December 1865.

IF a regiment is ordered away from Hong Kong, and only one left there, the duties cannot be carried on satisfactorily, in my opinion.

On leaving China, in 1860, I reduced the guards and sentries as much as possible, in consequence of a report made to me of the severe duties the troops had to undergo; and at that time there was also a native regiment stationed there.

At present the men have only three nights in bed; and by the last reports received, as the men appear to be going into hospital to a great extent, the period of rest will, in all probability, be diminished.

In India, a more healthy country, and where the barracks are built as much as possible on the healthiest spots, and every sanitary precaution taken, the orders of the Indian government are that the soldier is expected to have five nights in bed.

In Hong Kong the barracks are built in a bad situation, completely shut out from the south-west monsoon, with a high hill rising up close behind them.

The heat is relaxing in the extreme in the summer season, and the soldier necessarily feels the severe duty very much.

Moreover, Hong Kong is increasing so much in extent and size, and the lower orders of the Chinese population are so bad, composed of pirates, robbers, and murderers, that the guards must be always on the alert, and sentries very numerous.

The police also at Hong Kong were very indifferent while I was there, composed of a useless class of Indians. Moreover, Kowloon, on the main land, has been added to the possessions of the British nation, which requires more troops for duty.

The force which should occupy Hong Kong in my opinion should be two strong European regiments; and if the Government reduce it to one, there should be at least two native corps, in addition to the one European regiment.

This latter arrangement would be more satisfactory, and relieve the European regiment greatly.

(signed) *J. Hope Grant,*
Quartermaster-General.

Horse Guards, 11 December 1865.

P.S.—Should, however, it be determined to reduce the European force in China, the Quartermaster General would prefer that the 2d Battalion 9th Foot, should proceed from Hong Kong to Japan, and the 2d Battalion 20th Foot, from Japan to Bengal; the latter regiment to form one of the five battalions for India next year.

(signed) *J. H. Grant.*

— No. 41. —

The Senior Medical Officer, Cape Town, to the Medical Department.

Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope,
Sir, 18 December 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival and departure of the hired troop-ship "Gresham," with invalids from Hong Kong to England, as it is impossible for the principal medical officer at Graham's Town to communicate by this mail.

The

The "Gresham" left Hong Kong on the 13th October 1865, with (as per margin*) 235 persons on board, and arrived in Simon's Bay on the 6th December, having lost by death 31 men, three women, and six children, principallyfrom dysentery, the remaining invalids being in a very unhealthy condition. The commodore had the troops immediately removed from the ship; some, the healthiest, were put into huts; some, not so well, were sent on board Her Majesty's ship "Seringapatam;" and the remainder, 21, were sent to the Royal Naval Hospital, of whom five men and one child have already died, and there are but slight hopes that any of the others will recover. The ship was thoroughly cleaned and fumigated, the provisions, &c. examined by a naval Board, and found of good quality, except the ale, which was very bad indeed, was condemned, and porter supplied in its place. Staff Assistant Surgeon Adams, in medical charge, stated, that though only issued twice, it caused much of the diarrhœa and dysentery that ensued, when he prevented its further issue. Mr. Adams was ill when he embarked, and the anxiety and labour he underwent during the voyage seriously impaired his health, so an assistant surgeon was sent to Simon's Town, to relieve him, whilst detained, and enable him to take some rest. As it was not deemed advisable that the sole care of so great a number of invalids should be thrown on him, Staff Assistant Surgeon Ray, who was passing through on his way from Natal to England, per mail steamer, was sent home in the "Gresham." Every care and attention was bestowed on the invalids, women, and children, by the naval authorities.

* 6 officers, 1 officer's widow, 174 men, 25 women, and 29 children.

In consequence of the state of debility that many of the men and women were reduced to, and very advanced stage of their diseases, it was considered advisable that some should be left behind; I therefore made a careful selection, and regret to state that there were 34 men who did not present any favourable hope of arriving in England; in this selection the medical officer in charge of the Royal Naval Hospital concurred; they have therefore been either left in the Royal Naval Hospital, or transferred to Cape Town.

As there were no healthy men on board, I recommended that some healthy time-expired men should be sent to assist in looking after the sick, cleanliness, &c.; so 23 men were embarked. There are now on board 181, as per margin†.

† 7 officers, 1 officer's widow, 125 men, 18 women, and 28 children.

And I hope that, from the increased accommodation, the elimination of the worst cases, and precautions taken, that the remainder of the voyage will terminate favourably. The "Gresham" sailed on the 16th December.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. Thornton*, Staff Surgeon,
Senior Medical Officer, West District.

— No. 42. —

The War Office to Major General *Guy*.

Sir, War Office, 21 December 1865.

I AM directed to acquaint you that Earl de Grey has learnt with great surprise and regret, that at a period when much sickness prevailed amongst the troops at Hong Kong, the principal medical officer, the staff surgeon, and a staff assistant surgeon, were absent in Japan.

Earl de Grey desires to be furnished, after a searching inquiry, with a full explanation of the circumstances under which, at a time of such severe sickness, this extraordinary and unfortunate absence of the principal medical officers of the command, took place.

His Lordship will reserve his judgment until he is in possession of a full report from you on the whole case.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

— No. 43. —

The War Office to the Military Secretary.

Sir, War Office, 26 December 1865.

I AM directed by the Secretary of State for War to acknowledge the receipt of your letter * of the 15th instant, in regard to the intended reduction of the force in the China command.

* No 40, p. 37.

In reply, I am to acquaint you that Lord de Grey approves of the arrangements which his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief proposes to adopt for carrying out the orders for the removal of one battalion from China.

I am to add, that the memorandum by Lieutenant General Sir Hope Grant, which your letter encloses, with his Royal Highness's recommendation of it, will receive Lord de Grey's early consideration.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

[*See* further, No. 44.]

— No. 44. —

The Military Secretary to the War Office.

Sir, Horse Guards, 26 December 1865.

† No. 40, p. 37.

REFERRING to previous correspondence, and to my letter † of the 15th instant, with its enclosure, from the Quartermaster General, on the subject of the troops in China, I am directed to request you will submit, for the consideration of the Secretary of State for War, whether, in order to meet the peculiar requirements of our position in that country, and to relieve the European garrison of some of the duties which it appears almost impossible for them to perform without serious injury to their health, it might not be expedient and desirable to raise a local corps for special duty at Hong Kong.

The Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief is aware of the objections, financial and otherwise, to the employment of native troops from India; but as it is evident from Major General Guy's recent reports on the state of health of the garrison, that some auxiliary aid to the European troops is an actual necessity, his Royal Highness believes the course now suggested would prove feasible and efficacious, as the Chinese are, as was ascertained from Lieutenant General Sir Hope Grant, admirably adapted for the sort of duty which would be required of them.

Adverting to the concluding paragraph of my letter above quoted, I am desired to state, that as the 2d Battalion 11th Regiment, is in a worse state of health, and requires change of climate more than the 2d Battalion of the 9th, his Royal Highness proposes to send the former regiment to Japan, in relief of the 2d Battalion, 20th Regiment, instead of the latter, as originally intended.

I have, &c.
(signed) *E. W. Johnson*, Colonel,
For Military Secretary.

[For reply, *see* No. 48, page 44.]

— No. 45. —

The Military Secretary to the Medical Department.

Sir, Horse Guards, 3 January 1866.

WITH reference to your letters of the 6th and 12th ultimo, I am directed by his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief to transmit to you the enclosed

enclosed copy of a letter from Major General Guy, reporting that there are vacancies for three regimental and four staff medical officers in the China command, and requesting that they may be sent to Hong Kong as early as possible.

I have, &c.
(signed) *E. B. Johnson*, Colonel,
For Military Secretary.

[For reply, *see* No. 47, page 44.]

Enclosure 1, in No. 45.

Major General *Guy* to the Military Secretary. (Received 3 January 1866.)

Sir, Head Quarters, Hong Kong, 14 November 1865.

I HAVE the honour to request you will bring to the notice of his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, the insufficient number of medical officers in this command, there being at present vacancies for three regimental and four staff officers; and I beg to recommend that they may be sent to Hong Kong as early as possible, not only with a view of lightening the arduous duties now performed by the medical officers at present at Hong Kong, but also to provide for the numerous contingencies which so frequently occur in this very trying climate.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. M. N. Guy*,
Major General Commanding Troops in China.

— No. 46. —

The Military Secretary to the War Office.

Sir, Horse Guards, 4 January 1866.

IN continuation of former correspondence on the subject of the state of health of the troops in China, I am directed to transmit to you, for the early consideration of the Secretary of State for War, copy of a letter of the 23d ultimo, from the Director General, Army Medical Department, and of its Enclosure, dated 27th October last, from the principal medical officer at Hong Kong, again bringing to notice the great amount of sickness which has prevailed among the troops in China, and urging the necessity of the garrison being reinforced by native troops, a measure which the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief considers of the utmost importance, and on which His Royal Highness's views were expressed in my letters* of the 15th and 26th ultimo.

* No. 40, p. 37; No. 44, p. 40.

I have &c.
(signed) *W. F. Forster.*

[For reply, *see* No. 51, page 45.]

Enclosure 1, in No. 46.

The Medical Department to the Quartermaster General.

Sir, Army Medical Department, 23 December 1865.

I AM instructed by the Director General, Army Medical Department, to enclose, for the information of His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, the accompanying copy of a letter addressed by Deputy Inspector General Dick, Principal Medical Officer in China, for the information of the Major General commanding at that station, in which is given a brief detail of the suggestions made by Dr. Dick in the sanitary interests of the command, and the amount of sickness which has prevailed in China during this year.

I am desired by Sir James Gibson to express his extreme regret at the excess of the latter. The Director General will feel obliged by Dr. Dick's letter being returned to him at the earliest period His Royal Highness can dispense with it.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. B. Gibson*, Director General.

Enclosure 2, in No. 46.

The Principal Medical Officer to the Assistant Military Secretary, Hong Kong.

Principal Medical Officer's Office, Hong Kong,
27 October 1865.

Sir,

In reporting on the state of health of the garrison of Hong Kong for the information of his Excellency the Major General commanding, I may be allowed to refer to a communication dated 27th January 1865, and addressed by me to the Director General of the Army Medical Department (a copy of which was forwarded for the perusal of his Excellency) in which the following passage occurs:—

"If a second European regiment is sent to Hong Kong before proper provision is made for its reception, the measure will defeat its object, and should a force be required for any emergency, after a residence of one hot season in the Colony, one of the regiments stationed here will be totally inefficient as regards any active military service."

It is now my duty to show to what extent the fears I then ventured to express have since been realized.

In a letter addressed to you, dated 28th March 1865 (for the information of his Excellency), it was shown that the average annual decrease of strength among the white troops serving in China, caused by deaths and invaliding during the years 1862, 1863, and 1864, amounted to 97·265 per 1,000 men employed.

By the calculations I have recently made, it appears that the decrease of strength in this garrison from the same causes, has amounted to 166·669 per 1,000 men employed, since the 1st of July last, and from what I know, and have observed, I have too much reason to fear that it will be necessary to add largely to that amount before the end of the present year, already so near its termination.

The casualties among the women and children have also been very great, 8 of the former from a strength of 101, and 71 of the latter from a strength of 171 having died within almost the period stated above.

The casualties among the officers have also been considerable, 4 having died and 7 having been invalided, being in the ratio of 130·952 per 1,000 since the beginning of last quarter.

Having made this general statement it is desirable I should enter more into detail, as the different corps forming the garrison have not been all equally unhealthy.

2nd Battalion 9th Regiment.—During the quarter ending the 30th September last, 725 cases of malarious fevers, and 59 cases of bowel complaints, besides other diseases, have been treated, and the loss of strength from deaths and invaliding together, have amounted to 121·621 per 1,000 men. The general health of the men of this battalion is very much shaken.

2nd Battalion 11th Regiment.—During the same quarter 706 cases of malarious fevers, and 64 cases of bowel complaints, besides other diseases, have been treated, and the loss of strength from deaths and invaliding has amounted to 228·898 per 1,000 men. The regiment has lost both its medical officers, one having died and the other having been invalided. The general health of the men of this corps is in a far worse condition than that of the 2nd Battalion 9th Regiment, and is in fact so deteriorated as to render its removal from this command inevitable.

8th Brigade 2nd Battery Royal Artillery.—Twenty-nine cases of malarious fevers and nine cases of bowel complaints have been treated, and the loss of strength from deaths and invaliding has amounted to 142·857 per 1,000 men. The general health of the men does not seem to have suffered seriously, the proportion of fevers having been comparatively small.

Royal Engineers.—Fifteen cases of fever and nine of bowel complaints have been treated. The loss of strength, from deaths and invaliding, has been 94·34 per 1,000 men. The general health of the men has not suffered to any serious extent.

Staff and Departmental Corps.—These consist of the Commissariat Staff and Army Hospital Corps. There was no fatal case in either during the quarter, but four men have been invalided, being at the rate of 142·857 per 1,000 men. The general health not seriously affected.

In a former report I attributed the sickly condition of the garrison of Hong Kong to malarious and solar influences, and to unsuitable barrack accommodation: to these I beg now to add the excessive duties to which most of the soldiers of the garrison have been subjected.

The influence of malaria is generally recognised in the south of China as the direct cause of various diseases. In the present case, however, there may still be a question as to its source. Had the amount of sickness been the same, or nearly so, in the 9th and 11th Regiments, it might have been fairly assumed, from the result of former experience, that Kowloon had much to answer for, as detachments of both corps were quartered there almost in equal numbers; but as the difference between them, with respect to sickness, has been so well marked, causes must be looked for beyond the immediate or remote influences of Kowloon, and without doubt they are to be found in the unsuitable character of the godowns or stores, hired specially as barrack accommodation for the 2d battalion 11th Regiment As his Excellency is aware, there are two blocks of these buildings: the

the one situated in a hollow at the bottom of a ravine, not far from the Murray Barracks; the other is built on made soil, closely hemmed in on two sides by other buildings. The space between the different buildings of both blocks does not exceed 10 feet, so that free ventilation is thus impeded. Moreover, there is no protection in either case from solar influence without the buildings; and if a soldier, from any cause, has to leave his barrack-room, he is immediately exposed to the fierce rays of the sun; and there can be no question solar influence is of itself an effective predisposing cause of fever and other malarious diseases.

Adverting to excessive duty, the returns in my office show that, during a considerable portion of the quarter ending the 30th of September, the men of the 9th and 11th Regiments had only two nights in bed; and there can be no doubt that want of due rest at night, but more especially in a hot climate, is also of itself an effective predisposing cause of disease, and one that would seriously affect the finest and most healthy body of men in a very short time. I have taken some pains to ascertain the number of nights in bed enjoyed by the men of the garrison of Hong Kong, during the corresponding quarter of 1864, when it was composed of a mixed force of 683 white and 506 black troops, in all 1,189 men, and I find that the average was four nights in bed. The strength of the 9th and 11th Regiments, on the 1st of July last, was 1,513 men; and if, therefore, the nights in bed had continued uniform at two throughout (and they scarcely ever exceeded two and a half), it would have required nearly 1,500 additional European troops to have given the men the same number of nights in bed as was enjoyed by the mixed force of white and black troops which formed the garrison last year.

I need not remind his Excellency, that until the month of March last, the duties of the garrison at Hong Kong were performed by a mixed force of white and black troops. From a letter, dated Treasury Chambers, 17th September 1862, a copy of which is before me, I think I may fairly infer that economy was the object in substituting a white for a native regiment. I have only to say that the hospital expenses for the last quarter amounted to 1,925 *l.*, and that the value of the quinine alone expended, during nearly the same period, has amounted, at London wholesale prices, to the enormous sum of 381 *l.* 10 *s.*

It will be the duty of other departments to render accounts for hire of buildings, passages of invalids to England, &c., in connection with the presence of a second European regiment at this station; but in justice to my own department, I have to say, as far as I am aware, every principal medical officer who has served in China has been in favour of a mixed force of white and black troops, and that while such was its composition the sanitary state of the garrison was comparatively satisfactory; and I trust I do not travel beyond the strict limits of my duty when I further state, that in my opinion it would have been more humane, wise, and economical, to have left well alone, and to have retained the black troops in the command. From what has been already written, it appears unnecessary for me to offer any suggestion with regard to the Artillery, Engineers, and Staff Corps; but as respects the 2d Battalion 9th Regiment, it appears to me that it is desirable, in every point of view, to remove it from Hong Kong. If a military force is to be retained in Japan, I think much advantage would be gained by sending it there. As regards the 2d Battalion 11th Regiment, I consider its general health so deteriorated that it is indispensable for the preservation of the corps to remove it to a still more genial climate; and from personal experience, I can strongly recommend any of the Australian Colonies, where good barracks are vacant. In conclusion, I have only earnestly to urge the pressing sanitary necessity of applying, with as little delay as possible, for another Indian regiment, as a substitute for one of the European regiments now in the command. I consider that a Belochée corps is best adapted for this service. And, perhaps, I cannot do better than add a paragraph from an official letter of Dr. Currie, deputy inspector general of hospitals, with reference to a similar application made just three years ago, under precisely similar circumstances to the present:—

"I consider it my duty to suggest to the General Officer Commanding, the reduction, as far as may be safely practicable, of the European element of the force, and the substitution of Indian troops.

"In conclusion, I have only to add that the brigadier general at once acted upon my suggestion, and has applied to the Viceroy of India for a native corps to relieve the 31st Regiment."

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. Dick*, M.D.,
Deputy Inspector General, Principal Medical Officer.

(True copy.)
(signed) *William Dick*, M.D.,
Deputy Inspector General and Principal Medical Officer.

— No. 47. —

The Medical Department to the Military Secretary.

Sir, Army Medical Department, 5 January 1866.

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter* of the 3d instant, and its enclosure, from the officer commanding the troops in China, on the subject of the paucity of medical officers in that command, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, that the vacancies alluded to by Major General Guy have already been filled up.

* No. 45, p. 40.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. B. Gibson*, Director General.

— No. 48. —

The War Office to the Military Secretary.

Sir, War Office, 5 January 1866.

With reference to the concluding paragraph of your letter† of 26th ultimo, in which you state that as the 2d Battalion 11th Foot, at Hong Kong, is in a worse state of health, and requires change of climate more than the 2d Battalion 9th Foot, Field Marshal Commanding in Chief proposes that the former regiment should be sent to Japan instead of the latter, as before arranged. I am desired to request that you will signify to his Royal Highness Earl de Grey's concurrence in this proposal.

† No. 44, p. 40.

I am to add, that the question of the future garrison of Hong Kong will receive his Lordship's early consideration.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

(*See* further, No. 49.)

— No. 49. —

The Military Secretary to the War Office.

Sir, Horse Guards, 11 January 1866.

With reference to your letters‡ of the 6th and 26th ultimo and 5th instant, I am directed by the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief to request that you will acquaint the Secretary of State for War, that in consequence of the representation of the sickly state of the 2d Battalion 9th Foot at Hong Kong, his Royal Highness proposes, with Earl de Grey's concurrence, that the following movements should take place in lieu of those previously decided upon, viz.: —

‡ No. 37, p. 34; No. 43, p. 40; No. 48.

2d Battalion 11th Foot, from Hong Kong to Bengal.
2d Battalion 9th Foot „ Hong Kong „ Japan.
2d Battalion 20th Foot „ Japan „ Hong Kong.

By the above arrangement, the 2d Battalion 11th Foot will form one of the five relieving regiments for India this year, instead of the 2d Battalion 20th Foot.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. F. Forster.*

(For reply, *see* No. 50, p. 45.)

— No. 50. —

The War Office to the Military Secretary.

Sir, War Office, 16 January 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter* of the 11th instant, stating that in consequence of the sickly state of the 2d Battalion 9th Foot at Hong Kong, the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief recommends the following movements instead of those previously decided upon : * No. 49, p. 44.

2d Battalion 11th Foot, from Hong Kong to Bengal.
2d Battalion 9th Foot, „ „ „ Japan.
2d Battalion 20th Foot, „ Japan „ Hong Kong.

In reply, I am to acquaint you that Lord de Grey approves of the arrangement proposed by His Royal Highness, by which the 2d Battalion 11th Foot will form one of the five relieving regiments for India this year, instead of the 2d Battalion 20th Foot.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

[*See* further, No. 52.]

— No. 51. —

The War Office to the Military Secretary.

Sir, War Office, 24 January 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter† of the 4th instant, together with its enclosures, from the Director General of the Army, Medical Department, on the subject of the great amount of sickness which prevails amongst the troops serving in China, and urging the expediency of the garrison being reinforced by native troops. † No. 46, p. 41.

In reply, I am to request that you will acquaint the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief that regard being had to the objections which exist to stationing Indian troops in China, Earl de Grey is disposed to think that the readiest mode of supplying troops capable of withstanding the climate of Hong Kong would be to send thither a portion of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment. His Lordship understands that the Committee recently assembled to inquire into the military expenditure of that Colony has recommended that a considerable reduction, both in men and officers, should be made in this corps, and it occurs to his Lordship that in the event of this proposal being adopted, the portion so to be reduced might be rendered available for duty in Hong Kong, leaving the question, of the kind of men to be hereafter recruited for the portion of the regiment thus transferred to Hong Kong, for future consideration.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

— No. 52. —

The Military Secretary to the War Office.

Sir, Horse Guards, 1 February 1866.

ADVERTING to your letter‡ of the 6th December last, intimating that Her Majesty's Government have determined on reducing the force in the China command by one Battalion of Infantry, I am directed by the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief to request you will inform the Secretary of State for War that it has been most strongly represented to his Royal Highness by the Director General, Army Medical Department, that if the men of the 2d Battalion 11th Regiment, which has suffered so severely from sickness, should be called upon to perform duty which will give them less than seven, or at the very least, six nights in bed, ‡ No. 37, p. 34.

the most serious consequences may follow, and as his Royal Highness most fully concurs in Sir James Gibson's opinion on this subject, not only as regards this regiment, but also any British force employed at Hong Kong, he proposes, with the concurrence of Earl de Grey, to send out immediate orders to Major General Guy, directing him to abstain from employing the troops at that station on any duty which will not permit of their having this amount of rest.

In bringing this to the Secretary of State's notice, I am to request you will at the same time point out that the ordinary duties of the station cannot possibly be carried out without the aid of native troops of some description, and his Royal Highness trusts his Lordship will see the necessity for an early decision on this subject, with a view to instructions being sent to China by the first mail, and that Major General Guy may be empowered meanwhile to make such arrangements for the duties of the place as he may deem advisable and necessary under the circumstances.

I am further directed to state, for the information of the Secretary of State for War, that having been in communication with the Director General, Army Medical Department, on the subject of the relief of the 2d Battalion 11th Regiment, it appears to his Royal Highness that the proposal submitted in my letter* of the 11th ultimo, would insufficiently meet the extreme case of this battalion, and that it would be preferable that it should be sent back to the healthy and bracing climate of the Cape rather than to India, where it would arrive at a season of the year unfavourable to the health of the men, and where they might suffer also from heat on their journey to the upper provinces; nor does it seem expedient or desirable to bring this regiment direct to England; and I am to request, therefore, you will submit, for Earl de Grey's approval, the following arrangement which his Royal Highness believes to be the best under the circumstances:—

* No. 49, p. 44.

	From.	To.
2nd Battalion 11th Regiment -	China -	Cape of Good Hope.
,, 9th ,, -	Hong Kong	Japan.
,, 20th ,, -	Japan -	Hong Kong.
67th Regiment - - - -	Cape -	England.

A regiment direct from home to India.

With reference to the mode proposed by Earl de Grey for supplying troops capable of withstanding the climate of Hong Kong as communicated in your letter† of the 24th ultimo, I am desired to acquaint you, for his Lordship's information, that in his Royal Highness's opinion the employment of a portion of the Ceylon Rifles in China is not desirable, for from inquiry his Royal Highness has reason to believe that the employment of a portion of this corps in China on a former occasion was very distasteful to the men, and that it had a very prejudicial and baneful effect on the recruiting of the regiment. His Royal Highness would not be disposed, therefore, to recommend the measure.

† No. 51, p. 45.

If, however, it shall be decided on reducing the number of officers of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment, his Royal Highness suggests that those who may come under the operation of the reduction might be made available for appointment to any native force which it may be determined on raising for service in China.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. F. Forster.*

(For reply, *see* No. 53.)

— No. 53. —

The War Office to the Military Secretary.

Sir, War Office, 2 February 1866.

I HAVE laid before the Secretary of State for War your letter‡ of the 1st instant, on the subject of the reduction of the military force in the China command, by one battalion of infantry, and I am to acquaint you, in reply, for the information of the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, that Earl de Grey concurs in the orders which his Royal Highness proposes to give to Major General Guy, directing him to abstain from employing the troops at Hong Kong on any duty which

‡ No. 52, p. 45.

which will prevent their having the amount of rest considered necessary by the medical authorities.

Nor has his Lordship any objection to the 2d Battalion 11th Regiment being sent to the Cape of Good Hope instead of to India, or to the other movements of regiments recommended by his Royal Highness.

With regard to the employment of a native force at Hong Kong, I am to state that this question is under the serious consideration of the Secretary of State, and that a further communication will be made to his Royal Highness on the subject.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Lugard.*

— No. 54. —

The Principal Medical Officer, Portsmouth, to the Medical Department.

Sir, Portsmouth, 5 February 1866.

I HAVE the honour to report that a Board of officers (on which I attended) was ordered by his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, to ascertain whether the mortality on board the hired transport "Gresham," on her late voyage from Hong Kong to Spithead, is to be traced to any of the arrangements on board that ship. The result of a careful and minute inquiry into all the circumstances was a unanimous finding in the negative.

The accommodation for the troops was spacious, thoroughly ventilated; the supplies and medical comforts good and abundant; the excreta from the sick were promptly thrown overboard, and disinfectants freely used. The ship was easy at sea, carrying her ports always open. The soldiers and their families on board expressed the fullest satisfaction with the treatment and accommodation they had received. The Board ventured to express a high opinion of the attention and care displayed by Captain Burland, the officer commanding, and Staff Assistant Surgeon Adams, in medical charge.

The detailed proceedings of the Board were forwarded to the military authorities.

I have, &c.
(signed) *F. W. Innes*, M. D.,
Deputy Inspector General.

— No. 55. —

The Military Secretary to the War Office.

Sir, Horse Guards, 10 February 1866.

REFERRING to the last paragraph of your letter* of the 2d instant, and to previous correspondence on the question of the employment of a native force at Hong Kong, I am directed to state that, in the opinion of the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, it is essential that this question should be disposed of at the earliest possible date, an opinion in which his Royal Highness is aware that the Secretary of State for War entirely concurs.

* No. 53, p. 46.

Concurrently with this question, it so happens that that of the force to be maintained at Ceylon is now under consideration, and further it is also understood that the Straits Settlement is about to be taken over by the Imperial Government.

Without coming to any premature solution of the Ceylon question or committing himself to the recommendation contained in the Report of the Ceylon Commissioners, the Duke of Cambridge conceives it is not impossible that some reduction of the native force in that Colony may be ultimately agreed to, and it appears to his Royal Highness desirable that advantage should be taken of this circumstance to decide upon the force to be employed in the Straits Settlement.

The proposals originally made by his Royal Hghness with reference to the garrison of these settlements were as follows :

To be stationed at Singapore—
Two batteries Royal Artillery.
Head-quarters Wing of British Regiment from China.
Two companies Ceylon Rifles.

At Penang—
Two-thirds of a battery Royal Artillery.
Three companies Ceylon Rifles.

Malacca—
One-third of a battery Royal Artillery.
One company Ceylon Rifles.

In addition to the above, it would be necessary, if it be the intention of Government to take over Labuan in Borneo, to provide two more companies of the Ceylon Rifles to take the place of the native garrison now furnished from the Madras Army.

His Royal Highness, I am to state, adheres generally to the views previously submitted on this subject, but is prepared to modify them, if it should be considered desirable to constitute the garrisons of Ceylon and the Straits Settlement as one command ; or if on any account it should appear expedient to the Secretary of State to change the constitution of the force by the substitution of British for native troops altogether.

His Royal Highness suggests that a second battalion may be added to the Ceylon Rifles, to be stationed in the Straits, and to be employed not only as the native garrison, for that Colony, but also as the depôt for recruiting the whole regiment, including the battalion in Ceylon.

It appears to his Royal Highness very desirable that the wing of the European Regiment for the Straits should be taken as originally proposed from a second regiment in China, an arrangement which would have the advantage of giving the troops in the China command a comparatively salubrious climate to recruit their health in, or form a second regiment in Ceylon, the addition of which, according to the remarks of Major General Hodgson on the report of the Ceylon Commissioners, a copy of whose letter to his Royal Highness on this subject is herewith forwarded for Earl de Grey's consideration, would appear to be a very desirable arrangement, additional British troops being so much needed for Imperial interests.

If a third battalion of the Ceylon Rifles could be raised for service in China, his Royal Highness would greatly prefer it to a purely local corps, having serious objections to the local system, if it can possibly be avoided, but if it should be thought that the Malays would be unwilling to recruit for service in China, then a local corps composed either of Chinese or Indians should at once be formed for service at Hong Kong, and his Royal Highness would again urge the necessity for this being carried out with the least possible delay.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. F. Forster.*

MORTALITY IN TROOPS (CHINA AND JAPAN).

COPY of CORRESPONDENCE relative to the SICKNESS and MORTALITY in the 2d Battalion of the 9th Regiment, and 2d Battalion of the 11th Regiment, in *China* and *Japan*.

(*Colonel North.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
21 *February* 1866.

[*Price* 6 *d.*]

Under 8 *oz.*

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OF

JOURNEYS IN CHINA AND JAPAN

PERFORMED BY

MR. ALABASTER, MR. OXENHAM, MR. MARKHAM,

AND DR. WILLIS,

OF

HER MAJESTY'S CONSULAR SERVICE IN THOSE

COUNTRIES.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
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Reports of Journeys in China and Japan performed by Mr. Alabaster, Mr. Oxenham, Mr. Markham, and Dr. Willis, of Her Majesty's Consular Service in those Countries.

No. 1.

Sir R. Alcock to Lord Stanley.—(Received January 2, 1869.)

(Extract.) *Peking, October 7, 1868.*

I HAVE received a very interesting Report, copy of which I inclose, from Mr. Alabaster, who took the overland route from Che-foo, where he had been officiating as Consul, to Chin-kiang, on his way south to Swatow, where I have placed him in charge. Part of this route lay along the line of the Grand Canal from the Yellow River to the Yang-tsze; and in a comparatively hurried transit he saw quite enough of commercial wealth and traffic in a succession of large cities lying on the banks of the canal, to show the importance of such a field of operations to our merchants.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Memorandum by Mr. Alabaster of a Trip Overland from Che-foo to Chin-kiang-foo.

Part I.

BEING desirous to obtain some reliable information relative to a report current at Che-foo, that 10,000 Chinamen are now working some gold mines distant some eighty miles from that port in defiance of the authorities, to ascertain the practicability of the line of railroad from Che-foo, agitated so continually during the past year, and to find out the actual amount of damage done by the rebels in their last raid, and the probability of another irruption, I determined, notwithstanding the season of the year and the hardship it would probably entail, to proceed to my new post overland.

I left Che-foo on the 18th July, accompanied by one Chinese servant, in carts lent me by the Taoutae, it being impossible to hire any at Che-foo, except at a rate so extortionate that I could not submit to it without establishing a most inconvenient precedent for future travellers.

Starting in a westerly direction, I took the new road made by the Taoutae at the expense of the people, to Huang-hsien, a district city distant some (190 li) sixty-three miles from Yentai. This is one of the two towns in which the trade of Che-foo chiefly depends, and for a northern town is of some considerable extent.

Previous to the formation of the Taoutae's road,—which scarcely deserves the name, being merely a rough cutting over, not through, the hills,—this was the nearest point to the sea to which carts could come, and its importance is due to this. Even now many carts stop here; goods being taken or brought from Yentai on muleback: it has no manufactures of importance, although some quantity of bean cakes is made here, but a number of fine inns and hongs.

I called on the magistrate here, and with his assistance, readily and cheerfully given, hired carts to take me to the Yellow River, after some difficulty,—the route being declared impracticable from the rains, and in parts dangerous from local banditti: 120 li from Huang-hsien I branched off from the route to visit the Pingtou gold mines, sending my carts on to Haichow-foo, and proceeding myself over the hills on muleback.

The mines are about forty miles from the sea, but were, on my arrival, full of water. The gold is found in a vein of cellular quartz, running through a range of hills which appeared to me to be a continuation of that in which the gold is found near Yentai.

The mine was worked with considerable success by Chinese some years back; but a dispute arising as to the amount the proprietor should contribute to the local authorities' privy purse, the works were stopped from Peking. The ravines round are still occasionally washed for gold, but it does not appear to be found in profitable quantities. I found great anxiety on the part of the people in the village near that the mine should be opened, and a source of profitable employment thereby developed for them; but I found no bodies of men actively engaged in the search for gold as reported at Che-foo, the story having apparently taken its source in a threat made by a body of some dozen Cantonese who endeavoured to open the mine a short time back, and who, being prevented by the mandarins, declared they would return with some 10,000 men, and do so perforce. The vein, as far as it has been traced, extends for some 4 li ($1\frac{1}{3}$ miles), and lies some 30 feet below the surface, lead and silver, as at Che-foo, being found in a line parallel to it, distant some 6 or 7 miles. I rejoined my carts at Saichow-foo (a prefecture), the prettiest and cleanest little city I have seen, but apparently of no great commercial importance: soap, stone ornaments, and whitewash being the chief productions. From this I proceeded to the Ta-hsin-ho, 120 li (40 miles), a river some 9 feet deep, and 500 yards across, the scene of several sanguinary engagements during the rebel campaign, the mandarins having attempted to hold the line of the river and starve the rebels on the promontory: some miles further I came to the Weiho, a broad and navigable river, which could easily be made an insurmountable barrier to rebel raids on the promontory if a hundredth part of the money expended during the past year on useless fortifications were devoted to the maintenance of a couple of small steamers upon it; indeed, if they used the steamers in time of peace as ferry-boats, it could be alone an infinitesimal expense.

One hundred and thirty li (forty-three miles) from the Hsin-ho, I reached Wei-hsien, the depôt of the Shangtung trade, and the centre from which the South Tsinun-foo and Peking are reached. During my tenure of office at Che-foo I heard nothing but Wei-hsien whenever any mercantile matter was discussed; it was to this that a railway was wanted, it was from this that the whole interior could be reached, and it was here that everything was to be got, and it appeared to me to deserve the attention bestowed upon it.

Besides the original city wall, those of the suburbs are now inclosed with fortifications; the numerous forges (Wei-hsien is noted for its blacksmiths) were busily employed while I was there in the manufacture of gingalls and guns. Entirely a trading town, there are few residences of gentry, but numberless tobacco hongs, inns, shops, and cart depôts. From here goods can be sent in any direction—north, south, east, or west; and it may be considered the centre of the cart trade of Shang-tung. I found the people here more inclined to rudeness than I had done elsewhere, and calling on the District Magistrate, I was denied an interview on the fictitious plea that he was not at home; but this will not probably occur again, as the Taoutae, to whom, through Mr. Markham, I represented the affair, has rebuked the Magistrate, I understand severely, and the rudeness of the people will probably wear off as foreigners visit the town more frequently.

My route, which had hitherto been nearly due west, here turned off south. A few miles from Wei-hsien I found numerous coal-pits in active operation, Wei-hsien using coal entirely for fuel. The shafts are sunk in the plain to a depth of 100 or 120 feet, and galleries of considerable extent run out from them, new shafts being sunk when ventilation appears desirable,—the coal underlying the whole country.

The coal is unfortunately of very inferior quality, of loose texture, and giving very little heat, so little that it would be impossible to use it for steam purposes, the forges at Wei-hsien being supplied from Shanso; but there is very reason to think that beneath the surface vein, which alone is worked, a more valuable quality might be discovered. Nor would deeper boring affect the Fungshui, or excite the hostility of the Mandarins. The mines are worked and the produce is in demand; the miners, too, I found most friendly disposed, and one who had visited Shanghae was most anxious to learn at what cost he could procure a foreign pumping apparatus, apparently seeing no difficulty in putting it in use if procurable within the limits of his purse. Until, however, a good road be made from Yentai to Wei-hsien, the development of the mines, even if a better quality of coal exist, would profit little. The difficulties of the road between the mines and Wei-hsien, ten miles only, raise the cost from 500 cash the tan of 150 catties (200 lbs. roughly) at the pit's mouth to twice that amount in the town, and the conveyance to Yentai would raise the price from 5 dollars per ton to 12 dollars, and over.

Nor is the line of road an easy one; it is true that no high ranges would need to be

crossed, but the line would necessitate so many cuttings of 100 or 200 feet through the hills, solid rock, and so many bridges over the sand flats, at seasons converted into broad and rapid torrents lying between them, that it is doubtful whether the cost would meet with a commensurate return. There are a number of villages on the road, some of considerable extent, and a few large towns, but there is no traffic or population such as you see in the southern provinces.

From the mines my course took me nearly due south, over a number of rocky ranges of no considerable height and interlying plains, and over many broad but shallow rivers, through the miserable district city of Anchin to the sub-prefecture of Chin-chow, 320 li (106 miles). All along the way I had seen traces of the rebel raid: none of the walled villages, it is true, had been captured, nor had any great damage apparently been done in the places visited by them on the promontory, but from Wei-hsien new houses or ruins of old ones became more common, and as I advanced the injury that had been done by the various raids became still more manifest.

The Nienfei, however, do not appear to have been nearly such a scourge as the Taepings: nearly every mark of serious devastation was attributed to the Taepings when they made their celebrated attempt on Peking,—temples, cities, villages, all appear to have been utterly destroyed wherever they passed; and notwithstanding over twelve years have passed since then, the country has scarcely yet recovered. The Nienfei appear to have been merely a large band of starving people, wandering over the country, eating it up as they went, but unless molested doing little damage, and never seeking to establish themselves as a political power; indeed, in many places the feeling against the Mandarin troops was as bitter as against the so-called rebels, and the damage done by them as great.

At Chin-chow, a large town but of no very great commercial importance, I was visited by the Sub-Prefect, a Mandarin named Chin, who showed me extraordinary civility, sending me a dinner, and offering me an escort if I thought it desirable: but I noticed a great change in the people; hitherto they had been a fine, well-dressed, independent set, ready to be civil to me if I was civil to them, but evidently thinking themselves quite equal if not superior to the foreigner: from Chin-chow they seemed poor and fearful, inclined alternately to insolence or servility.

From Chin-chow my course took me to the Yiho, a broad navigable river, and the important commercial town Li-hia-chuang (230 li), situated on the magnificent Imperial road by which the first Emperors of this dynasty secured their communication, and the decay of which has contributed greatly to the decadence of the power of the present Government; equal originally to the roads our Government has constructed in India, it is now only in places passable, and the traffic is compelled to seek bye-roads for its continuance. Here I found the first inns I had met with in my road, and the town, though said to be daily falling off, still showed signs of bustling trade.

Seventy li (23 miles) further took me to the district city of Tanchêng Hsien, a poverty-stricken town, much injured by rebel raids and Imperialist armies, and the last place of any importance at which I found European goods brought viâ Che-foo and Wei-hsien.

Up to this point I had seen neither beggar, soldier, nor Custom-house, and notwithstanding the badness of the roads it was more profitable for the merchant to bring European goods by cart, or pack-mule, or wheelbarrow, than to bring them 746 li from Chin-kiang with all the advantages of water carriage to within about 160 li. The reason given was, first, the danger from local banditti in the tract of country on which I was now entering, but even more so the Kiangsu squeezes, by which the difference of cost of transport was more than overbalanced; the amount of squeezes or octroi duty on shirtings brought from Chin-kiang reaching over 600 cash per piece of shirtings, while the additional cost of land transport on goods from Che-foo was estimated to be not more than 300 to 400 cash.

The failure of the native cotton manufactories last year, in consequence of the presence of the rebels, makes the additional 30 or 40 cents per piece which the consumer is forced to give by the stoppage of the natural channel through which foreign manufactures should reach him, immaterial this season; as shirtings are still cheaper than native cottons: but when the cotton districts have recovered, it must have the effect of driving foreign manufactures out of the market, and is therefore worthy of attention.

I left Tanchêng with an escort civilly sent me by the magistrate, but thinking it unnecessary dismissed it, and proceeded alone to the frontiers of Kiang-nan, beyond which I understood the road was more or less dangerous, and finding the Mandarin in charge of the camp there away from home had pushed on some ten miles further, when I was warned by a villager that it was not safe to proceed. Luckily there was a small military post close by, and with some difficulty I persuaded the officer in charge to provide

me with an escort, which he was reluctant to do at first, but ultimately did on my determining to pass the night at the village, thinking the risk of losing some of his men by attack on the road less than the danger of my remaining there.

Passing the night in a fortified village, I proceeded the next day under escort to Sutsin, a district city on the Imperial Canal, poor in itself, but surrounded by a fortified suburb in which there were fine shops and a fair amount of trade.

The magistrate here received me very civilly, having met several of the officers of the various drilled corps, and insisting on confounding me with them. From Sutsin I only proceeded 50 li further by cart, the heat becoming unbearable, and travelling under escort proving both expensive and tiresome, as I felt compelled to give liberal douceurs in the interest of future travellers, and I could not have the same liberty of action or move so rapidly with twenty men at my heels as while travelling alone. I therefore took boat at Yang-hua-chi on the 9th August, twenty-two days from Yentai, and the same evening reached the old junction of the Imperial Canal and the Yellow River—the end of the first part of my journey. On the road I had passed through cultivated country; the whole way millet, Kaohang maize, and beans being found everywhere, and from Wei-hsien small quantities of cotton; at intervals I also found Indigo grown in small quantities, and either flax or ching, the North China hemp, wherever I went; tobacco, too, was growing in patches near most of the villages, and east of Wei-hsien I came across very large plantations. As I got further south, ground-nuts and sweet potatoes formed a portion of the crops, but nowhere were the principal one. I also noticed a remarkably fine breed of cattle with branching horns some 70 miles north of the Yellow River, small droves of which I met on their way northwards for the foreign market, a few reaching it southwards viâ Chin-kiang. The disturbed state of the country from 100 miles north to 30 miles south of the Yellow River is attributable to the number of returned rebels, who, giving up their open rebellion, in the faith of Li Futai's amnesty, still find it difficult to refrain altogether from the charming pursuit of plundering; and in a bad year, joined by the starving people dependent in consequence of the infamous roads on local production for their support, a new horde of open plunderers might at any moment arise: but the crops have fortunately this year been above the average, and with abundance of food the orderly-minded are able to repress the turbulently-minded few, and if there be a continuance of good harvests the Mandarins may again regain the power which has slipped out of their hands. As it is, I found the troops being rapidly disbanded, and the cavalry corps, a far from contemptible body, as far as I saw, being alone kept up; and should a rising take place there is little fear of the rebels being able to force their way north: every village now is surrounded by a wall of mud or stone of from ten to forty feet in height, and boasts its corps of volunteers. A march through Shan-tung would be a succession of sieges, and a plundering band of foragers (than which the Nienfei are little better) could not possibly exist, and if the Imperialists can hold the line of the Imperial Canal the south is equally secure.

(Signed) C. ALABASTER.

Part II.

The remainder of my journey, that from the Yellow River to Chin-kiang, occupied but three days, and yet in that short time I saw one hundred times the number of people, and one thousand times the amount of trade, I had done in my journey through Shan-tung.

I reached Yang-chuang, the village on the north bank of the old Yellow River, at dark on the 9th of August, and at once found myself among a race resembling, in dress, manners, and language, those to whom I had been accustomed round Shanghae; fair complexions and loose clothes took the place of the tight-girt bronzed natives of Shan-tung, and rice was brought me for my evening meal instead of bread or biscuit.

Rising next morning at daylight, I started by chair to cross the river, in places existing now but in name: for although parts of the old bed are still swampy, the greater portion is cultivated, and numerous villages are scattered here and there about it; and a small canal, filled with the superabundant waters of the Imperial Canal, was the only representative of the mighty stream which once had rushed by, resistless, to the sea.

I had been told that it was seven miles to Chin-kiang-pu, the depôt of the place where the Imperial Canal used to join the south bank of the river, the space between it and Yang-chuang being now occupied by three locks; and when I had gone about ten li, was surprised to enter what at first I thought was a town grown up half-way in the

centre of the old bed; but the line of shops, hongs, inns, and houses came to no end, and I found that I was in the suburbs of Chin-kiang-pu, that had already spread thus far, and would seem to bid fair to extend, before another two years, quite to the northern bank. Through a bustling crowd I was carried six miles to the bank of the canal, to select from a fleet of boats of all sizes and descriptions the one which should take me to Chin-kiang. Had I been in Shanghae, and wanted to hire a boat to go up-country, a day's notice would have been required, with all the Chinese staff to help me; but here a foreigner perfectly alone—for my boy and baggage were following me on wheelbarrows some distance behind—the difficulty of making up my mind which boat I should select was the only impediment to be overcome: so soon as I had picked out my boat a bargain was struck in a couple of minutes, as everything was ready for a start. Never before in China had I met with such business-like promptness as I found there. I could have, had it pleased me, laid in a cargo of any sort of goods in another hour.

Chin-kiang-pu proper lies on the east bank of the canal, and is entirely a trading town; on the west bank is the district city of Tsing-ho, the walls of which have been built in the last four years, and which is the head-quarters of the High Commissioner charged with the supreme direction of the transport of the grain tribute.

The granaries are at present empty, but the occupation the grain transport gave in old times is more than made up for by the place being made the depôt of the armies of the north, and large stores of munitions of war filling the temples even, and hosts of officials on their way north or south occupying all available quarters. The town also has become the depôt for the foreign trade with the north-west since the communications round Hankow have been interrupted. I found hong after hong full of foreign goods, with purchasers from Honan busily investing.

To attempt to describe Chin-kiang-pu in the limits of a short memorandum would be impossible; the only way to do so is to say that it appeared to me to be a purely Chinese Shanghae of three times Shanghae's extent, a city such as Soo-chow was before devastated by the rebels; and it is the more wonderful that it should be so that it has suffered cruelly, the suburbs having been twice almost utterly destroyed within the last ten years.

From Chin-kiang-pu to Chin-kiang it was a succession of trading towns and large walled cities too numerous for mention; the chief passed by me in the first day being Pan-chatze, the head Custom-house of the Taoutae, or High Grain Commissioner, round which a considerable town has sprung up; Huai-an-foo, an extensive prefectured city, the walls of which lie for miles along the banks of the canal; Ping-chiao, a large market town, and the district city of Pao-ying.

The country here was said to be unsafe at night, and a body of supposed robbers pointed out to me on the banks of the canal in the dusk of the evening; but the stream of passengers to and fro in the day time prevents the danger of being attacked so long as the sun is up.

The second day, the Kaoyu Lake, on the west bank, was separated from the canal by the embankment; only the country on the east lay some 20 feet below the canal's level,—so low, indeed, that the walls of Kaoyu-chow, a sub-prefecture of considerable extent, are not visible on the northern side. This lake, called by different names, is an immense sheet of water, declared by the boatmen to be 500 li (over 100 miles) across, and is the source of considerable danger to the populous and highly cultivated tract lying to the east of the canal, as its waves, which, in strong north-west winds, rise with considerable violence, are gradually destroying the embankment on the west side of the canal, and will soon be prevented from inundating the country only by that on the east. Indeed, in places already, the west bank has given way, and the lives and fortunes of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, depend on the east bank alone; but although the peril is recognized, and the east bank is carefully watched, no funds seem to be forthcoming for the necessary works. In a few years the remains of the west bank will cease even to act as an effective breakwater, and, some weak point of the east bank giving way, the country will be inundated, and the remnants of the people, driven by starvation, will, as a new band of rebels, carry devastation into the other portions of the province.

Nor, unless the Chinese Government seek foreign aid, is there any remedy; the repair of the broken-down embankment is a work which not only taxes their engineering ignorance to the extent of its weakness, but is one they have no funds or probability of funds to carry out. If, indeed, they should seek our assistance in time, it appeared to me that, with foreign appliances, there would be no great difficulty in the undertaking, and even that it would be a profitable investment for foreign capital if the Chinese would concede the embankment as a line of railway; for in no part of China have I seen a line promising so extensive a traffic in passengers and goods, or one the cost of origina

construction and maintenance of which would be less. It is true that the leking taxes, the inland squeezes, the octroi duties, of which the canal is so profitable a source, would fall before the railway; but the Chinese Government would save the expense of the maintenance of the embankment, no graves, houses, or Fungshui would be interfered with, no traffic interrupted, and a great peril would be averted. Passing the more or less important towns of Chi-shui, Chu-tse-sze, Ma-feng-tseun, Li-tsin, Sao-pu, and the city of Kao-yu, and numerous smaller villages, I, on the morning of the third day, reached Yang-chow, the salt city of China, celebrated for its wealth, luxury, and turbulence, three times sacked by the rebels, and still considered by foreigners one of the finest accessible to us.

A short distance above the city, fortunately at the narrow portion of the lake, and where the level of the water is less above the surrounding country, the bank on both sides of the canal is broken down, and the country on the east side inundated: but although three years have elapsed since the bank gave way, no steps have been taken to repair it, and what otherwise would be a smiling plain still remains a swampy lake; while the rush of water across the canal forms a dangerous impediment to navigation. As I neared Yang-chow, the fleet of boats passing increased, and the canal round the city was so full of junks (those of large burthen being able to come up) that it was difficult to pass; and on all sides you saw signs of returning prosperity in the large hongs rising in the midst of blocks of ruins and the busy activity of builders.

Entering the town I found a certain sign of wealth in a long line of curiosity shops, in one of which I was shown some very handsome diamond ornaments; but, like Chin-kiang-pu, it is hopeless to attempt to describe the town. It is the head-quarters of the salt trade of the country supplied by the Yang-tsze, the Imperial Canal, and the Yellow River; and the manufacture of sweetmeats and preserves, for which it is celebrated, would still give it importance if the salt trade were removed. I found the people more ill-disposed than anywhere I had yet visited, and was called "yang-kuei tsze," or foreign devil, in the most offensive sense. From my start, I had always been called a devil, but rarely hitherto as an insult; it is a common term for foreigners, and I was several times, on my way, even spoken of by people seeking my aid under the impression that I was a doctor, as "his Excellency the Devil" ("Kuei tszê ta jên"); but at Yang-chow the people seemed to mean it as an insult, and more than one stone was thrown at me by the following crowd as I wandered through the streets. A foreign Mission has, however, settled there, and it is to be hoped Mr. Taylor and his companions will be able to impress their hearers with better feelings towards foreigners; they will find no difficulty in finding a congregation, for ascending a mound in an open space, to gain a view of the city, a crowd of several thousands came rushing towards me, and I had some difficulty in getting quietly away from them.

This was the only missionary station I had come across on my journey, although many places seemed adapted for mission work. I had brought a supply of books with me, and always found them gratefully received when, in return for some slight service, I presented one; nowhere had I found religious intolerance; and although in one place in Shantung I heard Christianity spoken of as a senseless profession, I, in all other places, found it spoken of as an excellent religion, leading men to do good.

From Yang-chow to the entrance of the Yang-tsze, the creek was full of junks and revenue cutters busily boarding the passing craft. My flag, however, in which my name and titles were inscribed, procured me the exemption from stoppage; and I arrived at the Yang-tsze and Chin-kiang without having once been required to show my pass, notwithstanding the innumerable barriers I had passed on the line of the canal.

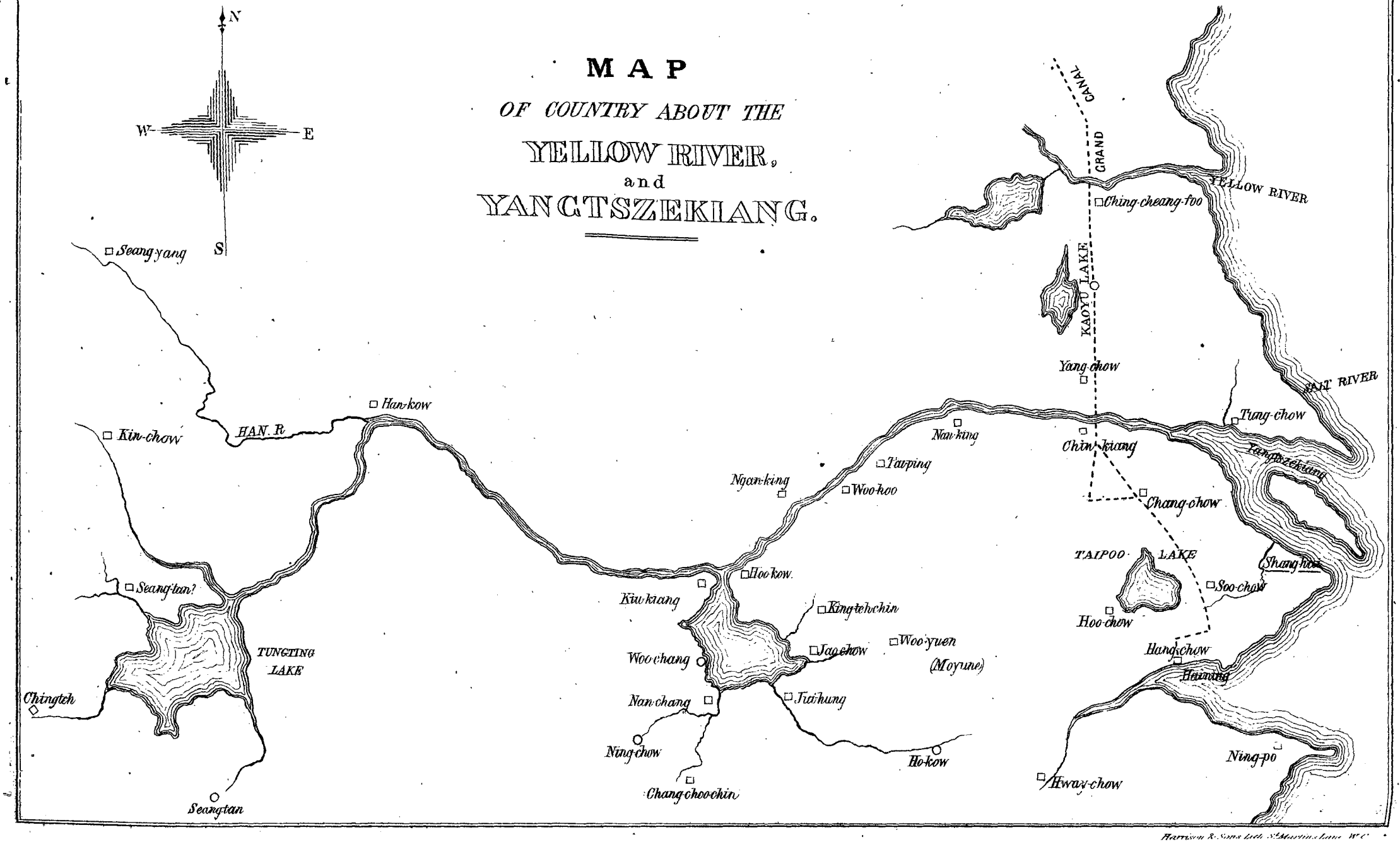
These barriers form a noticeable feature on the canal; at nearly every village there is either an examining or other station, and I passed in three days over thirty; but so far as I could learn, and my information was confirmed on arrival at Chin-kiang, foreign goods pay and are examined only at seven in the 120 miles between the Yang-tsze and the Yellow River. These are Kuachow, where the Governor-General levies a duty of 120 cash (6*d.*) per piece on shirtings, and a proportionate levy on other goods; Yang-chow, where 60 cash (3*d.*) is taken by the Taoutae of Chin-kiang; Sao-fu, where the Commissioner for the Grain Tribute collects 40 cash (2*d.*); and Ma-fung, Kao-yu, Paoying, and Huai-kuan, at each of which he exacts 50 cash or $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ more, making in all an amount of 420 cash or 10 per cent. of the price I found ruling at Chin-kiang-pu.

Were the Treaty honestly carried out by the mandarins, these squeezes would be an advantage to the foreign merchant who, carrying his goods up-country under a transit certificate, would be at an advantage as regards the native trader; but, as it is, goods sent up in this manner are so continually subject to detention that the Treaty advantage is rendered almost nugatory, and must continue so unless the foreigner be prepared to

MAP

OF COUNTRY ABOUT THE

YELLOW RIVER,
and
YANGTSZEKIANG.



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accompany his goods himself, for, with native agents, there will always either be ground for the action of the mandarins, or at least an impossibility of disproving the plausible excuses they always have at their command.

The crops along the whole of this part of my journey consisted entirely of rice, and from the pagodas I ascended on my way I could see nothing but fields and fields of paddy. Watered by the sluices of the canal, the crops are here independent of droughts, and is fitted to be, as it is, the granary of the Government.

Chin-kiang I found recovering as a mart of Chinese trade, land once more valuable, and streets of houses rapidly rising and taking the place of the brick mounds which distinguished it when I last saw it; but the business was, as before, chiefly in native hands, and but for the intelligence of the representative of British commerce there, would be entirely so,—so strong is the Chinese pressure, official as well as private, brought to bear upon him.

(Signed) C. ALABASTER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

Map of Country about the Yellow River and Yang-tsze-kiang.

No. 2.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 20, 1869.

I HAVE to instruct you to inform Mr. Alabaster that I approve of his having undertaken the journeys in the interior of China reported in the Memoranda which were inclosed in your despatch of the 7th of October last; and which I have read with much interest.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 3.

Sir R. Alcock to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received June* 19.)

My Lord, *Peking, April* 5, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, in original, a long and detailed Report recently received from Mr. E. L. Oxenham, of his journey overland from Peking to Hankow, the port assigned him.

The itinerary of his journey from day to day during six weeks extends necessarily to a considerable length, and may be traced on the map prepared for the Department of the Reporter of Indian Products as the great trade route from north to south, striking the Han River at Shih-chia-tien-erh, 2,041 li, or 680 miles, from Peking. From this point Mr. Oxenham proceeded by boat down the Han River, some 520 miles, until it flows into the Yang-tsze at Hankow.

Having thus traversed some four of the provinces lying north of the Yang-tsze along the line of greatest traffic, he had an excellent opportunity of noting the extent and character of their commerce, the condition, and something of the temper, of the inhabitants, the physical aspect of the country and its state of cultivation after having been swept over by successive waves of insurrection, and the capabilities existing for foreign modes of locomotion both by land and water.

As I trust the whole Report will be printed. I will not take up your Lordship's time by any farther analysis of its contents. I will only add that it does so young a student of Chinese great credit, and shows that he possesses excellent powers of observation and has made the best use of them.

This, taken with a somewhat similar Report of a different line of route, from Che-foo to Chin-kiang, furnished last year by Mr. Alabaster, supplies many missing links and more recent information from personal experience than any we possessed of the state of these provinces, the re-establishment of order and industry. Both give encouraging facts

as to the facilities and advantages many of the inland centres of trade offer for the extension of foreign commerce: and, with a few exceptions, especially in Southern Honan and on the banks of the Grand Canal towards Yang-chow, the perfect security with which the country may be traversed by foreigners, the absence of any hostile feeling in the populations, and a willingness, in most places, to see the extension of foreign trade to their doors.

One of the most significant of Mr. Oxenham's observations points to the total ignorance of the bulk of the people, and officials even, one would almost infer, of our actual position in the country and presence at Peking. The traditions of Canton seem alone to have penetrated yet to these inner provinces; and this fact furnishes an additional motive for the desire to penetrate more freely into the interior. It shows, too, in a striking manner, the importance of greater facilities of access and means of extended intercourse.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 3.

Mr. Oxenham to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *Hankow, March* 1, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to lay before your Excellency the following Report of my journey, undertaken with your permission, from Peking to Hankow, and passing through the Provinces of Chihli and Honan, to the centre of Hu-pei; and I trust that the great number of things worthy of record which I saw, may be some excuse for the great length to which I fear I have extended it.

On Monday, 2nd of November, 1868, I left Peking, and proceeded out of the Chang-i-men gate, in the west wall of the Chinese city, when I passed thus early on my journey an innumerable number of carts, gathered together in front of the inns, and almost blocking up the road, and were, to a certain degree, a prognostication of the traffic which I was to meet coming up from the south along this—the great high road from the south.

After leaving the city, a paved road led to nearly as far as the Sin-hou-ch'aao, a small walled town on the Peking side of the Hun-ho, and beyond which is the handsome bridge over that stream, and giving its name to the town. On arriving at the opposite side, the direction of the great road diverged towards the south, another but less important one proceeding due west towards the hills. The importance of the southern one soon became evident, its breadth being increased to double its former size, and along which numerous carts were slowly and painfully toiling, often 6 inches deep in the sandy ruts with which the track was covered. The goods taken in these clumsy and primitive vehicles, each drawn by its motley team of ponies, oxen, donkeys, and mules, consisted principally of cotton, oil, tea, medicine, and grain for the metropolis, whilst occasional strings of coolies might be seen carrying the same description of goods, and proceeding quite as speedily, if not more so, than the carts.

About fourteen miles from Peking, Ch'ang-hsing-tien in front, and on both sides of which stretched, as far as the eye could reach, a large earthwork, intended for the defence of the capital. I could see no signs of guns, and a great part of it was overgrown with grass; but a very small amount of labour would soon put it into a condition to present a formidable obstacle to an enemy approaching from the south.

Continuing my journey, I arrived in the evening at Tou-tien, having passed through Leong-hsing-hsien, a small ruinous-looking place, remarkable for nothing but its wall. The country was very similar to that about Peking, the fields perhaps being rather smaller, and the trees more numerous. Further south, the carrying trade seemed to be confined more exclusively to bales of cotton, and cotton cloth, immense quantities of which from the south of Chihli were proceeding in carts or on camels, towards Peking. The road passed through several villages, but none of any importance, till at the Lin-li-ho, on the south side of which stream crossed by a stone bridge of eleven arches, and with handsome marble balustrades, was the flourishing little town of the same name. It consisted of a single street nearly a mile in length, and was full of prosperous shops. About thirteen miles from this the road led through Che-chow, a large town of the second order, situated on the bank of a small river, flowing towards the south-east. It had the appearance of being a place of considerable trade, and the streets were crowded with people. Their great number was, however, accounted for by the fact, that a fair was

going on at the time, it being the 19th of the Chinese month. Nevertheless, the numerous and well-kept shops attested a certain degree of prosperity; but there were, however, more people and more traffic than the situation of the country appeared to warrant.

About a li from the southern suburbs of this town, the great road to Shantung and the south-east diverged, causing an immediate diminution in the number of carts and travellers. The Hsi-shan were just visible from the road, but in clear weather would be easily discernible, their distance being about fifteen miles off. The country remained flat as before, but the trees were less numerous, and great stretches of cultivated plain, inclosed by lines of trees about every two miles, became the principal characteristic. A slight change soon after took place, reedy and swampy places impregnable to cultivation being frequent. This, however, did not long continue, and the usual fields soon reigned pre-eminent, continuing so as far as Pao-ting-foo, where I arrived on the evening of November 4. This, politically, important city is situated in a plain, and about a mile to the south of a small river called the Ch'ao.

To the west, about twelve miles distant, and distinctly visible, are the Hsi-shan, the environs of the remaining quarters being the usual flat uninteresting country. Of natural defences the city seemed to possess none; but strong, high, and thick walls were a sufficient defence against Chinese artillery. A small mud wall of recent construction surrounded the suburbs, as also did a similar one some soldier's camps close under the north wall. The northern plain near the city was entirely uncultivated and covered with grass. On it were placed poles with flags flying on them, having inscribed the characters exhorting the local militia to be prompt in the execution of their duty, and warning travellers to beware of the rebels. Commercially, the place is of slight importance, and merits but slight notice. A small trade is carried on with Shan-hsi, whence comes iron and coal; foreign cloths and other goods being sent in return. The iron is manufactured into small iron balls used to roll about in the hand, which, together with pickles, appear to be the single manufacture. I took the opportunity to pay a visit to the inside of the city walls, and found the streets rather narrow after those of Peking, the appearance of the shops only betokening a slight amount of prosperity, and the population respectably numerous; but several bare spots inside the walls told their own tale. As the provincial capital it is the residence of a Governor-General, a provincial Treasurer, and a provincial Judge, and from this circumstance derives all its importance. In addition to the trade I have mentioned may be added the constant passage of travellers to and fro between Peking and the south. In accordance with your Excellency's instructions, I made every inquiry about the rebels who approached and were reported to have besieged this town in the winter of 1867-68. As far as I could gather from people in the town and in the vicinity, it appears that no actual bombardment of the city took place: the walls though old were everywhere in perfect repair; but that the enemy came very near, so near as to cause great apprehensions among the people is true, their distance from the walls being variously given as from two to four miles. Engagements took place in the immediate neighbourhood between them and the Imperial troops, and they finally suffered a severe defeat at a place twenty li from the city, after which they fled towards the south-east. The country people in the neighbourhood had, however, suffered severely from their ravages, but less than from the reports spread abroad of their cruelty than would be expected. In some small villages through which I afterwards passed, signs of the destruction wrought by their bands were everywhere visible; doors and windows had been torn off to make fires with, and holes had been knocked in the walls and roofs, but the houses had in no cases been completely destroyed. Chinese villages are so universally in a dilapidated condition that the damage attributed to rebels may sometimes be simply the result of the people's indolence and carelessness, but here such was evidently not the case. The inhabitants, I was told by an innkeeper whose inn bore signs of the destruction it had undergone, had all fled to the hills on the approach of the enemy, fearing outrage and death, so that in his and some neighbouring places no lives had been taken; but further south, in places where the people were unprepared, great atrocities had been committed. Everyone was agreed as to the large numbers of the rebels, some saying they extended over sixty li of country, another that they were 200,000 strong; and allowing somewhat for popular exaggeration, it seems evident that they were a large and formidable body. Their arms consisted of muskets and spears, but they had very few cannon in their possession. Everyone was also agreed upon the point that the Imperial troops were as much to be dreaded by the populace as the rebels. They did not slay, it is true; but pillage, robbery, and outrage marked their course. A people who have as much to dread from their avowed foes as from their nominal protectors are, indeed, in a pitiable condition, and the foreigner ceases to wonder at the continual outbreaks of rebellion. Something may be allowed to the wild license and savage passions engendered

by war in all countries and at all times, but a country unable to restrain its own soldiery seems ripe for the sickle. The fields, however, had been even, where possible, untouched by the spoiler; long lines of willow trees still continue to border the roads; the long stretches of cultivated land still continue to reproduce themselves with monotonous uniformity; and the fruit trees, the heritage from happier times, still continue to ornament the gardens of the cottager; and the tuns (brick towers erected every five li, and used to announce the approach of the foe) still remain undestroyed and generally intact. In mentioning these tuns it will be necessary for me to bring to your Excellency's notice the remaining traces of that vast organization which once stretched through the length and breadth of this wonderful Empire. It still exists, though with decreasing vigour. I have above stated the arrangement and use of the tun; in addition to these, at every three li, is erected a small house built of brick, and about 8 feet square; the face fronting the road is generally whitewashed, and on this is written, in the picturesque Chinese character, the distance from the nearest hsien, both to the north and the south, the name of the township this particular building belongs to, and the number, name, and residence of the thief-takers, watchmen, and police. By this means, if the performance equals the design, great facilities are thus offered to the robbed or benighted traveller. In addition to this, some attention—arising more from the economical laws of supply and demand than from any care of the Government—is paid, if not to the comfort, at least to the wants of the traveller. Every twenty li the thirsty mule finds pails of water set across the road for his refreshment, and tea-houses and inns, more or less dilapidated, abound in every village.

After leaving Pao-ting-foo my road continued through the usual monotony of cultivated plains, villages of considerable size being neither few nor infrequent. I was fortunate enough to pass through the country at the season of the autumn fairs, and I went through several places where they were going on. Immense quantities of grain of every kind were for sale, and in many places the women were occupied in spinning and selling cotton thread; an employment they were engaged on almost universally in Chihli. The cotton comes from the south of the province, and what thread is not consumed at home goes up to Peking. Long strips of blue cotton cloth were also abundant, and fruit, raw cotton, and the rude implements of Chinese agriculture complete the list. In all these places I met with no insult or even ridicule, and I was struck with the purity of their accent. Five days' journey from Peking, whilst at Tien-tsin distant eighty miles, another language almost exists, and this purity continued to within a few miles of the southern boundary of the province. On the 6th of November I arrived at mid-day at at Ting-chow, famous for an eye-salve, renowned throughout the Empire; and which, judging by the numbers and appearance of the shops dealing in that article, seems to be in great demand. Beyond this place, the aspect of the country entirely changed to flat and fertile fields, succeeded by so poor and sandy a soil that not even Chinese industry could cultivate it. It was, however, turned to some account, as plantations were scattered all over the country. They were composed of birch, willow, and poplar, and are cut down every three or four years, when the wood is used to make firewood and matches. The plain was watered by what the country people called the Sha River, now of no great breadth, but in summer overflowing large tracts of country. The banks on either side were bare of anything for the distance of half-a-mile from the river. The people were wilder in look, ruder in manner, and less intelligent than the agricultural population, but decidedly more independent and self-asserting. On the following day I arrived at Cheng-ting-foo, the residence of a Prefect, and renowned for its manufacture of images of Buddha, made with iron from Shan-hsi. It consisted of two long streets crossing one another at right angles and having some little traffic at one of the gates; but the dilapidated appearance of the houses told their own tale. Outside the two main streets, lanes, a few houses long, stretched into the plains which, surrounding them, extended to the walls. At the south gate I met some braves returning from drill, remarkable for the magnificence of their banners, the brilliancy of their attire, and the primitive and decayed nature of their arms, which consisted of a long spear and old flint musket per man. They appeared flushed with the excitement of their drill exercise, and by their proud and martial attitude would have extorted admiration from any one but a soldier. Outside the south wall was stretched a large grass plain untouched by the plough, and bounded by a broadish river about six or seven feet deep. It was crossed by a ferry, and I learnt from the boatman that this river, by name the Hun, flows into the Pai-ho near Tien-tsin, from which latter place large quantities of salt come up by boat to within a few miles of this ferry, and are seat on to Shan-hsi in exchange for iron. A Roman Catholic Mission and Bishop likewise resides at this Foo. About 40 li from the city the road to Shan-hsi was passed; the first place (and one which, whenever I spoke of iron, coal, or hardware, was always in men's

mouths) of importance on which was Huai-loo, whence comes large quantities of iron and and coal. Possessing both in such abundance it has all the facilities for the smelting of the ore; and from the reports of the natives it must be a large and important place. Soon after passing the Shan-hsi road, I arrived at Luan-cheng-hsien, a well-built, prosperous town, with houses of a somewhat loftier aspect and better construction than is usual in Chihli. Banks and granaries were numerous, and there was a considerable trade in local agricultural produce. Beyond this town the country resumed its former aspect of monotonous cultivation and insipidity, and the inhabitants likewise regained the politeness and courtesy which seems to characterize the northern agricultural districts.

Another day's journey brought me to Pai-hswuy-hsien, where I was fortunate enough to fall in with a fair. The streets were lined with stalls and crowded with people selling rope, raw cotton, thread, grain, peas, native matches, and other country produce. And notwithstanding that the street was so crowded that the carts could only proceed at a snail's pace, causing some annoyance to the populace, I never heard an angry work or met with the slightest opposition. Great astonishment, some excitement, and an intense curiosity prevailed, but never transgressing the limits of politeness. This was perhaps attributable to the presence of a Roman Catholic Mission, which consisted of a chapel, a school, and some fifty converts in the neighbourhood. A short distance from this town the country underwent another change, and ranges of low downs appeared. The soil was of a chalky nature, and everywhere covered with the sprouting wheat. By the banks and streams, and in sheltered hollows, some trees were visible, and in one place in particular a large grove of them existed—used when of sufficient size to make scaffolding poles. After passing Hei-ping-hsien the country became as flat as before, but the land was less fertile, and the traces of rebel destruction became again apparent. Cottages destroyed, the mile-houses often entirely in ruins, and some tracts of country completely uncultivated. Guard-houses were erected at intervals and filled with local militia carrying their usual miserable arms. Flags were flying with exhortations written on them to be prompt in action against the rebels. On the borders of this kind of country was Shun-te-foo, a large city with a considerable local trade. The usual wall of some height and thickness surrounded it, and the streets, though not remarkable for their bustling appearance or for the excellence of the houses lining them, had better shops than the cities I before had traversed. The suburbs on the south side were of great extent, stretching nearly a mile beyond the walls, and possessing all the inns and eating-houses. It was remarkable at all the large walled towns, at least in Chihli, how all the life and activity of the city seemed concentrated in the suburbs, and likewise how much more prosperous the Chen-tiens and hsiens were than the cities of greater size. I was assured this arose from the small number of and comparatively inferior rank of the officials, who were neither so much feared or so encroaching; and the people thus left more free to choose their own employments, and not subject to so many illegal exactions, were enabled to pursue their various trades with greater profit and greater energy. This state of things had, however, its unfavourable side, as the people were invariably much less civil and more disposed to be insulting. In the morning, on leaving Shun-te-foo, we were escorted for about two miles outside the mud walls of the suburbs by soldiers sent out by the Prefect for the protection of travellers against local banditti. A more miserable set of men I have seldom seen, but we fortunately had no occasion for their assistance. The country now resumed its usual appearance of cultivation, and the broad high-road passed between a continual succession of fields. On the 10th we passed the Ling-min-huanzu, where a long extent of wall stretched east and west as far as the eye could reach, and on the south side of which was a town full of shops and people. This barrier, I was informed, was the limit of the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of Chihli, although the actual province itself extended some distance further south. A few miles further brought us to Han-tan-hsien, famous for the many delights and pleasures to be found inside its walls, and for the beauty of its situation. I was, however, unable to discover anything in any way remarkable about it, as the situation was in no respects striking, and the town itself in a very dilapidated condition. The women of the place and neighbourhood are famous for their beauty, and arrange their hair in a coil at the back of the head, when, with the assistance of a silver comb, they form it into a crest; this, I fancy, has contributed largely to their reputation for personal charms, which their natural features do not seem at all to deserve. Carts lumbering slowly along at the rate of three or four miles an hour have again become numerous; and in addition to tea, medicine and tobacco, and varnish, many of them were carrying coal brought from the Hsi-shan in the neighbourhood, and costing 200 cash a chin. Sixteen miles from here the road for the first time in my journey passed through fields cultivated with the cotton plant. A broad stream with numerous offshoots, running at right angles into the fields for the purposes of irrigation, ran on each side of

the road, and the careful Chinaman had made use of them to rear fish as well. The plants were all brown and withered, but numbers of women were employed in the fields gleaning for what they could find. This is the cotton used by the northern Chinese to pad their garments with during winter, and is the article used by the village women to spin into thread. It is, however, regarded as of an inferior quality. The cotton fields ceased after three miles, and the usual corn everywhere prevailed again interspersed with occasional vegetable gardens, which in the neighbourhood of Su-chow entirely took possession of the fields. Su-chow, through which I passed, is a large town of considerable local importance. The streets were crammed with people and lined with shops in which large quantities of grain, pots and pans, and long blue cotton cloth were for sale. The staining of tables a deep cherry colour seemed another fruitful branch of commerce, and peculiar to the place and its neighbourhood. So engrossed, however, were the people with their own affairs that they scarcely deigned to cast a glance at me, although I was probably one of the first foreigners many of them had seen. A large suburb, with its inclosing mud wall, extended towards the south. Towards the evening of the same day I arrived at Sang-chang-ho, a river of some breadth and about 6 feet deep. It flowed through a sandy expanse of ground which is in summer completely inundated with water. All the traffic is, therefore, at that time of the year compelled to make a long detour in order to arrive at a passable spot. To obviate this, wonderful to relate, the local magistrate had determined to erect a bridge of wood, and some of the piles were already driven in. As this bridge would have to be about a quarter of a mile long, and be proportionately expensive, it speaks well for that official's energy, and shows there still remains some even in Chinese officials. On the opposite bank is the province of Honan, of which this river is the north boundary, and where I arrived on the evening of the 11th of November.

Sixteen miles south of this place brought me to Chang-te-foo, a city equally famous for its trade, its prosperity, and the excellence of its buildings. It is situated on the south bank of a river of some size flowing into the Peiho near Tien-tsin, and crossed by a bridge of six arches Below this bridge I noticed several small junks which carry down to Tien-tsin coal and cotton, bringing back in return salt and foreign goods. From this circumstance it is evident the water must be of some depth, but not sufficient to be of much avail for anything but small boats. The absence of a river of sufficient depth would, in the present condition of China, prevent this city being opened to foreign trade; but in the event of a railway passing along this route it could not fail to be a place of great importance. On entering the walls I soon perceived that I had arrived at a city very different from the so-called Foos of Chihli. Handsome temples in first-rate repair, and stone pai-loos, elegantly carved, bespoke the piety or the wealth of the inhabitants; whilst a busy and numerous population, and the constant succession of shops, gay with the fantastic ornaments of the Chinese, showed the sources whence this wealth was derived. Outside the main street, instead of the bare spaces destitute of houses, which are inclosed in a wall to dignify a village, the residence of some Prefect, with the title of Foo, are here to be seen a constant succession of well-built dwelling-houses reaching up to the very base of the wall. In passing through the streets of this crowded city I was the subject of an intense and amused curiosity, but beyond some boys making use of the phrase "Yang huetzu," for which in most cases they were rebuked by the bystanders, I met with neither insult nor injury. When it is considered that I was nearly half-an-hour before I got clear of the houses, and that, being on horseback, I was a very conspicuous object, such a fact speaks well for the Chinese character, and is hardly the treatment a Chinaman would have met with in similar circumstances in England fifty years ago, before the introduction of railways. From inquiries I made about the rebels, it appears that they, 200,000 strong, were for a few weeks in the neighbourhood. The people all fled to the city for protection, which it fortunately afforded them, a large body of Imperial troops being stationed there. These soldiers eventually were marched out for battle, and gave the rebels a severe defeat, driving them off to the eastwards.

About four miles from Chang-te-foo, at a small village where I stopped for my midday halt, immense quantities of wheelbarrows were collected, for by this slow and tedious method most of the goods are here conveyed.

The country now became undulating with a succession of downs. The soil was chalky, and in some few places entirely uncultivated, and I was surprised to observe the excellence of the roads: hard, smooth, and destitute of ruts as they were, they would not have disgraced an English high road. Crossing these downs came large numbers of wheelbarrows, and in one place where the country was unusually high and open, and where a strong wind was blowing in their favour, all of them set up a sail to assist them in their journey. The manner in which this was arranged was as simple as it was ingenious. Two long bamboo poles were fixed upright at the end of the wheelbarrow, to

which was attached a piece of cloth, an old coat, a sack, or, in fact, anything which would catch the wind. It was impossible not to admire the ingenuity which could avail itself of so novel an assistant, and the persevering industry which could take so cumbrous a conveyance such long distances. The men who use these cumbrous and loud shrieking vehicles contrive to take them 70 li a-day, and in the event of a favourable wind often 100 li. One man generally manages the wheelbarrow, though he sometimes avails himself of the assistance of his son, his wife, or his donkey; and on the whole, though an Englishman may marvel, he is not likely to desire either to copy or to admire such a mode of conveyance. Each man owns his own wheelbarrow, as the drivers do the carts, so that the system of personal ownership, and consequently awakened self-interest, seems to prevail in China from the land to the wheelbarrow. On these bare, houseless, and often uncultivated downs were here and there erected stone monuments to deceased Chinese statesmen, and many casual expressions used by the natives reminded one, that now one was arrived at the classic land of the dynasty of the Sung. Another day's journey through country of a similar nature, where broken-down houses often gave evidence of rebel destruction, brought me on the 13th November to Wei-kin-foo, a large city situated on a fertile plain, and distant from the Hsi-shan about 6 miles. These mountains, which for the last few days have disappeared from view, begin here again to make their appearance. The road in one place passed so near them that I was able to distinguish the nature of the rocks, which had the appearance of being of a basaltic nature, and I could plainly distinguish the different ranges of mountains rising one behind the other, and some attaining to a considerable height, but uncovered with snow or ice. The city of Wei-kin-foo had a very handsome appearance, several large pagodas and towers ornamented the place, and temples, well wooded and prettily situated, abounded in the vicinity. The walls of it are washed by the waters of the Wei River, a large broad stream of considerable depth, sufficient for moderately sized junks to ascend from Tien-tsin. At the place itself there is between 12 and 15 feet of water, and though the river has not a uniform depth of this nature, yet I was assured an average of from 8 to 10 feet may be relied on. Large quantities of coal come from a place called Fang-shan-hsien, about 100 li distant, and are sent to Tien-tsin in exchange for its salt. Traces of the rebels, who plundered, ravaged, and burnt last year up to the very walls of the city, are still visible in the ruined houses and broken doors and windows. Provisions were likewise very dear from the same cause. The advantages this place possesses as a possible residence for foreigners are neither few nor unimportant. Though not equalling in the extent of its trade Chang-te-foo, yet the beauty of its situation, the abundance of coal, the presence of what in Europe would be called a navigable stream, and the healthy nature of its climate, all seem to give it the superiority, whilst the people are courteous and obliging. In addition to this, the high road branches off to Kai-feng-foo, another, though shorter, route leading more directly to Fan-cheng; and Shan-hsi, the great iron and coal mart, is in the immediate neighbourhood. It was with great regret I was compelled to give up proceeding to the capital of Honan, but the state of the roads rendered it impossible; and though, in hopes of getting more favourable answers, I made every inquiry, yet the people unanimously declared the roads too heavy for the passage of carts.

On leaving this city my road lay for the rest of my land journey along country roads, tolerable indeed, but narrow tracks after the broad highway along which I had so long been travelling. Traces of the rebels were constantly appearing, but the industry of the people had entirely obliterated any marks of their devastation on the fields, and universal cultivation reigned supreme. The majority of my fellow-travellers, some of whom had accompanied me from Peking, and the greater part of the traffic likewise, proceeded along these country roads, and I was credibly informed that at all times most of the traffic takes this road, partly because it is shorter and partly to avoid the dangerous ferry at K'ai-feng-foo. A new feature in the country now presented itself: I mean, the presence of numerous walled villages. Their walls are generally built of mud, are about six feet or more in thickness, and generally possess four stone gateways. These fortifications are not erected by the Government, but by the people as a defence against the continual invasions of rebels. In one place the whole village—men, women, and children—were engaged in repairing the wall with earth taken out to deepen the moat. None of the gateways had any appearance of antiquity, the second and third year of Tung Chih being the most frequent date. This instance of local public spirit and independence was remarkable, and this, together with the number and evident importance of the local militia, shows how, even now, in parts of the country free from the encroachments of a corrupt and pedantic officialism, a large amount of public spirit and courage still exists among the body of the people, so that they seem to want not so much new forms and

theories of government as that the theories of their own great philosophers should be put into practice—a thing now impossible when a body of officials exists whose only from poverty lies in bribery and extortion.

In traversing the open plains of Northern Honan and the great stretches of cultivated land in Chihli it was impossible not to be struck with the extraordinary facilities these parts of China possess for the movements of large bodies of troops, and this may perhaps account for the constant succession of invasions, battles, and sieges of which this part of the Empire has been so often the theatre; the nearness to the capital, and the consequent ease with which the authorities at Peking are intimidated, is another, and all these combined may account for this continual warfare which seems to have made Northern Honan the Belgium and cockpit of China.

At Hsin-Hsiang-hsien, the road to Shan-hsi, was passed, and in five hours more the neighbournood of the Yellow River was reached. A series of banks some ten or twelve miles from its northern bank showed the distance its ravages extend. These defences were of no great height, but stretched to the east and west as far as the eye could reach, and seemed to be the termination of a series of gigantic steps sloping on the whole up (though sometimes towards) from the Yellow River. They were of sufficient size to keep out stagnant water, but not bulky enough to resist a sudden inundation, so that, at this distance, only the ultimate, not the immediate, results of these inundations are to be seen. At last, in a village apparently bounded by an earthern wall as large as that of the Tartar city of Peking, was reached the first of the outworks erected to resist the Huang-ho, and on arriving at the top that river and the gigantic earthworks rendered necessary by its outbreaks burst on the view.

On a level with the spot on which I was standing, stretched a series of embankments each one about seventy feet high and of breadth sufficient for four railway trucks to run abreast on them. The mode of their arrangement was in this wise: one long bank about two miles from the river bank ran parallel to the direction of the stream, half-a-mile distant from it ran a similar one; these two embankments were then connected by another series exactly similar in size, height, and breadth, and running at right angles to them right down to the edge of the water so as to present their narrow ends to the river. By these means the country is divided into a series of squares offering, I should imagine, a very effectual resistance to any inundation. In many of these inclosed spaces groves of tsao-trees were growing, and in a few places were some unsuccessful attempts at corn-growing; but in the squares next to the water bare stretches of sand, with a little coarse grass growing on it, were all there was to be seen. On reaching the bank the yellow colour of the river attested the correctness of its name, but the current, though by no means slow, did not impress me by its rapidity. The breadth I calculated at about half-a-mile, and from the bank the stream had the appearance of deserving in some degree the approbation as well as the execration of mankind, for so broad a river must be of value to the commercial world; but on embarking on board the ferry-boat, by which men, carts, and ponies are all conveyed across, I found how cruelly I was deceived, for on proceeding across the river we were poled nearly the whole of the way, and it was not until arriving close under some mountains which bounded and ran down into the water on the opposite bank that deep water was reached; there was a channel of 20 to 30 feet deep and some 12 feet in breadth, but this was simply owing to the proximity of the hills. The current was swifter than at first appeared likely, and the ferry-boat was hauled some distance along the northern bank before the transit was begun, a depth of from 4 to 6 feet was the average. Several small junks were sailing up the stream, but from inquiries I made there does not appear to be any great trade, the little that there is consisting of grain.

The inundations for which this river has a melancholy celebrity are most prevalent during the fifth, sixth, and seventh Chinese months. The great quantities of goods, principally tea, from Hsiang-yang-foo and Hankow, lying on the bank awaiting transhipment, showed how this country route is becoming popular; and though at present peculiar circumstances have diverted the trade from K'ai-feng-foo, yet this line of route seems likely, eventually, to supersede the old high-road.

The south bank of the Yellow River was entirely destitute of the elaborate series of embankments which were erected on the northern bank, partly because the range of the Mang hills bordering the south bank of the river would naturally impel the waters more towards the north bank, and partly because the country itself was more undulating and often traversed by low hills. The Mang hills, apparently consisting principally of earth, and said to possess some coal, ceased at the landing-place on the southern bank, and the country there lay open to the river. In appearance, however, it was entirely different to that through which I had been passing. Small fields, generally divided by banks and

occasionally by hedges, imparted a more varied aspect to the landscape, to which orchards of tsao-trees lent an additional charm.

It was agreeable to travel through country of a somewhat more varied nature, and which continued almost the whole of the rest of my land journey. The country to the south of the Yellow River now became of this nature, and a constant succession of hill and dale reminded me often of England, whilst the numerous farms with their thatched roofs, and occasional gardens, surrounded with clumps of trees, did not diminish the similarity. Short ranges of hills, mostly running north and south, were not unfrequent, and some of them were reported to contain coal,—a rumour which was verified at Hsin-cheng-hsien, in whose southern suburb was a regular market for the sale of this valuable mineral. It is here brought down in small boats from some hills to the west of the town; but it was soft, and of an inferior quality. This country, for three or four days' journey to the south of the Yellow River, has another peculiar feature, namely, the extraordinary manner in which it is split and rifted into innumerable cracks and ravines. The earth has thus the appearance of having been, when wet, suddenly dried by a very hot sun, and thus divided into a series of gigantic splits. The result of this was, that the roads were continually passing between high earthen banks, often as much as 30 feet in height. Carts seem to be again the principal conveyances, though wheelbarrows are occasionally met with, and tea and medicine the goods most generally carried; and considering that this is a country-road, in large quantities. In several of the fields I noticed a sort of coffin-shaped basin, built of brick and plaster; and on inquiring, found it was the "leang-tien," or indigo vat, used for dyeing the native cloth. The dye is said to be manufactured from the leaves of trees, but from what particular species of tree I could not discover. The people wore a healthy, well-fed, happy appearance; and though rather rude in their manners, and gruff in their answers, were, on the whole, fairly obliging. The harvest this year had been an excellent one, so that I saw them under the most favourable circumstances; but after a bad one I could imagine the traveller might tell a different tale. The harvest being over, a series of rejoicings and fairs were being proceeded with in most parts of the country; and almost everywhere might be seen a theatre with its crowd of open-mouthed rustics. If the nature of a country has any influence over the appearance of the inhabitants, the character of these people is accounted for, and a happy agricultural life seems possible for them in a country so diversified with such a variety of scene, and such a variety of employments.

On 18th of November I arrived at Hsiang-ch'eng-hsien, a large and flourishing town, situated on the Ju-ho, with a range of hills stretching from east to west, immediately to the south of it. The river is broad and deep, having a bridge with a kind of drawbridge in the centre over it, and some large barges were anchored below it. The stream, I was told, flows past Yang-chow into the Yang-tsze, and some trade consequently descends it, a great quantity of coarse crockery-ware being sent; foreign goods from Shanghae among other things being brought back in return. In the suburbs the houses were, for the first time in my journey, not built of mud or bricks, but of a red freestone, large quantities of which are found in quarries in the neighbouring hills. Having time to spare, I entered on foot the walls of this town, and found it a flourishing place; but the lateness of the hour, and an enormous and constantly-increasing crowd, soon compelled my retreat. The people were, however, extremely civil, and considering that (as I was afterwards informed) two Englishmen, about three years back, had behaved in a manner disgraceful to themselves and to their nation, going sometimes so far as to fire at the people, such conduct speaks well for the character of the populace. The following day the road led through a pass in the Chow hills behind the town, and met numerous carts carrying tea, medicine, and immense quantities of coarse paper. The houses continued for some distance to be built of stone; but on leaving the hill district, and arriving once more at the plain cultivated with corn, and orchards of tsao and persimmon trees, they were again constructed of mud or bricks. In one place we came upon the astonishing spectacle of Chinamen mending a road, and the manner in which they proceeded to perform this action merits some slight description. Their method was this: they dug two broad ditches, one on each side of the road, about 15 feet broad and 3 feet deep. The earth thus obtained was thrown on the offending road, and men with rammers completed the business. The effect of this was to make the tolerable intolerable, and the bad totally impassable for at least a month, at the expiration of which period the road will probably return to its pristine badness.

On this day, in passing through a large chen-tien, where, as I have already remarked, a foreigner is much more liable to insults than in the larger towns, I experienced, for the first time on my journey, great rudeness from the populace, who strove in every way, except blows, to manifest their hatred to foreigners. On first

entering the gates I imagined the place to be a large village, and that the houses would soon cease; but when, after proceeding nearly half-a-mile through a hooting and enraged population, only waiting for a leader to set upon me, matters began to look more serious. I was unfortunately, at the time, entirely by myself, the carts having made a détour to avoid the lately-mended roads, so that I was entirely at the mercy of the crowd. Fortunately, however, the streets grew broader, and as soon after the gate leading into the country became visible, I galloped away from the crowd, saluted by hoots, groans, and showers of stones.

In the evening we arrived at Chin-hsien, another large town; and on the following day, after passing over a succession of downs, arrived at Su-chou. Here a continuous rain compelled me to remain two nights; and I was enabled by chance to verify with my own eyes the reports the Chinese universally give of the mischievous brutality of the Imperial soldiery.

On the night of our arrival all the inns were crowded with Government troops, disbanded and returning home to Shan-hsi, compelling us to take refuge for the night in a large stable. The next morning their departure enabled us to proceed to an inn, where we found the doors taken off their hinges, the windows all smashed, and holes knocked both in the walls and roof. In addition to this, not one cash did the innkeeper get for the food and lodging with which he had supplied them, or for the furniture and crockery they had destroyed.

A continuance of rain cpmpelled me to give up any idea of continuing my journey by land, and I accordingly struck across country to a place called Shih-chia-tien'rh, the highest navigable place on the Han River, and I arrived there on the 22nd of November.

On the following day, on proceeding to the river, about half-a-mile distant from the walls, I had an opportunity of seeing the town, and was astonished to see from the walls what a large place it was. Although but an ordinary chen-tien, the walls extended for twenty-five li in circumference, and several large warehouses, with their yards full of goods, from the south, attested the trade and prosperity of the place. The shops, though not large, were in capital order, and the whole town gave me the idea of great prosperity. As men from all parts of the Empire are here congregated together, and especially men from Canton, Fuh-chien, Hunan, and the south, the population is of rather a motley character, and the place has a bad reputation for the character of its inhabitants. My own observations confirmed this report, and members of the Chinese rowdy class seemed numerous. My arrival, and consequent walks about the streets, spread the news of my presence far and wide, and I was unable to stir from the inn without being followed by half the city; and in their eager desire to see a foreigner, my inn was almost besieged, an enormous crowd completely blocking up the street in which it was, and effectually preventing either ingress or egress. Having endeavoured, but without success, to disperse them, I sent my card into the local officials, who kindly sent some policemen to assist me, and these men remained for the rest of my stay in the inn. I cannot say they were of much assistance to me, but the goodwill of the mandarins deserves some little recognition. At the time of the rebellion this town was a great centre of disaffection, and is still, I believe, regarded with suspicion by the provincial authorities.

On the evening of the 24th, having made all my arrangements, I went on board the boat, and on the following morning started down the Han. The river is here about 50 yards broad, and 6 feet deep, and rendered navigable by the entrance of another large stream. For about half-a-mile the bank of the river was lined with small boats, averaging about 30 feet long and 8 broad, and resembling in their construction our barges at home, though of a less cumbrous nature. The boat proceeded but slowly, as the sandbanks were numerous, and contrary winds continually delayed my course. The people whilst I was passing through Honan were excessively rude and turbulent; and as my two days' stay at Shih-chia-tien'rh had enabled all the country-people to know of my presence, they were everywhere on the look-out. When the boatmen refused to stop they used bad language, and in some places threw stones and mud, refusing to discontinue till I came on deck and remonstrated with them. At one or two small towns where the boat was obliged to anchor to purchase provisions, half the population would turn out, and, on the boatman desiring to depart, refused to allow him, using opprobrious epithets and threatening gestures. I always insisted, however, on leaving such places as soon as the necessary purchases were made, but showers of mud and stones showed the temper of the populace. Nor did I find them even pleasant to converse with, as they often refused to answer a civil question; or, if they did, in a rude, discourteous manner. Though independent in manner, they likewise had a loose, disorderly expression about them, which seems

to justify the bad reputation they have amongst the Chinese. Nor did there seem any special immediate cause for such conduct, such as a bad harvest, an inundation, or an invading army; the fields were well cultivated, and the houses appeared in perfect repair. The country, though by no means flat, could not be termed hilly, and, from what I could see of it, was universally cultivated,—corn, millet, cotton, and oats being the principal crops.

On the 1st of December I arrived at the borders of Hu-pei, and very glad I was to escape out of the hands of the fierce democracy of Honan. The river increased in breadth, but not in depth, and the boat, though not drawing more than 1 foot of water, was continually aground. Various kinds of roots are here cultivated, many of which were unknown to me, and a species of radish of a purple colour, and of the shape, though larger than a carrot, called the pai-shu, being, when fried, an excellent substitute for potato. Further south great quantities of yellow peas are grown and shipped off in junks from the banks for Hankow and the south. A kind of sweet pea, creeping along the ground, whose beans, when dried, are much eaten by the natives, was also very plentiful; it is called chih-mo. The banks of the river were thickly inhabited, large ch'ais occurring every twenty li, with small villages interspersed between. In Hu-pei the inhabitants were polite and courteous, and I was able to walk along the banks in peace. We met great quantities of junks of small size proceeding north, conveying tea, silk, cloth, bamboos, and a little foreign cloth. After entering Hu-pei the river grew sensibly broader, and on the whole deeper, though still full of numerous sandbanks, requiring care and skill to avoid. As we neared Fan-cheng, however, the banks grew higher, and the water deeper and broader, sufficiently so to enable the large junks to float. The aspect of the river remained thus for the two days before reaching Fan-cheng, at which place I arrived on the 3rd of December, having passed through a fertile and populous country, and along a river too shallow to be of any avail for foreign steamers.

In accordance with your Excellency's instructions I proceeded to land, in order that I might make the necessary inquiries as to Hsiang-yang-foo, which place I discovered was about two miles distant. The spot where the great majority of the junks were anchored was at the place where the Hsiang River enters the Han, trebling the size in every way of that otherwise small stream; and here, as in many cases, the smaller stream giving the name and the larger the water. The number of junks was very great, lying ten or twelve deep on both sides of the Hsiang, and leaving but a narrow space for the passage of boats. All sorts were there, from the great mandarin junk down to the small travelling boat. On landing I was surprised to discover that I was among a quantity of houses built of nothing but mud and millet-stalks, and containing nothing but eating-houses and provision shops for the use of the boating population. The annual inundations are the cause of the wretched materials used. Accompanied by my servant I walked along the banks of the Hsiang the two miles to Fan-cheng, and had an admirable opportunity for surveying the aspect and position of these two large towns. They are situated on opposite banks of the Hsiang, and Fan-ch'eng bears much the same resemblance to Hsiang-yang-foo that Hankow does to Wu-chang-foo. In both cases the trade is largest in the town; and in both cases the strong high walls, the yamens, and the other paraphernalia of officialdom belong to the city. A lofty and picturesque amphitheatre of mountains surrounds three sides of the plain on which they are situated, extending for a long distance (some 100 li I was informed) towards the south-west, but only a few miles towards the north-east. A large portion of the plain, on which Hsiang-yang-foo is situated, being surrounded on three sides by water, is entirely uncultivated, being in fact nothing but a great spit of sand, which in summer is invariably overflowed. On the Fan-ch'eng side, however, the usual crops were extensively cultivated. On arriving at the low wall of Fan-ch'eng I entered the gates, and found myself, for the first time in my journey, in the narrow-paved streets of the south, and entirely impassable for carts. The shops were numerous, and from their thriving appearance apparently did a large business. Rope, wine, articles of dress, boots, and some foreign cloth were for sale, and immense quantities of grain and edible roots were lying for sale in the market, and had lately arrived from the neighbouring country. The foreign cloth was spoken of as remarkably dear and not very plentiful, and was far too expensive to be of any avail to any except the very rich. This was easily accounted for from the fact that it is a monopoly in the hands of five Chinese hongs, who can place, from the absence of all competition, any price they please upon their goods. These people are naturally very hostile to the idea of foreign steamers ascending the Han, as it would of a certainty destroy their comfortable monopoly and excessive profits, and they consequently use all the influence they can bring to bear on the authorities to prevent such a catastrophe. The boatmen, who make their living by conveying goods from the south,

were, however, of an entirely opposite opinion, and many expressed a hope that the foreign fire-wheel vessels might soon ascend to Hsiang-yang-foo. Nor did they appear to dread the competition which at first, at any rate, would cause them some slight loss, but they were probably ignorant of the great capacities of foreign steamers. Similar monopolies may be expected to exist at many places in the interior of the Empire. An enormous, but very civil crowd, soon gathered about me, and accompanied me wherever I went. Though indirectly they were a considerable annoyance, shopmen and innkeepers often refusing me admittance to their premises for fear of them, yet I was subjected to no indignities, except from the juvenile population, here as elsewhere, eager to annoy and provoke a foreigner and a stranger. Their elders often reproved and restrained them, but their own eagerness to behold me deprived their conduct of any remarkable energy. The numbers at last became so insupportable I was compelled to depart, accompanied by crowds to the water's edge, and by embarking in a boat escaped from their importunities. The inns in this place were remarkably spacious, lofty, and clean, for which the great numbers of travellers, officials, and merchants continually passing through, and generally being compelled to wait a day or more, till their boat or cart is prepared, is a sufficient reason. A little higher up the river, and nearer the mountains, is Hsiang-yang-foo, a large city surrounded by lofty walls and the residence of a Taoutae and Prefect. I was told it was formerly the residence of a Nieh-tae and Fan-tae, at which time its prosperity was probably greater than at present.

As the terminus of the great high road from Peking and the north, and as the place where all the goods from the south are removed from the boats into carts or wheel-barrows, this important town merits some few observations on the possible advantages it may possess for future foreign residents, and for becoming another step further inland whence there may radiate into central and north-west China, foreign goods, foreign improvements, and their inseparable companions, foreign ideas. The Han connects it with the Yang-tsze, the Hsiang with the north-west provinces, and the great northern high-road would afford further facilities for trade.

I was deeply impressed throughout my journey with the ignorance of foreigners displayed by the poorer and even well-to-do classes; the most absurd notions were prevalent among them, often breeding prejudices noxious to our trade and influence; and the presence of foreigners actually residing amongst them seems necessary to remove these feelings. Honan has long been celebrated for the number of its rebellions and the turbulence of its inhabitants: the presence of Europeans in the neighbourhood might induce them, from the motives of fear and self-interest, to lead a more settled life. Foreigners residing in Fan-ch'eng would, however, have little to dread from the people. They are, though the reverse of servile, perfectly courteous, and seemed not averse to the possible residence of Europeans amongst them. It may here be remarked, with regard to the question of residence in the interior, that the Chinese do not seem very averse to such a course, and in many places through which I passed they almost appeared to welcome the idea. Those people who, under the indiscriminate title of Orientals, confound Chinese and Hindoos, Mongols and Malays, and are of opinion that because one race requires protection against even a solitary foreigner so also must another, may rest assured that, of all people, Chinamen are best able to take care of themselves, and certainly everywhere, except perhaps in the Imperial province, able and willing to make any foreigner rue any violent or cruel act he may commit; and the foreign merchant would soon discover that his truest interests lay in obedience to the laws and even the prejudices of the people.

The Hsiang River would, I fear, be impassable for foreign steamers beyond 300 or 400 li above Hsiang-yang-foo; but as a step further inland, and as an inlet of light capable of dispelling the mists of prejudices not wilful, and an ignorance not blameable, this place would be valuable in other ways besides those connected with commerce. There is, however, a considerable trade with Han-su and Shan-hsi carried on in native boats, bringing down from the north-west hemp, varnish, water, tobacco, grass-rope, wood, furs and skins, and a little iron.

The fact of this place being the terminus both of the land and water routes naturally brings the question of locomotion before the mind, and it may not be out of place if I venture to offer a few remarks here on the many and great advantages the route along which I have been travelling offers for the construction of any future railway. A country for the most part level, or with hills of but slight importance, with but a single river, the Huang-ho, which would offer any serious obstacle to engineering science; with coal in abundance, even now when its eduction and management is in the hands of the Chinese; with iron from the Hsi-shan, the mountains which border the route nearly all the way to Wei-hui-foo; with a country universally cultivated with the tenderest care, and rich in

crops of millet, of corn, of beans, and in parts of cotton; and finally, with a succession of large and opulent towns, only needing the invigorating and life-awakening presence of a railway to render them larger and more opulent, it would be difficult to name any route combining so many advantages. When clumsy carts, wheelbarrows, and donkeys, proceeding at the rate of from three to five miles an hour, are at present the only means of locomotion, it is impossible not to be struck with the enormous reform and change that would be wrought. It is sometimes advanced that the Chinese are not a travelling race: that they do not of their own freewill may be true; but the circumstances necessitating travelling are, perhaps, more numerous in China than in any other country.

When the continual examinations, civil and military, both at the provincial capitals and the metropolis; the continual movement and changing of the immense body of officials; the necessity of every small mandarin having to visit the Emperor on his appointment,—when all these are taken into consideration it can hardly be maintained that the nation is not prepared to travel. In addition to this, the enormous trade daily and hourly passing between all parts of the Empire, gives employment to thousands of men, and makes use of thousands of vehicles. More, too, is done simply for the sake of travelling than is ordinarily supposed; and I was often struck with the love the Chinese manifested for beautiful scenery. In addition, this route is the high road, and has branches to the south-east, west, and north-west, so that a railway traversing it would possess all the advantages of bridges, inns, markets, and provisions all ready at hand; and the plausible objection against railways, that in taking a new route they would destroy the prosperity of the towns along the old highways, would in this case be satisfactorily disposed of.

On the 5th of December, having been detained by a contrary wind longer than I had intended, I left the mouth of the Hsiang, and again entered the Han River, now increased to a mile in breadth, but in many places very shallow. Several broad channels, however, existed, with from 12 to 20 feet of water, and a pilot would easily guide a foreign steamer among the banks. After proceeding twenty-five li, some hills, forming the termination of the amphitheatre of mountains round Fan-ch'eng, were passed on the east bank, but they were in no way remarkable either for height or picturesqueness: a good building, stone of a red colour, was the only production. About two miles further, in a straight line, but double that distance by the river, a second range appeared to the north-west composed of grey sandstone, and supplying large quantities of flints and building-stone. The river was slightly narrower, about half-a-mile in breadth, but the water was deeper, and the sandbanks less frequent. It continued thus for two or three days, great tracts of sandy land sometimes a mile, sometimes half a-mile in breadth, showing the extent of the summer inundations.

It may, perhaps, be worth mentioning a slight incident which came under my notice. Floating down the river, and crowded with people of every age and sex, were two large junks; on their outside were hung various implements of husbandry, such as cartwheels, hoes, spades, and the frameworks of carts. On inquiring who these people were, I was informed they were colonists from Hu-pei, who of their own freewill, and at their own expense, were emigrating from their crowded native province to the desolate and untenanted lands of Chiang-nan. The number of individuals crammed into one ship was marvellous, seemingly leaving only just standing room for the passengers.

At a place called Sin-shui-kou, on the west bank, I went on shore; and, ascending some hills which bordered on the river in order to view the aspect of the country, I found it to consist of a series of low sandstone hills stretching some distance inland, and entirely uncultivated; where the hills ceased, however, the exuberant cultivation again commenced but the fields were smaller and the trees more numerous than is the case in the north. A strong wind blowing up the river, here half-a-mile in breadth, brought with it great numbers of junks, some of them of great size and heavily laden with goods from the south: in one reach I counted no less than eighty vessels; and as the wind died away, and the men proceeded to the shore with a long rope to drag the vessels up against the stream, it was impossible not to remark how great an opening there might be here for steam-tugs and foreign enterprise. At Nei-ho-kou was another range of hills running from north-east to south-west, high, and extending some distance. A very poor coal is procured here, called by the natives earth-coal, and of little value. As the formation of these hills is red sandstone, foreign enterprise and skill might succeed in discovering some of a better quality deeper down in the earth. The country in every place where I was able to go ashore, was, in the absence of mountains, everywhere cultivated; corn, cotton, peas, beans, and a little sugar being the ordinary crops, whilst the numbers of people which issued from small villages consisting of, perhaps, ten houses, bore testimony to the

population of the country; the people were, too, uniformly courteous, and very different to the brave population of Southern Honan.

On the 7th, I passed the town of An-lui-foo, distant from its port on the bank of the river about 40 li, and of course not visible. It was spoken of as a large place with a fair trade, and making use of the earth-coal above mentioned for manufacturing indigo vats and a coarse kind of porcelain. The river about here began to decrease in breadth, and increase in depth, being often 20, and always 12 feet deep. It flowed, too, between high mud banks, which are often artificial, as the bed of the river is here higher than the surrounding country, and requiring earthworks; for the inspection of which an official is appointed, who, if he can, during his term of office (three years), prevent an inundation, obtains his promotion.

At Sha-yang, the port of Cheng-chow, was a river which flows down from Sze-chuan, and which has been deepened by labour, thereby rendering it navigable for small boats, and saving the long round by Hankow and the Yang-tsze. Numerous articles are brought down from that magnificent province, among which are sugar, paper, medicine, salt, very valuable silk, and opium. I may here mention a slight but striking incident which I noticed. Amongst several large junks floating down the stream was one with a flag at its stern having inscribed on it the characters "Ta ch'en tai tzu shao pao," one of the highest and most honourable of Chinese titles. I thought it was rather strange so poor-looking a vessel should carry so great an official, and on enquiry found it was a trick meant to evade the Custom-house dues. It is, I imagine, too obvious to escape detection, but is remarkable as showing the disrespect even high civil official titles have fallen into in China. In England, not even the most fool-hardy of Captains would venture to hoist an Admiral's pennant at his mast-head. The houses now began to be plastered with white, a fashion which continued for the rest of my journey.

At Wu-chia-hou, the port of T'een-men-hsien, a place famous for its variegated cloth sent all over the Empire, and likewise (as my boatman informed me with great impressiveness) for a living Chuan-yuang, more important in his eyes than all the cloth in the world, the river somewhat widened, but the same depth of water remained. At Hsien-tao-chen, the port of Mien-yang-chow, houses stretched for nearly a mile along the bank, and a large trade is carried on in cotton, rice, and sugar. Banks and pawn shops were likewise plentiful each of them paying 200 taels per annum to the authorities of the chou. The river was here broad and deep, being about 500 yards in breadth and with twenty feet of water. Near this place a contrary wind gave me the opportunity of going on shore, and I was surprised to find how far the country was below the level of the bed of the river, banks being required some ten feet high above the summer level of the river, and some thirty feet above that of the surrounding country. The river now became more full of junks than ever, and some Chinese gun-boats were to be met with, cleaner and better appointed, both as regards men and vessels, than is the custom with the Chinese. They had the appearance of being modelled, on a very small scale, after our own gun-boats, and had a small cannon at their bows. The men were dressed in a loose jacket and trousers.

A high official, the Governor-General of Hupei, was descending the river, and was saluted on his arrival and departure from every large town. The river still continued broad, but swifter and deeper, and remaining so as far as Han-chuan-hsien, after which place it grew narrower again with a rapid and eddying current. On the following day, the river continuing to narrow up to its debouchure into the Yang-tsze, I arrived at Han-kow on the evening of the 14th of December, after a journey of exactly six weeks from my departure from Peking. The river here, lined on both sides with junks for a mile in length,—and sometimes two deep,—bespoke the immense amount of trade which descends this important stream, and bore testimony to its worth as an artery of commerce. A few words about the boating population, amongst whom I was so long, may not be out of place. Sailors are proverbial for their cleanness and love of neatness, and the Chinese boatmen seem no exception to the rule; their boats were almost universally clean and in good repair, and the men, though to our idea dirty, were yet infinitely superior to their fellow-countrymen on land. It was remarkable, too, to observe the large share their wives and daughters had in the management of the boats; women almost invariably performed the office of steering and occasionally rowed, trudging manfully about on their tiny feet. Their faces bore a happier and more cheerful expression, nor did their hard work appear to have any coarsening or degrading influence on them. The men, like other nations boatmen, were freer, more generous, and less avaricious than is usual among the Chinese, nor did they attempt by every possible means, and at every possible opportunity, to make money out of the stranger. Their food was good and plentiful; all eat meat (generally pork) once a day, and with rice, vegetables, and the constant tea, seemed to live in a

manner a poor Englishman would call well, and which compared to that of the peasant proprietor is luxury itself. Each boat is the property of its owner, generally granting its services to some hong for a certain time, and paying them a per centage on their profits. In summer none of them that can afford it do any boat-work, but live on shore and spend their time in cultivating ground bought with their savings.

Of the capacities of the Han River your Excellency will be now in a position to judge; and considering the uniform depth and breadth of the river, the great amount of traffic traversing its waters, and the fertile nature of the country through which it flows, there can, I should imagine, be no doubt that there is here a great and prosperous opening for foreign steamers, foreign goods, and the foreign ideas which eventually follow in their train. I regretted not being able to visit more of the surrounding country, but the length of time I had been on the journey did not appear to justify in me any further delay, even for so laudable an object.

With a few general remarks I will bring this Report to a conclusion. In travelling long distances through a semi-civilized country, the traveller is in expectation of accidents, and thinks himself fortunate if he escapes robbery or maltreatment, and thoroughly makes up his mind to endure a large amount of annoyance from the natives. He is of opinion that, in a country destitute of railways and telegraphs, or some other equally rapid mode of communication, advantage will be taken by the local authorities of their distance from the capital to hinder and extort money from him, and he will think himself fortunate if he is able to complete his journey. But in my case in a journey at home I could not have suffered less hindrance or annoyance. An intense curiosity and constant astonishment were everywhere visible; but no insults, no maltreatment, and, except in Southern Honan, good-humoured kindness were the universal characteristics. A great deal is at present said of the weakness of the Empire, its want of stability, and the impotence of the local officials to preserve order or ensure obedience, and it may perhaps be true; but it may confidently be stated that fifty years ago no European could have traversed England with a like impunity, whilst here in a so-called decrepid and declining Empire the wonderful organization and arrangement visible everywhere was especially remarkable. Old embassies in former days were struck with this fact, and it remains up to the present day in full working order, though with less outward magnificence. The universal cultivation has long been known to exist in China, but the cultivators of the land are not in any way remarkable either for the excellence of their dwellings, the intelligence of their appearance, or the cleanliness of their persons. Their homes, miserable hovels of mud or mud-bricks, with a single room, in which husband, mother, son, and daughter are huddled together, bespeaks no trace of any hope of elegance or refinement; and the entire absence of anything like a landed gentry with large houses and more cultivated manners, to be an example and centre of information and refinement to their poorer neighbours, was singularly conspicuous. Happiness in anything but material matters seems impossible for them, and even that is precarious and liable to be destroyed by the first bad harvest. Their poverty was, however, often more apparent than real, many of them hoarding up their money in chests, and being of the opinion that their superfluous cash should be lavished, not on ornamenting their homes or gratifying the simple tastes of their wives and children, but on selfish debauchery in the nearest city, where I may remark every facility for vice is carefully supplied. Still the system insures order and respect for property, and their neat and careful cultivation of the ground shows that property in China, as elsewhere, begets greater attention and a more assiduous care.

It was curious to remark the almost entire ignorance the inhabitants of the various towns and villages were in with regard to foreigners and their position in China. I was generally supposed to be a European in the employment of His Imperial Majesty, and some few people who boasted of their knowledge of foreigners seemed to be entirely unaware of the presence of foreigners in Peking or of our having diplomatic intercourse with the high authorities at the capital. Most of these wiseacres mentioned Canton, and observed it was there we transacted business. Some civil and military officials who came with me from Peking scarcely seemed to know of the presence of the foreign Legations there, and one, a Prefect of Shan-tung who had been more than once residing in Peking, gravely informed me that Tseng Kwo-fan, in memorializing the Emperor on the revision of the Treaty, was cheating and humbugging (the terms he used) His Majesty. Out of sight, out of mind; and driblets of foreigners dotted about at a few sea-ports seem insufficient to enable the Chinese to understand and experience our superiority, not only in material but moral civilization. The Russians were better known and more generally respected, and I was often imagined to belong to that nation. I was always careful to allow those who wished to see any things I possessed which excited their curiosity; and our books, our papers, and the fact of our being able to read and write, were a continual

source of amusement and astonishment; and a general idea that the great English nation were brave, rather fond of war, and excessively so of trade, but not good for much else, was the prevailing opinion throughout the country through which I passed.

My Report has now arrived at its conclusion, and I trust that in mentioning, for the information of your Excellency, the nature of the country, the trade, the capabilities for foreign modes of locomotion, and the condition of the population inhabiting the various provinces I visited, that I have contrived to meet the wishes of your Excellency; and that the excessive length of the Report I have now the honour to present may be excused on account of the many subjects requiring some notice and description.

I have the honour to inclose a list of the various towns through which my road passed, and your Excellency will perceive that I entered 5 foos, 6 chous, 14 hsiens, and 22 smaller places which, in England, would be, many of them, reckoned as provincial towns of some size and importance. The names of the towns bordering on the Han River I have also given; and, though only the names of 3 hsiens and 2 foos are mentioned, yet it must be taken into consideration that, in most cases, the large towns are situated some distance from the banks, possessing only their ports close to the river.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. C. OXENHAM.

Inclosure 2 in No. 3.

LIST of Towns passed by Mr. E. C. Oxenham on his Journey from Peking to Hankow.

November 2, 1868:—
From Peking 30 li to Chang-hsing-tien.
15 li to Leang-hsiang-hsien.
25 li to Tou-tien.
November 3, 1868:—
25 li to Lin Li-ho tien. A small river flows past into the Pei-ho.
25 li to Che-chow. Another river flows into the Pei-ho; and road to Shan-tung, and south-east branches off.
40 li to Ting-hsing-hsien.
10 li to Kao-pei-tien.
50 li to Pei-ho-tien. A river flowing into the Pei-ho.
November 4, 1868:—
60 li to An-su-hsien.
50 li to Pao-ting-foo. Capital of Chihli. A river flowing east-north-east about 5 li to the north.
November 5. 1868:—
60 li to Tang-shun-chiao.
60 li to Ching-feng-tien.
November 6, 1868:—
40 li to Ting-chow.
20 li to Ming-yueh-tien. Country of a sandy nature, and covered with plantations of poplar, willow, and birch, cut down every three years.
60 li to Fu-cheng-i.
November 7, 1868:—
50 li to Cheng-ting-foo. Very scantily inhabited. Iron foundry, and Roman Catholic Mission.
10 li to Shih-li-pu. Road branches off to Huai-loo and Shan-hsi.
45 li to Suan-cheng-hsien. Flourishing town with large houses.
November 8, 1868:—
60 li to Chao-chow.
50 li to Po-hsiang-hsien. Important town for local trade.
November 9, 1868:—
60 li to Nei-chiu-hsien. Country with poor soil and poor crops. A large town with extensive suburbs.
60 li to Shun-te-foo.
November 10, 1868:—
60 li to Ta-hen-tien.
60 li to Han-tan-hsien. A town suffered much from rebels.
November 11, 1868:—
55 li to Too-tsun-pu. Near here are some cotton-fields.
36 li to Su-chow.
14 li to Sang-chang-ho or Feng-ko-pu. A broad river channel, in winter greater part dry, in summer overflowed.
Arrived at Province of Honan.
November 12, 1868:—
30 li to Chang-te-foo. A large flourishing well-built city, on a river joining the En-ho, and afterwards Pei-ho.
20 li to Wei-chia-ying. Country here is a series of downs. Sail wheelbarrows much used.
30 li to Tang-yin-hsein.
30 li to Ni-kou-I.

November 13, 1868:—
60 li to Chi-hsien. The Hsi-shan arrived in sight again.
50 li to Wei-hui-foo. A large town on the Wei River, flowing past into Tai-yuan-foo.
November 14, 1868:—
50 li to Hsin-hsiang-hsien. Road to Shan-hsi here branches off.
50 li to Kang-tsun-I. Embankment commences.
November 15, 1868:—
60 li to the Huang-ho. Many hills on south bank of the river.
10 li to Hsing-chai-hsien. Country hilly and wooded.
November 16, 1868:—
50 li to Cheng-chow. Small fields and orchards of tsao-trees.
60 li to Kuo-tien-I. Passed a chart range north-east to south-west called Tai-chan.
November 17, 1868:—
45 li to Hsin-cheng-hsien. Another range of low hills, and small river running into Yellow River.
60 li to Shih-ku.
November 18, 1868:—
50 li to Yin-chiao.
45 li to Hsiang-cheng-hsien. Range of hills to the south of town having red freestone quarries, and a river flowing into Yang-tsze.
November 19, 1868:—
40 li to Ju-fen-chiao.
60 li to Chin-hsien. Country flatter.
November 20 and 21, 1868:—
50 li to Poo-shu.
40 li to Yu-chow. Range of hills in neighbourhood.
November 22, 23, and 24, 1868:—
40 li to Shih-chia-tienrh. A very flourishing town.
Here I struck the small Han River.

In all, 2,040 li of land journey, or 680 miles, and 1,560 of water travelling, or 520 miles; 1,200 miles in all.

Inclosure 3 in No. 3.

List of Places on the Banks of the Han River passed by Mr. E. C. Oxenham.

November 25 and 26, 1868:—
Shih-chia-tienrh 70 li to Yuan-tai. Narrow stream, and full of banks.
November 27 and 28, 1868:—
20 li to Tang-hsien. Country covered with low bare hills.
November 29, 1868:—
60 li to Kuo-chia-tau. Country cultivated. A range of hills on the east branch of the river.
November 30, 1868:—
40 li to Tsang-tai. Cormorants used for fishing. Country much cultivated, and growing several kinds of root-crops.
Arrived at the Province of Hupei.
December 1, 1868:—
40 li to Yen-chia-pu-hou.
December 2, 1868:—
25 li to Chen-chia-ho. Yellow peas, root-crops, chih-un, and ginger grown here.
35 li to Shuang-hou.
December 3 to 5, 1868:—
60 li to Fan-cheng. A large town, and flourishing.
Hsiang-yang-foo. Not in such good repair. Hills all round.
December 5, 1868:—
15 li to Toong-chi-wan. Several ranges of hills bordering on banks, and the river broad and deep, about half a mile broad and 12 feet deep.
150 li to Sin-chia-chi.
December 6, 1868:—
40 li to Hsiao-ho. Great stretches of land on both sides, in summer overflowed.
30 li to Yi-cheng-hsien.
40 li to Sin-shin-hou. Hills of red and yellow sandstone.
20 li to Feng-ho-ho.
December 7, 1868:—
45 li to Nei-ho-hou. A range, high and long, with poor coal.
55 li to An-lin-foo. A town reported to have some manufactures.
60 li to Shih-pei. River about 400 yards broad and 25 feet deep.
December 8, 1868:—
60 li to Chio-hou. River begins to be above level of country.
40 li to Sha-yang. Part of Cheng-men-chow; and a river deepened by labour flows down from Sze-chuan.
30 li to To-pu-wan.
December 9, 1868:—
35 li to Nieh-chia-tau. River continuing about 400 yards broad and 15 to 20 feet deep.
30 li to Chai-hou.
20 li to Chang-chia-hou.
30 li to Hei-mu-tu.
40 li to Yueh-chia-hou. Port of Tien-meu-hsien.
December 10, 11, and 12, 1868:—
120 li to Hsien-tae-chen. Port of Mien-yang-chow.

December 13, 1868:—
60 li to Mang-mang-tsei. River branches through country.
120 li to Han-chuan-hsien.
December 14, 1868:—
60 li to Yu-hou. River continues to increase in depth and decrease in width as far as Hankow.
60 li to Tsaï-tien.
60 li to Hierh-tang.
60 li to Han-hou-chen.

(Signed) E. C. OXENHAM.

Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate, Hankow.

No. 4.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 22, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 5th April, inclosing a Report you have received from Mr. Oxenham of his journey overland from Peking to Hankow; and I have to instruct you to convey to Mr. Oxenham my approval of his proceedings.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 5.

Consul Markham to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 1.)

My Lord, *Che-foo, April* 29, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a Report to Her Majesty's Minister at Peking of a journey just undertaken by me through the province of Shan-tung, as an Appendix to my Report on the trade of this port forwarded in my despatch to your Lordship of the 12th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. MARKHAM.

Inclosure in No. 5.

Report by Consul Markham of a Journey through the Province of Shan-tung.

CONCEIVING it to be imperative on a Consul to make himself personally acquainted with the district within which he resides, and its resources, I took advantage of a season when my presence was not much needed at this port to make a tour of inspection through the province of Shan-tung, visiting most of the important cities, and all the silk-growing districts. I was further induced to make the journey at this time as suggestions were being sought for regarding the opening of new ports to foreign trade, and I therefore made a point of visiting the city of Kyan-chow, named in the Shanghae Chamber of Commerce Memorial, and the principal harbours on the south coast of the province.

I have now the honour of reporting fully on this journey, dividing my Report into the following heads, viz.: description of the cities and their trade; roads, rivers, and means of communication; products and manufactures; remarks on officials and people.

I must preface my Report by expressing how indebted I am to the Rev. Mr. Williamson, who accompanied me during a great part of my journey, for his valuable assistance, rendered with so much cheerfulness and kindness. His great knowledge of the language, and his experience in the north of China, rendered his services most valuable.

On the 24th of February I started from Che-foo, and, taking a south-easterly course, passed through the Tsehya valley, a district in which is largely cultivated the ailanthus silk (*Saturnia cynthia*), so ably described by the late Consul Meadows in his Report of the port of New-chwang. This district is mountainous, but the valleys are most fertile, and produce a considerable amount of cotton. The hill sides have patches, or small plantations, of the stunted oak, on the leaves of which the wild silkworm feeds.

On the 26th February we arrived at the city of Lai-yang, latitude 37°, longitude 127° 5′. This is a walled city, with a population of about 50,000, including the suburbs, which are large. The walls are in good repair, and the city (but more especially the suburbs) has a thriving, busy appearance. All the principal shops are in the latter, as well as the looms where the ailanthus silk is manufactured into the strong cloth known as pongee. The wax from the la-shu-tse a small insect which feeds on the leaves of the la-shu, is also made here; and all the gold from the neighbouring streams finds a market in this city. Across the main streets of Lai-yang are some pai-lows, or monumental arches; the streets themselves are broad, and well paved and drained.

Leaving this city, and still proceeding south-south-east through an extensive and highly cultivated plain which trends away to the south-west and north-west through Shan-tung and Chihli, we arrived the next day at the seaport of Kiu-kia, about 90 li from Lai-yang. This is an unwalled town with a population of about 2,500. It is situated on the south side of a small range of hills having three conical tops, and running down to the water's edge. The harbour runs north-east and south-west, and is a safe anchorage, but no vessel of deep draught can come nearer to the port than two miles and a-half, owing to a mud or sand-flat which runs out to the channel, and is quite dry at low water. Small flat-bottomed junks are used for discharging cargoes from the large ones; these come over the bank at high water, and are left high and dry close to the town when the tide ebbs. Kiu-kia has evidently been a port of considerable importance, but the opening of Yentai (Chefoo) as a Treaty port has drawn off nearly all the trade. The place has suffered much from rebels who occupied it in 1867; a number of the best houses are in ruins, and others quite deserted.

The little trade that is now carried on is in junks from the southern ports, which bring foreign goods, cotton, poles, &c., from Shanghae, Ningpo, and Foo-chow. Little or no exports are now taken from this. There is another small harbour marked on the chart, Lukia, some sixty li north-east of Kiu-kia, but the same objection applies to it, namely, the extent of mud bank between the shore and the anchorage.

From Kiu-kia our route lay nearly due south, through the same fertile plain with the Lao-shan, a high range of mountains stretching to the east of us. This range is famed for its temples, many hundreds being scattered over it: these are visited by pilgrims in great numbers, about the third and fifth month of the year. The priests derive a large income from the sale of precious stones, which are found in great abundance, and of various kinds, amethysts predominating. Medicine roots and herbs are also found in these hills; amongst others, rhubarb. Gold is also plentiful, but mining is prohibited.

The next city we reached was that of Tsimi, a walled hsien of the second class, having a population of about 18,000, including the suburbs. The principal shops are in the suburbs, the city itself presenting a very poor appearance, although there are numerous handsome pai-lows across the principal streets. The district of which Tsimi is the hsien, is 160 li north and south, and 100 east and west, and has a population of 150,000. The chief products of the district are pigs (over 200,000 being exported annually), fruit, bean cake, pulse, oil, animal wax, and willow baskets. The port of Tsimi is New-kow, on the sea-shore, Tsimi being sixty li inland and north of it. I visited this sea-port, and found it to be a small unwalled town, with about 3,000 inhabitants, containing warehouses of large dimensions. The harbour is a safe one, running north and south; but here again the land and mud bank extends from one and-a-half to two miles from the shore, and is perfectly dry at low water.

We now travelled south-west, and on the 3rd March arrived at the port of Kyan-chow, latitude 36°, longitude 120° 10′. Some twenty-five li from this city we crossed the Ta-ko river, which once formed the mouth of a canal that was attempted, in order to take the southern grain-junks to Peking, without having to round the Shan-tung promontory; it was to have gone through the province to Lai-chow, but insuperable difficulties prevented its completion. Kyan-chow is in a dead plain; the country, as far as the eye can reach, is perfectly flat. The walls of the city are in good repair, and have three gates well protected by bastions. The suburbs are extensive, and are also walled,—a work lately completed, and only after the suburbs had been nearly destroyed by rebels. The city is full of large houses, the residences of wealthy gentry and literati. There are numerous warehouses in the city, but they did not appear to me to be in use. Kyan-chow bears evidence of having once been a city of considerable importance; but at the present time there seems to be no business whatever doing there. It received all its supplies from the sea; but now, owing in a great measure to the filling up of the harbour, and probably also to the opening of Che-foo, the trade has greatly fallen off. Kyan-chow is at least eighteen miles from the anchorage. Ta-po-tui, the port of the city, is distant from it six miles, and is eight miles up a creek, which is nearly dry at low water.

Junks anchor in the channel, and their cargoes are brought up in flat-bottomed boats at high water, which are left high and dry when the tide goes out. Between the mouth of the creek and the anchorage extends a mud bank for nearly four miles, which is also quite dry when the tide is low. Ta-po-tui is considered very unhealthy by the Chinese: it is situated in a marshy plain, full of lagoons, and fever and ague are consequently very prevalent. Only a few fishermen reside at this port. The little trade that is now carried on here is between Shanghae and Ningpo, and consists principally in pigs, fruit, and pulse, bean cake, and oil exported, foreign goods and opium imported. Kyan-chow and suburbs contain a population of about 60,000. The district is 180 li north and south, and 95 east and west, containing about 200,000 souls.

From Kyan-chow our route lay west and by north, through an undulating and highly-cultivated plain, watered by the Rivers Wen and Wei, which have their sources in the Yeshan mountains, about 200 li to the west of our route. This plain is studded with small towns and large villages, and innumerable orchards of pear, apple, and plum trees; the walnut, chestnut, and persimmon trees, I also noticed in abundance, while the fine silver poplar towering above all others, helped much to enhance the beauty of the country. We only passed one walled city, that of Kau-mi, prettily situated in a sort of wooded basin, the plain rising above it on all sides. The walls were in good repair, and some two miles in circumference. It differs little from other Chinese cities; with the suburbs it contains some 10,000 people. A great deal of tobacco is grown in the vicinity, and brought to Kau-mi, where it is packed in bales, and distributed throughout the country. The animal wax is also made here.

On the 6th of March we reached the large and important city of Wei-hsien, taking on our road the great coal-fields which lie to the south-west of the city. Under the heading of coal I shall describe these. Wei-hsien, a walled city, is in latitude 36° 40′, longitude 119° 10′. It is a first class hsien, inclosed by high substantial walls, 8 miles in circumference, and surrounded by a deep moat. The ramparts are 50 feet high, and 12 feet broad on the top, with guard-houses all round at every 30 yards. The gates are protected by bastions; but the north gate has also a strong square tower built of stone, just outside the moat and facing it, two stories in height, with two tiers of ports for guns. The city has some very fine shops, and is full of large private dwellings surrounded by high walls, the residences of the gentry, literati, and wealthy merchants. The suburbs are extensive, but the northern and eastern suburbs are the largest: all the warehouses are situated here, where the business of the place is chiefly carried on. Separated from the city by the Pih-tang River is a portion of the eastern suburbs inclosed in a high wall, and which forms a city of itself. Wei-hsien is one of the large emporium cities of the province, the entrepôt for most of the merchandize landed at Che-foo. It has extensive iron foundries, and great quantities of hardware are made here and distributed throughout the province. The population of Wei-hsien, including suburbs, is over 100,000, while the district, of which it is the chief city, contains quite 200,000, exclusive of the city itself.

Twenty-five miles north-east of Wei-hsien, and on the sea-coast, is the small port of Kia-ying; the harbour is shallow and exposed to the north, but I heard that numerous junks are laden with coal and other products of the district at this place.

Tsing-chow-foo was the next city of importance which we visited. It is only 140 li west of Wei-hsien, and is the centre of the largest silk-producing district of the province. It has extensive suburbs, and contains, including these, a population of 70,000, at the lowest computation. The walls are high and in good repair; the whole being surrounded by a moat, which to the west of the city is formed by a natural stream. The city is most prettily situated in an undulating plain at the foot of a high range of mountains rising to the west and south-west. It is the centre of a large local trade, and is considered by the Chinese the wealthiest city in the province, and the plain, which trends away to the north-west and north-east, the most fertile. Besides other fine temples, there is a large Mahometan mosque in the city, with a school attached, where children are taught Arabic. There are over 12,000 Mahometan Chinese in this city. The populous part of the city is the north-east and south-east; the rest is all cultivated, and the land rises to a level with the top of the wall between the south and west gates.

Tsing-chow-foo was formerly the capital of Shan-tung, and the old Tartar city still exists about 1½ li to the north-west. It is inhabited by a garrison of about 2,000 Tartar troops.

From Tsing-chow-foo our course lay west to Chi-chuan-hsien; between these two cities we passed numerous mulberry tree plantations, and as we neared the latter the road was much impeded by carts, wheelbarrows, mules, &c., laden with coal and coke from the Lan-foo or Po-shan valley: we were often delayed for some time by the road being blocked up with traffic.

Chi-chuan-hsien, a walled town at the entrance of the Lan-foo valley, has a population of about 30,000, including the suburbs, which are extensive. This is the great depôt for the coal from the Po-shan mines, situated about 40 li down the Lan-foo valley; along this distance we passed villages every 8 li, in each of which were large yards full of coke and coal. Down the centre of the valley, and close past the city of Chi-chuan, runs the Lan-foo-ho, a clear stream of no great depth, but very rapid. The valley runs north and south, and the coal-pits lie on both sides of it. Forty li from Chi-chuan are the walled cities of Po-shan and Yen-shing, separated from each other only by the stream above-named, which is about 100 yards broad, but at this time the breadth of water was not more than 30 yards. These two cities contain a population of about 35,000 inclusive; they are most beautifully situated, the walls of the former run over one of the hills which is prettily wooded. This valley, besides coal, produces silver, lead, iron, different sorts of valuable clays, and a lilac stone similar in appearance to granite, from which is manufactured glass in large quantities. Po-shan contains extensive potteries, three different kinds of ware being manufactured—the fine straw-coloured porcelain, the common red ware, and a peculiar shining black ware, very light, that looks like metal (lead), and is valued in districts where fuel is dear, in consequence of its rapid heating qualities. The red paving tile and the large red water kongs are also made here. Yen-shing has extensive glass manufactures of which foreigners are little aware. I was much surprised at the quantity and excellent quality of the glass, a description of which I will give under the proper heading.

Chang-kin-hsien, a city on the high road and just 100 li from the capital, is of little note; it contains a population of about 10,000, has some good shops in the suburbs, but very little trade, and is unimportant except as a place of call for carts, &c., for Tsinan-foo.

On the 15th of March I arrived at Tsinan-foo, the capital of Shan-tung, in latitude 36° 50′, longitude 117°, a large and very important city inclosed in high walls, and having extensive suburbs which are again surrounded by well-built strong walls 60 li in circumferance; a mud wall surrounds the whole, making a circumference of at least 85 li. The city lies at the foot of a high range of mountains on the south-east of the city, while the plain slopes away to the north, towards the Yellow River. The city is full of springs of fine water. The streets are broad and well paved, the shops good and well-stocked with nearly every description of goods, amongst which were noticeable many of European manufacture. The street from east to west gate is quite two and a-half miles long, and full of fine shops. Besides several large temples and examination halls, this city contains the palace of the Viceroy, and the yamên of the Fantae (Treasurer), Nietai (Judge), and the Chief Examiner (Heetai), and several others of superior officials. All these buildings are situated in extensive and well-wooded grounds. There is a new Roman Catholic Cathedral, and the Bishop of Shan-tung resides in the city. I am indebted to this gentleman, M. Cosi, for much information, and for the great kindness with which he treated me. He has two schools and two orphanages, one about three miles outside the city. The number of Roman Catholic converts in this province are about 12,000. Tsinan-foo is also the head-quarters of the Mahometans of the province; they have a large mosque in the western suburbs and another in the north part of the city. We were told that there were over 20,000 Mahometans here. About 10 li to the east of the city is a hill one mass of iron ore; I picked up some pieces on the surface so magnetic as to affect my compass held some distance off.

The north-east part of the city is very low and damp and considered extremely unhealthy; by scraping a few inches below the surface water is obtained. The plain between the city and the New Yellow River, a distance of 16 li, is continually inundated; last year the water came up to the city walls, where it was three feet deep. I visited the old port of Tsinan-foo, Ku-kow, six miles from the city. It bears traces of having once been a very fine and important place, but it is now in ruins; fine two-storied houses and large warehouses falling to pieces,—this is owing to the floods in a great measure and also to the fact of the rebels having occupied the place more than once. The New Yellow River, formerly the Ta-tsing-ho, is, at Fukien, about 350 yards broad from bank to bank; but the breadth of water at this time not more than 200 yards. The stream appeared very rapid. I saw no junks of any large size upon it. Lu-kow has been given up, and Tsi-tung, a port about 100 miles to the east, substituted for it.

From Tsinan-foo our route lay south along the west foot of the Tae-shan range to the city of Taingan-foo, distant about 160 li from the capital. On this road is a great deal of traffic, the high Imperial road from Nanking to Peking joining the Tsinan-foo road, about 30 li south of that city. A quantity of hemp and tobacco is grown in this vicinity. All the villages and small unwalled towns which we passed bore evidence of

having suffered from the effects of civil war; but we were everywhere told that the Imperialist soldiers did more damage to the places than the rebels, for when the latter had merely taken possession of a place without opposition, they would leave it again in the state in which they found it; but the Imperialists would be sure then to wreak their vengeance on it, on the plea that the inhabitants favoured the rebels.

Taingan-foo, a walled city containing, with suburbs, about 45,000 inhabitants, is situated at the foot of the Taishan, the Sacred Mountain of China, and the highest of the range that runs between this and Tsinan-foo. In the north part of the city is a handsome temple dedicated to the mountain. It is situated in extensive and thickly-wooded grounds. To this temple resort all the pilgrims who, from all parts of the Empire, visit this mountain; while we were here there must have been upwards of 70,000 people collected in the grounds all strangers to the city. A fair is continually being held here. The city is a perfect square of about four miles, it contains some good and well-stocked shops. The streets are badly paved and badly drained. Taingan is the centre of a large silk district; tobacco and hemp is also grown in large quantities: the tobacco is considered the finest in the province.

The country between Taingan-foo and Kiu-foo is an undulating plain and highly cultivated, containing numerous orchards of date and other fruit trees. It is watered by the Ta-wan-kow, a broad stream, but not navigable. This country is full of historical interest, as being the country of Confucius. Numerous fine bridges and arches are met with, but all falling into decay.

Kiu-foo, the city of Confucius, where dwells his representative, a Kungyih, or Duke of the Empire, is a city of no commercial importance, but it may be called the historical city of China. Here the sage was educated, lived, taught, and finally died, and was buried. His birth-place—a cave—is in the Ne-shan hills, some twenty li to the north-east. The whole of the north and west of the city is taken up the grounds of the ducal palace and temple to Confucius, spacious and splendidly wooded. The temple is a building on a far more magnificent scale than any I have seen in China. Here are numerous relics of the sage, some of the bronze censors, &c., bearing date B.C. 2300. The city has a population of about 25,000, which is composed chiefly of descendants of Confucius, eight out of ten families bearing his surname. The office of Che-shien or Magistrate is hereditary in the family, as are also all the official appointments. When the rebels occupied the surrounding country, they spared the city and Mandarins, declaring that they only wished to destroy the unjust and corrupt rulers, but that Confucius' descendants could not be so.

Tsin-hsien, Mencius' city, is only fifty li from Kiu-foo, just half-way on the high road between Nanking and Peking. It is prettily situated at the foot of a range of hills which have a place in Chinese history. The city appears to be a poor place. The suburbs are full of shops and inns, but none of any importance. It contains a population of about 10,000, principally descendants of Mencius. The temple to Mencius, and the residence of the Potsze, or representative of the family, are outside the south gate. He, like the representative of Confucius, receives a large pension from Government: but although a member of the Han-lin College—which honour is hereditary in the family,—he holds no rank such as Duke, like Confucius' representative.

At this place I parted with the Rev. Mr. Williamson, who proceeded south by the Grand Canal to Chin-kiang and Nanking, while I took an easterly course back through the province, for the purpose of visiting certain silk districts in that line of country. My route lay at first through an extensive valley, with the Yu-shan range to the north, and the Chiang-shan to the south. Coal, I heard, was plentiful in the last-named hills; but there are no pits opened now. The country here is very similar to that of the Po-shan Valley.

The first city that I passed of any importance, was that of Sze-shui, a walled hsien on the banks of the Szeho,—a river of great historical interest, and said to be famous for precious stones. Sze-shui contains a population of about 10,000 inhabitants. Much silk is produced in this vicinity, both the mulberry and oak. In the city are manufactured silk piece goods, but in no very great quantity. Outside the city is a large temple in honour of Tsze-loo, one of Confucius' favourite disciples, who was killed in battle with rebels—a death predicted by the sage.

The River Sze-ho, along which I travelled for some time, is of considerable depth and 200 yards broad on an average of ten miles. It is not, however, navigable owing to enumerable sandbanks which occur everywhere, rendering the stream in some places not a foot deep; these banks are shifting, and the river is gradually filling up. The country I now travelled through for the next four days was very mountainous, and the first city I came to was that of Mong-yin-hsien in latitude 30° 55′, longitude 118° 5′. It is situated

in a valley at the east foot of the Pou-yu-shan range I had just traversed. I noticed large plantations of the stunted oak on the side of the hills around this city. It has a population of about 15,000. The principal business of the place is in salt, for which the city is a depôt. I noticed some very large salt warehouses, and there appeared to be a large trade in it going on. Besides the wild silk, there is a good deal of mulberry silk produced about this vicinity. I passed several large mulberry plantations. Ye-shui-hsien is a small walled city on the banks of the Ye-ho. The city itself is very small; but the suburbs are large and populous, and contain some good shops. A large trade seemed to be conducted here in beancake and pulse oil. The population of the city and suburbs is between 18,000 and 20,000.

I now crossed my outward route at Wei-hsien, and taking a north-east course, reached the city of Lai-chow on the sea-coast.

The only two cities of importance that I now passed through were those of Lai-chow and Hwang-hsien, the great entrepôt and distributing centre for the merchandize landed at Chefoo, a description of which, as well as of this part of the country to Chefoo, I have already given in my Report of October 14, 1868.

Roads.—The cart-roads through the province, and other bye-roads, have at one time been most admirable, but for years past have been allowed to fall into decay lamentable to see. During the dry weather they are pretty good, but after heavy rains almost impassable. Fine bridges over small streams are in ruins, and replaced by rafts of kao-liang stalks covered with earth. The road between Kyao-chow and Wei-hsien is, on the average quite 30 feet broad, and with very little expense might be made a perfect road. Although means of repairing are at hand—quantities of stone everywhere, and labour as cheap as possible—no repairs are ever made, and the consequence is that it is gradually becoming simply a track through the country. It is marked by tablets here and there, showing when and by what Mandarin it was last repaired, but we did not notice a single tablet of late date. Only in the vicinity of some of the large cities a little attention has been paid to them. At nearly every ten li along the main roads are good inns, and every convenience for travelling.

The country is admirably adapted for railways. The greater part is a plain, and where mountain ranges occur there are always wide valleys through which lines could be carried with great ease and slight expense. As the high roads lead direct through the most populous districts to the great cities, their line would be the best guide, as they invariably avoid all the natural difficulties.

Rivers.—There is no water communication in Shantung. No river, except the Ta-tsing-ho, now the New Yellow River, is navigable for any distance into the province. The Wei-ho, the Siaou, Tsing-ho, and one or two other streams which empty themselves into the Gulf of Peichili, can be navigated by small flat boats for about 20 to 40 li from the mouth, but not beyond this, and there is not a river in the province worthy the name. The Ta-tsing-ho is the new course the Yellow River has taken. It is crossed by the Grand Canal nearly half-way between the towns of Tong-chang and Tong-ping, about 100 li from the borders of the Province of Peichili. There is no doubt that for Chinese boats this river is navigable, but I much doubt from all I heard whether it would not be too dangerous for steamers, owing to the shifting nature of the bottom. New sand banks are continually being formed, and every year the banks are overflown, and the country for miles round inundated; sometimes these floods occur twice a-year.

The means of traffic along the roads are carts, wheelbarrows, camels, mules, and donkeys. The carts carry six to twenty piculs and are drawn, the large ones by five mules and the smaller ones by two; one in the shafts, the others as leaders in a row. Wheelbarrows carry from two to ten piculs, and are propelled by one man pushing, another in front in a sort of shafts, and a donkey, ox, or mule in front of all, attached by traces of rope. For the man behind, who has to push, guide, and support the whole weight on his shoulders, the work is terrific, and seemed to me to be the very acme of human labour. These men seldom reach the age of 40 years, I was told. A camel carries from 3 to 500 catties. In some districts these beasts are only allowed to travel by night, as ponies and mules will not pass them on the road. A mule carries about 400 catties, a donkey about 200 catties. The hire of carts is from 1 tael to 2 taels per diem; but the more general way is to charge for the goods by weight between two places; those between Hwang-hsien and Wei-hsien, a distance of 300 li, the charge by cart is from 800 to 900 cash, or, say, 70 to 80 cents per picul.

Products of the Country.—Silk. A very great deal more silk, both from the mulberry, or domestic worm, and from the oak, or wild worm, is produced in Shantung than is generally imagined. From the former is obtained the beautiful yellow and white silk, and from the latter the coarse brown silk, from which is made the strong durable cloth known

as ponjee. The principal districts for the growth of the mulberry trees are around Tsing-chow-foo, particularly to the east of that city, about 40 li, at a place called Liu-kiu, and in the vicinity of the cities of Tsi-nan-foo, Taingan-foo, Po-shan-hsien, and Ye-shui; while the oak tree plantations are in the districts of Ninghai and Tsi-hea, in the east of the province, and the district between the cities of Tsing-chow-foo and Mong-yin-hsien, in the centre of the province. At Tsing-chow-foo, upwards of 1,000 families are employed manufacturing silk piece goods; plain, and flowered pieces of very fine texture are produced from these looms. These pieces are 20 yards by 14 inches broad. Silk piece goods are also manufactured at Tsi-nan-foo and Taingan-foo. All the silk produced in the province is taken to the capital of Shensi and Shan-hsi.

None can be purchased except through a person called a middle-man, who is responsible to the local authorities, and has to report to the magistrate every sale that is made. At Tsing-chow-foo we were told that when it is known or supposed that the purchaser is doing business for Yentai the squeezes on the silk are immediately doubled. Foreigners, therefore, cannot purchase silk with any chance of making a profit. It amounts absolutely to a prohibition of the sale of that article for the foreign market. The merchants we spoke to at that city, and also at Taingan-foo, said that they would be perfectly willing to sell to foreigners direct, at a fair price, provided they were allowed to do so.

The late Consul Meadows and Mr. Major have published a very full Report on the ailanthus silkworm of Manchuria; this same silk is manufactured into cloth in this province, from the raw material produced in the districts I have already named, as well as from much which is imported from Manchuria. These goods are in demand here, and at the first opening of the port could be purchased at reasonable rates; but the ruinous prices now asked for them, render their sale impossible. There is no reason whatever for this increase in price, except that alluded to above. The growers told me that silk, both the mulberry and oak, could be produced in any quantity to suit demand.

The ailanthus worm produces twice a-year; when the female has laid her second batch of eggs she dies. The male is salted and eaten by the people, and considered a great delicacy, as is also the male of the domestic worm.

There are two other descriptions of silk produced in this province, but in small quantities; one from a worm that feeds on the pepper-tree, the cloth made from which is very valuable, as no moths will touch it; and another, produced from a worm that lives on a tree called the tsow-tsieh. This silk is called "seao-kien-tsau." It is of a grey colour, and coarse, but very durable, and highly valued.

Wax.—A great quantity of animal wax is made in the south-east of the province, from the excrement of an insect that feeds on the leaves of the la-shu tree. This tree grows to a considerable height, and its wood is valuable for making the crutches used for pack-saddles, and the large forks, not unlike our wooden hay-forks.

The excrement is deposited on the leaf of this tree, scraped off, boiled, and run into moulds. This wax is used for the coating of the common tallow candles, and is largely exported.

Cotton.—Cotton is grown in the east of the province, but in no great quantities, and quite insufficient for the demand; hence much is imported; principally viâ the Grand Canal.

Medicines.—The province produces large quantities of drugs, the most important being liquorice and rhubarb. Arrowroot is also grown to a considerable extent.

Tobacco.—Tobacco is largely cultivated throughout the province, but the best in the vicinity of Taingan-foo. I found it slightly deficient in flavour, but I attribute this chiefly to the want of care in protecting the young leaves from the rain, and in the drying of them. If more attention were paid to this I have no doubt that the tobacco of Shantung would be equal to the best.

Grain and Pulse.—Shantung is a great grain country. Wheat was springing up everywhere along our route, and when these crops are off the ground, the kao-liang or sauper and other descriptions of millet are sown, as well as beans and peas, from which are manufactured great quantities of beancake and oil.

Vermicelli is largely manufactured, and the export in this article from Che-foo alone is very large.

Felts.—Carpets and hats are manufactured from felt at Tsi-nan-foo. The former are almost equal to the Turkey carpets, and only require a little improvement in shape and size to suit the foreign market. The hats are most comfortable, and very cheap.

Straw.—Straw braids and hats are largely made in Shantung, principally in the vicinity of Laichow.

Fruit.—Fruits of every description are largely grown throughout the province, the principal being pears, apples, walnuts, apricots, cherries, dates, and persimoms. Ground-nuts are also largely cultivated, and a great deal of oil made from them.

Coal.—The principal coal-producing districts where this mineral is worked, are three, but there are several other places where coal is known to exist, but where the mining is prohibited.

The largest coal mines are in the Lan-fu-ho valley, latitude 36° 50′ north, extending south to latitude 36° 30′; longitude 117° 56′ east. The valley runs north and south, and has coal-pits on either side. Both bituminous and anthracite coal are extracted. Ten pits are now working near the city of Po-shan-hsien. The yield per day from one pit is about 200 piculs, and the price at pit's mouth is 180 cash a picul. Gangs of sixty men work night and day in the pits, which are from 50 to 70 feet deep, and then branch off into tunnels of 1,000 feet in length supported by rough beams of wood. The coal seam is from 6 to 15 feet thick. The men work below with picks; and the coal is brought up in baskets containing about 100 catties, by means of a windlass worked by ten men. I saw some very large pieces drawn up, one piece weighed 100 catties, and filled the basket of itself. The water is drained off below, the pits being well up on the hill side. A deep well is sunk at the foot and a drain made from the coal seam down which the water runs to the well when it is drawn up in skin buckets by a windlass.

The Government tax on these coal mines is very moderate; but the local squeezes exorbitant. A Shan-hsi merchant, who has now the working of these Po-shan mines for some years, told us that he could lay coal down in Yentai at 4 dollars 50 cents a ton, and make an excellent profit out of it, were he allowed to do so; but it is forbidden to bring a single pound of coal to this port. Many endeavours have been made by foreign merchants here to get the coal, but they have failed in every instance. Some specimens of coal which I brought home have been pronounced far superior to any native or Japan coal, and nearly equal to Cardiff. Coke of excellent quality is made at Po-shan, and costs in that city 700 cash a picul.

The Wei-hsien coal-fields are situated in an undulating plain about 20 li south-south-west of that city, with hills to the south and west six miles off. There are a great number of pits here, but only ten at present worked. The pits are from 15 to 30 feet deep; and the miners work on until the water rises over the seam. This they keep under as long as possible, bringing it up in large skin buckets containing about three gallons, by means of a huge windlass; but when it gets beyond them, they desert the pit and go to another. Thus it is probable that they miss the finest quality of coal.

We were told that there were two seams, and that they were from 4 to 15 feet thick; and, judging from the enormous blocks of coal we saw brought up, the strata must, indeed, be of great thickness. Gangs of fifty men work below all day, and are replaced by fresh gangs at night. The average quantity of coal raised is 10 baskets, containing 100 catties each basket, per man per diem. This at pit's mouth costs 60 cash a picul, while at Wei-hsien the same costs 600 cash a picul. The wages of the workmen are 150 cash per man per day.

The Wei-hsien coal is principally anthracite, burns bright and clear, with scarcely any ash, and throws out very great heat. It is in great request at Wei-hsien, for the iron foundries there. We saw thousands of tons ready to be carted off at the pit's mouth. Wei-hsien is not very far from the sea coast, and the coal might easily be brought to Chefoo in junks, and undoubtedly it would be brought in very great quantities if the authorities would only allow it.

Coal mines are also worked near the city of Ye-chow-foo, latitude 35° 15′ north, longitude 118° 20′ east. The River Yi-ho, which flows past the pits, is navigable for flat-bottom boats, and the coal could easily be conveyed to the Grand Canal, and thence to Chin-kiang. There are several other coal districts in the province; indeed, nearly the whole of Shan-tung is coal-producing, but those I have named are the principal ones.

Iron.—This metal is found in different parts of the province. Near Tung-chow very fine iron ore has been procured. I came across iron in the mountains near Mong-yin-hsien, while close to the city of Tsi-nan-foo large masses of fine magnetic ore crop up to the surface. Iron ore is said to exist within ten miles of this port.

Galena.—This ore, containing lead and silver, is common throughout the province. Near Che-foo is a lode of great richness, which has already been tested; but the working of it is prohibited. In the south of the province, towards Hae-yun, and to the west of Wei-hsien, there are veins; and at Tung-chow and Ninghai, no great distance from this port, the ore also occurs.

Copper.—I heard of this metal in different parts of the province, but I met with no specimens of the ore. I believe that some has been brought here from Chang-kia-chwang, 100 li south-west of this port.

Sulphur.—Is procured in various places throughout the province, and sulphur springs are common in Shan-tung.

Glass.—This article is largely manufactured in the Lan-foo valley, at the city of Yen-shing, close to Po-shan-hsien. There is a quarry in the immediate neighbourhood of these cities, from whence is obtained the stone which, pulverized and smelted, with nitrate of potasia, forms the glass. This stone is similar to granite, only of a beautiful lilac colour. Nearly every house in Yen-shing is either a glass manufactory or a shop where glass ware is sold. We found them blowing glass, running it into rods and plates, making window-glass, bottles, beads, lanterns, and ornaments of every description. Some very beautiful opaque bottles of different shapes and finely painted I procured here. The glass seemed extremely pure, and sold at very reasonable prices; the rods of pig-glass, about 30 inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter, costing 30 cash a catty, or less than 1*d.* per lb. Saltpetre, much used in the manufacture of glass, is found in the vicinity of Po-shan-hsien.

Hemp is largely grown throughout Shantung; and the rope made from it is very good indeed.

Gold.—This precious metal is found in different places throughout the province. The great gold-bearing district is that of Pingtu latitude 36° 50′, 120° 10′ longitude, in which I had the honour to report on the 14th October, 1868. The Lau-shan range has veins of quartz-bearing gold, but these fields are not allowed to be worked. The streams near Mong-yin-hsien, in the centre of the province, yield gold; while, after heavy rains, a considerable quantity is found in the River Kiu-ko-ho, near Laiyong, washed down from the ravines and gorges in this vicinity.

In the stream of the Tsihya valley, and nearly all the streams around Ninghai, in the east part of this province are gold washings. The Chinese are allowed to obtain the dust in this manner, but are interdicted from digging. I have seen several large-sized nuggets found in the beds of these streams, washed down, I presume, from the gorges after heavy rains.

Precious Stones.—The Laou-shan hills are said to abound with precious stones. Some large amethysts have been exhibited here as obtained from these mountains.

Asbestos.—Is found near Tung-chow-foo. It is used by the natives for making fire-bricks and crucibles, &c.

Marbles, Granite, Limestone, &c.—I saw some very fine marble in different parts of the province. At the large temples at Kiu-foo, &c., the beautiful white marble pillars supporting the verandahs came from quarries of this province. There is also a black and a veined marble, which are very beautiful.

Limestone occurs everywhere, and fine granite is also most plentiful.

I will now close this Report with an account of the officials and people; and as I have had an excellent opportunity of judging of their feelings towards foreigners, I trust my remarks may carry with them some weight.

On leaving Che-foo I took care to arm myself with an official passport from the Taoutae here, and also with a Circular letter to the officials at the various towns through which I was likely to pass, stating who I was, and requesting that I might be received in a manner due to my rank. At first I made a point, on arriving at any town, to send my card in to the head Mandarin merely as a matter of courtesy; but I found that in almost every instance no notice was taken of it, except that perhaps his card was sent back in return; but this acknowledgment of my visit was not even always awarded me. Seeing this, I latterly contented myself with communicating with the officials only when I really required assistance, and I am happy to say I only had occasion to do so twice; once at Poshan-hsien, and another time at Taingan-foo, and in both cases I met with rudeness and discourtesy, such as I little expected. At Poshan-hsien the Magistrate refused to recognize the Taoutae's letter or my passport, and absolutely returned me my own card. I had sent on to him a polite request that he would be so good as to procure a lodging for me, as there were no inns in that city, and had it not been for a merchant who most kindly put his house at my disposal I would not have had any shelter whatever: while the Prefect at Taingan refused to comply with a moderate request I had to make, namely, to make a slight alteration in the passport of a friend of mine who meant to return viâ Grand Canal, instead of coming back with me; and although he sent back his own card in return for mine, would not see me, putting me off on the plea of business.

The only civility I met with was from the late Taoutae here, an official I was intimately acquainted with, who is now Judge of the province residing at Tsi-nan-foo; he certainly did receive me and returned my call. I complained to him of the manner in which I had been received, and he expressed great regret, and volunteered to send on a messenger to the different cities to notify my coming on my return route. Whether he kept his promise or not I am unable to say; but at all events it had no effect, for I was not taken the slightest notice of even after that.

At Kiu-foo I was very well received by the Representative of Confucius, a Duke of the Empire; but it must be remembered that he is not one of the ruling Mandarins, simply an independent nobleman.

The contrast to the conduct of the Mandarins was the manner in which the mercantile classes and people generally received one. At nearly every large city I passed through I was visited by influential merchants, who one and all expressed their willingness to deal with foreigners, and questioned me closely regarding steamers, railroads, and foreign inventions generally. At Poshan-hsien, a Shan-hsi merchant who had been working the coal mines there some time told me distinctly that he would be only too glad to benefit by foreign skill and experience, and would be very willing to work the mines in conjunction with foreigners were he allowed to do so. At Kyan-chow some very influential merchants called upon us, and during conversation expressed a wish to see railroads introduced; they declared that such would be well received by all classes, except the Mandarins, who they admitted would oppose as long as possible any attempt to introduce foreign inventions into the country. Again, at Tsi-mi a very wealthy and respectable merchant expressed exactly the same views. I am firmly of opinion, and in spite of anything that may be said to the contrary, that it is the intention of the Chinese Government to enter upon a retrograde policy, and that they wish to curtail as much as possible their relations with foreign Powers, restricting their intercourse to within the narrowest possible limits; and I am perfectly certain that the introduction of foreign inventions, conveying new systems and new ideas into China, would not tend to shock the feelings and prejudices of the people, but, on the contrary, would have a most beneficial effect upon all classes.

Were the local mandarins really well-disposed towards us they would have treated an official of a friendly Power on a visit through their country in a far different manner, and I am convinced that these local authorities have their cue from the Central Government.

In proof of the feelings of the people of this province, at all events towards us, I am glad to be able to state that throughout my journey I scarcely heard an opprobrious epithet used, although I passed through many large cities and towns never before visited by a European, and was many times in dense crowds at fairs, where people were collected from all parts of the country. On the contrary, I was everywhere treated by the middle classes and people with the greatest possible kindness and civility.

In conclusion, I must again express how much I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Williamson for his valuable services as Interpreter, and for the assistance he so willingly rendered me in collecting information on all points.

(Signed) J. MARKHAM, *Consul.*

British Consulate, Che-foo, April 21, 1869.

No. 6.

The Earl of Clarendon to Consul Markham.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 5, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 29th of April, inclosing an account of your recent journey through Shantung, and I have to acquaint you that I have read your Report with much interest.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 7.

Sir H. Parkes to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 22.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, January* 26, 1869.

MY despatches reporting the opening of Yeddo on the 1st instant will have shown that Dr. Willis returned from the humane mission in which he had voluntarily engaged, in time to enter on his duties as Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Yeddo on that date.

I have now the satisfaction of forwarding to your Lordship a Report of his expedition, which he has drawn up since his return. He therein disposes of his own labours in a few brief lines, confining himself to little more than stating that he has administered to the relief of 1,600 suffering fellow-men; but his proceedings show that he has spared no pains, whenever opportunity offered, to humanize the practice of the Japanese

in regard both to their mode of warfare and the treatment of their prisoners; and the influence he exercised is proved by the fact that the Prince Commanding-in-chief the Mikado's forces invited him to proceed to Wakamatsu, the stronghold of Aidzu, directly it was taken, and nearly 700 of the patients he attended, belonged to the Aidzu clan.

According to Dr. Willis' observations, the population of the country which came under his observation appears to be in proportion to the existing means of subsistence; but it is satisfactory to notice the capacity of the country for that most valuable industry—the growth of silk, and to learn that in places to which the influence of foreign trade has extended a remarkable impetus has been given to the production of this staple, and that the good efforts of increased means are clearly observable in the improved condition of the people.

I should add that the Mikado has directed the Minister of Foreign Affairs to express to me his appreciation of Dr. Willis' services in the inclosed note, which was accompanied by the present of silk therein named.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 7.

Memorandum by Dr. Willis on the subject of his Visit to Takata, Kashiwasaki, Neegata, Shibata, and Wakamatsu, to render Medical Assistance to Wounded Japanese.

I ATTENDED personally to the requirements of 600 wounded men, and gave directions regarding the treatment of about 1,000 others.

Of these numbers 900 were of the Mikado's army and 700 of the Aidzu clan.

I performed thirty-eight amputations, varying in magnitude from removal of a finger to amputation of the thigh at the hip-joint. Of those operated upon, about one-half recovered. I extracted twenty-three bullets, and removed dead bone from upwards of 200 patients. The wounds were almost exclusively gun-shot injuries. I saw a few instances of spear wounds and sword cuts, but no instance of a bayonet wound.

As far as time and other circumstances would permit I instructed the native doctors in the treatment of the wounded.

I found the sick men of the Mikado's army lodged in temples at the various stations I visited. They were provided with all the ordinary wants of Japanese, and appeared to be cared for as far as could be expected, considering the imperfect discipline and want of knowledge that exist amongst the native doctors and attendants.

The wounded men of the Aidzu clan were lodged in seven villages around the chief town Wakamatsu. When I first visited them they were in a deplorable state of filth and wretchedness, and excepting a ration of rice, nothing else was allowed them. By representing their condition to the authorities at Wakamatsu I was enabled to obtain necessary supplies, and was assured at the same time that for the future the wants of the sick would be regularly provided for. The wounded of the Aidzu clan included old men, women, and children.

I made out lists of the sick of the Mikado's army that might return to their homes before the severe winter set in. During next spring, all the sick will return to their respective provinces. They were to be assembled from the various stations to pass the winter at Kashiwasaki.

On my journey from Yeddo to Takata an incident occurred which illustrates a difficulty that may attend a foreigner travelling in Japan, even when his journey is undertaken at the instance of the Japanese Government. About twenty miles from Takata there is a mountain-pass with a guard-house under the charge of the local Daimio. On my attempting to pass through this barrier, as I had already done through other barriers, several of the guards rushed out, and in a loud and menacing tone of voice ordered me to take off my hat, and by placing hands on my shoulders attempted to force me into making obeisances. I disengaged myself from the hands of the guards and passed through without making the obeisances which it was attempted to force me into. I demanded an apology from the chief of the guards for the conduct of his subordinates, and the permission to pass unmolested through the barrier. I could, however, obtain no redress. The chief of the guards justifying the conduct of his subordinates, I declined to proceed any farther on my journey until I received the satisfaction demanded, and sent a letter to that effect to Takata. The following night two officials arrived from Takata. They expressed the regret of the Daimio at the treatment I had received. The chief of the guards was called upon to make a formal apology to me. The next morning I passed

through the barrier a second time, to establish my right of doing so, when a second apology was tendered in front of the guard-house. I hereupon expressed my satisfaction, and requested that no further steps should be taken in the matter, as I considered the rudeness shown me arose in a great measure out of ignorance. I have reason since to know that the chief of the guards is grateful to me for interceding on his behalf, otherwise he would have lost his position for his conduct on the occasion. With characteristic heroism he had expressed his readiness,—should it be found that in the zealous discharge of his duties he had overstepped the bounds of propriety,—to put an end to his existence by harakiri or disembowelling.

At Shibata I was called upon by a Karo or Councillor, who thanked me in the name of his Daimio for my services to his master's retainers. At Neegata, one of the chief officials administering the government of the place paid me a complimentary visit. At Shibata, a Karo of the Daimio of that place and a retainer of his Imperial Highness Ninwaji no Miya, the Commander-in-chief of the Mikado's army, visited me and expressed, in the name of their respective masters, their obligation to me for the services I had rendered.

I had occasion frequently to observe the significant absence of wounded prisoners, and, as often as opportunity served, I pointed out the inhumanity of a wanton sacrifice of life. I expressed my sense of disappointment at not having it in my power to bear testimony to the clemency of the Japanese Government towards its opponents in the present struggle. I was told by way of excuse that the Aidzu prisoners reviled and insulted the Mikado's authority so offensively that it was found impossible to spare even the lives of the wounded. The retainer of the Commander-in-chief promised, however, that he would state fully to his Master all that I had said regarding humanity in war and the compassion shown to wounded opponents in other countries. On the following day his Imperial Highness the Commander-in-chief sent me word that he wished to see me as soon as I had completed my attendance upon the wounded. I stipulated that, in the event of my visiting his Imperial Highness, I should observe no other ceremonies than those that would be due to the presence of a personage of similarly exalted rank in Europe.

On the occasion of the interview, the Miya sent his chief doctor and an escort to accompany me to his place of residence, which was within the castle of the Daimio of Shibata. The Miya expressed his concern for the fatigues that so long a journey must have imposed upon me. He asked me if I had anything interesting to communicate. I said that what I deemed most interesting I had already fully explained to his retainer; whereupon he remarked, "we have well considered that matter." After some complimentary and general conversation, during which inquiries were made about the wounded, I took my leave.

The Miya is twenty-four years of age, although he looks older, with an agreeable expression of countenance. Besides the Miya there were present two nobles of the Mikado's Court, the retainer of the Miya already spoken of, a Satsuma General, and the Miya's chief doctor. Shortly after my return home I received a letter written at the instance of his Imperial Highness and signed by the two nobles who were present at the interview, requesting me to continue my services for another month, to visit Kashiwasaki once more, and to render medical assistance to the wounded men of the enemy as well as to those of the Mikado's army. I explained that all I could do in the matter was to submit the letter to my Minister, whose orders I was bound to obey. In the meantime, however, until I heard from him, I would do my utmost to carry out the requests contained in the letter received, and to that end I would start the following day for Aidzu's chief town, Wakamatsu. A guard of thirty-four men of the Daimios of Shibata was ordered to accompany me. On my arrival at Wakamatsu I found that about four-fifths of the town had been burnt on the occasion of its capture by the Mikado's army. The most central buildings of Aidzu's Castle alone remained. All the dwellings of the official class included in the outer moat had been burnt. The buildings which still stood were composed of wood and plaster. They were riddled with round shot and rifle bullets. The castle was commanded, at the distance of half-a-mile, by a hill, upon the summit of which the Mikado's forces had erected a battery.

In the most central building there was an immense collection of suits of armour, old matchlocks, spears, bows, and arrows. Out of this collection the soldiers of the Mikado's army appeared to select such articles as they fancied. I was told that some of the suits of armour were over three hundred years old. I found by experiment that a rifle bullet would pass through the strongest helmet, though proof against revolver shots. Judging by the size of the oldest armour there is no degeneration in Japan of the physique of the soldier class within the last 300 years.

Along my journey I had occasion to observe the immense extent of hilly country as compared with plain land. Judging by what I have seen of the main island of Japan generally, I am of opinion that more than five-sixths of it are covered with hills, which often assume the proportions of lofty mountains. In some places the hills are clothed with timber, but, as a rule, they are bare, giving to the landscape an appearance of dreary grandeur. Many of the hills are evidently volcanic. About half-way across the island there is a large active volcano. The country around the base is covered with ejected lava stones to the distance of five or six miles. Eighty-four years ago there was an eruption which, it is said, caused much loss of life and property.

After leaving the great Yeddo plain, the track of my journey to the opposite coast lay between mountains, where sometimes the level ground expanded into valleys some twelve miles in breadth, while it often became so narrow that it degenerated into a mere mountain pass. My journey from Takata to Neegata lay along the sea shore. Up to the Neegata plain, a distance of sixty miles, the country is almost uniformly hilly. The hills close to the shore are of no great height, and some are well wooded to their summits. In the Aidzu country the hills form a vast fringe of from thirty to fifty miles in extent round the valley in which Wakamatsu stands. The valley itself is about twenty-four miles long by twelve miles broad; and so completely is it hemmed in all sides by hills and mountains that it might almost be the bed of a great lake. The vale land in the different parts through which I passed was very fertile, and seemed capable of producing in perfection all the vegetable products of a temperate climate. I was, however, especially struck by the richness and depth of soil of the Yeddo plain, which, speaking roundly, extends inland some fifty to sixty miles. As far as I could judge, the Neegata plain is to the west coast what the Yeddo plain is to the east. On comparing its extent and richness, and the importance of the town of Neegata itself, with any other place that I saw on the west coast, I cannot forbear expressing my conviction that it is at present by far the most suitable site for foreign residence and trade in that part of Japan.

It is impossible not to remark the variety of useful plants which grow on the same soil. The Japanese might be supposed to have borrowed both from Asia and Europe all the vegetable products that are most necessary to man. The Japanese have several varieties of the grain crop, suited to different soils and temperature. Their upland varieties of rice would, I believe, be found superior to those of almost any other country. The root crops occasionally reach a prodigious size. In the Aidzu country, carrots and turnip radishes are to be seen over a yard long. Fruits, in certain places, seem capable of enormous development. I weighed at Neegata several pears that reached a couple of pounds. It must, however, be acknowledged that Japanese vegetables and fruits, although abnormally developed by a system of forcing by strong manures, on that very account, in flavour and excellence, fall far short of the same productions grown in Europe. After emerging from the Yeddo plain, I found patches of ground planted with the Irish potato. It is considered, however, an inferior article of diet. It appears to be quite free from disease. Along the track of my journey, I met with most of the commoner species of English road-side plants. Trees sometimes attain an immense size. I measured a cedar that was thirty-nine feet in circumference at the base, and several kiaki trees were over thirty feet in girth, at the distance of a yard from the ground.

Everywhere amongst the hills there was a noticeable absence of animal life both domestic and wild, though some of the hills appeared well suited as pasture land for different kinds of cattle. Birds of all sizes were scarce in the interior, owing in a great measure, I believe, to the numbers that are snared for food, especially where fish is unprocurable.

I failed to discover the existence of any mines along the track of my journey. I heard of the existence of coal, iron, and copper at several places, though up to the present they had not been turned to any useful account.

The rivers in many places, become, in the dry season, mere gravel beds; whilst, in the rainy season, they swell into large rapid streams. In some places, the bed of the river is above the level of the surrounding country, necessitating strong embankments to confine it to its course. Last year, in consequence of the unusual fall of rain, many of the rivers burst their embankments, causing much loss of property. In several places, houses had been swept away or severely injured by the inundations. The rivers appear to be fairly stocked with fish. I saw salmon caught in large numbers in the Neegata River. The average size is from ten to twelve pounds. I saw some specimens that weighed as much as twenty pounds. All the larger rivers of Japan appear to have bars across their outlets into the sea. I had an opportunity of sounding the depth of the Neegata River for eight miles up its course; it varied from twelve to thirty feet. I was told that at the bar across

its mouth the depth of water was only six to eight feet at high tide, and that the largest Japanese junks, if fully laden, require to lighten their cargo before crossing the bar. It is plain that Neegata cannot be made a shipping port for foreign vessels by any ordinary outlay of money. In summer it is, however, the great port of call on the west coast for native junks passing north or south.

During my journey I had frequent occasion to observe the great local changes of temperature. The climates of the east and west coasts of Japan on the same parallel are remarkably different. In winters, the snow sometimes lies ten to fifteen feet in some of the valleys on the west coast, putting a stop for weeks together to all communication. Several of the mountain passes are blocked up with snow during the entire winter months. The cold in some of the highland regions I passed over was intense. In some places, the wind swept up the valleys with extreme keenness; in other places, I was surprised by the comparatively genial character of the atmosphere. On rounding the base of a mountain I not unfrequently came upon snow lying deeply on the ground, though none was to be seen on the other side. After leaving the Yeddo plain there is a sudden fall in the temperature of from ten to fifteen degrees. The country assumes the character of highlands, in which mosquitoes do not exist, even during the hottest summer months.

The western sea is so violent during the winter that native junks scarcely ever venture out upon a cruise; and even the fishing-boats, as a rule, are beached during the stormiest months. On the western coast I saw the wrecks of three steamers, the property of Japanese Daimios. I was told that, north of Neegata, a fourth foreign-rigged vessel had been wrecked. All these wrecks had been occasioned through stress of weather. Gales of wind appeared to be of constant occurrence along the west coast; and judging by the frequency and violence of the storms I witnessed, I am inclined to think that even in the case of foreign vessels the navigation of the Japan Sea will be found so difficult and dangerous as practically to close the west coast to shipping operations during that season of the year. For miles inland the air is filled with the sound of breakers that beat the coast in all weathers.

Whatever may have been the origin of the Japanese people, they are at present a homogeneous race. There are, however, some local differences which I noticed. In parts of the Province of Echigo the people are much handsomer than in any other part of Japan that I have yet seen. Some of the women, even of the lower orders, are almost as fair-skinned as Europeans; and this is the more remarkable as it is only in this province that women act as coolies along the public highways. The strength of the coolie class seemed very different in different places. In one of the silk districts in the Province of Slimano, where the people seemed very prosperous, comparatively, six coolies carried my litter running; whilst in the Aidzu country, where the coolies were weak, sixteen of them seemed quite unable to put forth the same amount of strength.

I went to see the oldest inhabitant at several places where I stopped on the road. I made careful inquiry about the extreme span of human existence in this country. I saw an old woman of the small shopkeeper class, who was stated to have attained 100 years of age. She was certainly the oldest-looking person I had ever seen. She remained in bed constantly during the cold weather. Her faculties were nearly entirely decayed. As a rule, Japanese appear to die of the extremest decrepitude when they attain the age of from 80 to 90. Amongst the nobility and gentry I am told that instances of extreme old age very rarely occur amongst the men, though women of all classes reach a goodly old age. From what I have seen, I am of opinion that the population of Japan is quite as large as the wealth and industry of the country can at present support. There can be no doubt that of late years the country has been growing in material prosperity, more especially in the silk districts. I was told that the price of silk had risen sixfold during the last ten years, and that the amount of ground under silk cultivation had doubled during the same space of time. I saw large tracks of ground in the Provinces of Musashi, Kodsuké, and Shinano, where mulberry-trees had been planted within the last few years, and in some places the hill sides were being gradually covered with mulberry plantations. It appeared to me that there was hardly a limit to the amount of silk that Japan might produce, seeing how well the hill sides suit the growth of the mulberry plant.

From the general attention that was being bestowed upon silk as an article of commerce, and the stimulus that was being communicated by money to the silk districts, I look forward to a yearly increase in the amount produced of this most valuable staple. In every part of my journey I met with samples of foreign goods, both of cotton and woollen manufacture. I was told the demand for such articles was steadily on the increase.

I started on my journey from Yeddo on the 5th of October last, and returned to

that city on the 28th of December. The journey, which is over 600 miles, was accomplished by riding in a kango, or walking, according to circumstances.

In conclusion, I may, from my own experience, bear testimony to the bravery and hardihood with which the invading forces of the Mikado bore hardships and privation, which were almost more cruel than the weapons of the enemy. All possible efforts were taken to protect me from privation, and yet the severity of the cold was so intense, and the poverty of the food so trying, that my servants and assistants nearly all broke down under it. After a long day's work the only refuge would be a house open to the blasts of the wind; the only comfort rations of rice and stale fish, which we ate all huddling round the imperfect warmth of a charcoal brazier. But even this was luxury compared with what the fighting men of the Mikado had to put up with.

(Signed) W. WILLIS.

Yeddo, January 23, 1869.

Inclosure 2 in No. 7.

Higashi Kuzé Chiujo to Sir H. Parkes.

(Translation.)

Sir, *January* 10, 1869.

THE soldiers wounded during the war in Echigo have been indebted in no ordinary manner to Dr. Willis for surgical attendance. His Majesty the Mikado, on being informed of the circumstances, was extremely gratified, and I have received His Majesty's order to present the accompanying seven rolls of brocade to that gentleman as a slight mark of acknowledgment. I have the honour, therefore, to request your Excellency to be so good as to convey the same to Dr. Willis as may seem most proper.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HIGASHI KUZE CHIUJO.

No. 8.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 30, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 26th of January, inclosing a Memorandum by Dr. Willis of his mission to the North of Japan to offer his medical services to the wounded Japanese soldiers; and I have to instruct you to inform Dr. Willis that I have read his Report with great interest, and that I highly approve his proceedings.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

CHINA AND JAPAN.

Reports of Journeys in China and Japan performed by Mr. Alabaster, Mr. Oxenham, Mr. Markham, and Dr. Willis, of Her Majesty's Consular Service in those Countries.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1869.

[*Price* 5½*d.*]

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

JAPAN. No. 4 (1871).

REPORTS

ON THE

MANUFACTURE OF PAPER

IN

JAPAN.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1871.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.
[C.—400.] *Price* 2*s.* 10*d.*

Reports on the Manufacture of Paper in Japan.

[N.B.—The samples referred to have been sent to the South Kensington Museum.]

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Granville.—(*Received May* 13.)

My Lord, *Yedo, March* 25, 1871.

LORD CLARENDON, in his despatch of May 13, 1869, directed my attention to the subject of paper manufacture in Japan as one on which information was desired by Her Majesty's Government, and I accordingly issued the inclosed Circular to Her Majesty's Consuls, requesting them to furnish Reports on this branch of native industry.

I have now to forward to your Lordship three Reports which I have received in answer to this instruction, namely, one from Mr. Lowder when acting as Consul at Kanagawa, one from Mr. Annesley, Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Nagasaki, and a third from Mr. Enslie, Acting Vice-Consul at Osaka. Acting upon the suggestion of Mr. Lowder, who, when he wrote his despatch (Inclosure 2), was on the point of leaving for England, I undertook the collection of the specimens obtainable at Yedo, and the inclosed list describes in detail all those I have procured.

I have now to add that, through the kindness of the agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, who has been so good as to transmit the packages free of expense, I have forwarded two cases containing all the specimens referred to in these Reports to the address of the Chief Clerk of the Foreign Office by the Peninsular and Oriental mail of this date. The larger of the two cases contains the specimens collected at Yedo, the smaller one those forwarded from Nagasaki and Osaka.

In my despatch of the 13th of January I mentioned that I had expended 77 dollars 23 cents (16*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*) in making the Yedo collection.

I trust the information contained in these Reports will be found to possess some interest. I should have been glad if they could have been made more complete, but it has not been found easy to obtain information from Japanese informants engaged in the trade relative to the production of the raw material or the mode of manipulation.

The manufacture appears to be carried on in the interior provinces, and I have been repeatedly assured that no manufactory exists at the capital. Opportunity, therefore, of observing the process has not yet been met with at Yedo.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1.

Circular addressed to Her Majesty's Consuls in Japan.

Sir, *Yedo, September* 24, 1869.

I FORWARD for your guidance in the preparation of the Trade Returns of your port for this year a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, pointing out the necessity of British trade being in future distinguished from foreign trade as far as this is practicable.

His Lordship also again calls attention to the circumstance of no Reports having yet been received from Her Majesty's Consuls in Japan on the subject of paper, and I have accordingly to direct you to give this subject of inquiry your best attention. If you find it necessary to incur some expenditure in pursuing this investigation, and in collecting specimens of the manufacture, I approve of your disbursing as much as 10*l.* sterling on this account without previous reference to myself; but before expending a

greater outlay you should explain to me the advisability of incurring it, and should await my instructions.

I do not doubt that the other points mentioned in Lord Clarendon's despatch will also receive your careful notice.

I also add copy of another despatch from Lord Clarendon directing that your Trade Reports should, in future, be accompanied by three summaries in the form inclosed, and which are required in addition to the other Returns which you should continue to furnish according to the form adopted last year.

Your, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 2.

Consul Lowder to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Kanagawa, July* 2, 1870.

IN accordance with the instructions contained in your despatch of the 24th of September last, I have the honour to forward to you herewith a short account of the manufacture of paper in Japan, to which I have appended a list of the different varieties of that article made in the several principalities. To collect samples of all these would occupy some six months, and ten sheets of each would cost about 20*l.* sterling. Under these circumstances, and considering the facilities which a residence in Yedo affords for collecting specimens not only of the paper but of articles manufactured from it, I have thought it advisable to limit my expenditure under this head to a sum of about 4 dollars, the price of the illustrations which accompany the Report, trusting that the collection may be undertaken at the Legation.

I regret that the Report should contain so little information of the nature called for by Lord Clarendon, but my duties keep me exclusively at Yokohama, where there is no opportunity of witnessing the manufacture of paper or articles made of it; I have therefore been obliged to trust entirely to native sources for information, which is not as lucid or explicit as could be desired. I trust, however, that the Reports from other Consulates will supply the deficiencies in mine.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRED. LOWDER.

Inclosure 3.

A short Account of the Manufacture of Paper in Japan, by Consul Lowder.

THE manufacture of paper from the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) was introduced into Japan about A.D. 610. Up to the year A.D. 280, silk with a facing of linen was used for writing upon, and thin wood shavings were also employed. In that year, however, paper was imported from the Corea, and this appears to have been the only paper known to the Japanese until the year 610, when two priests named Donchô and Hôjô were sent over to Japan by the King of the Corea. Donchô is said to have been a clever man, learned in the Chinese classics, and moreover a skilful artist. Besides the manufacture of paper he also introduced that of writing-ink and mill-stones into the country. Shôtoku Taishi, a son of the reigning Mikado, learned of Donchô how to make paper. But although the paper made by Donchô was very good of its kind, it did not take ink well; it would not bear rough handling and tore very easily; and moreover it was liable, because of its material, to become worm-eaten, seeing which, Taishi introduced the manufacture of paper out of the paper mulberry; he made four kinds, called Unshi, Shiku-inshi, Haku-jushi, and Zoku-hakushi, and he caused the paper mulberry to be extensively planted all over the country, and the mode of paper manufacture to be largely promulgated among the people.

The Paper Mulberry, or Broussonetia Papyrifera (Ma Kôdzu).—(Illustration No. 1.

In the Island of Kiusiu the makôdzu is planted in the ninth and tenth moons, but in Kioto and its vicinity in the first moon, the time varying according to the climate of the place. Some old roots are separated and cut down to a length of about three inches; these are planted so that a little less than half-an-inch appears above ground. They

will grow about a foot high in the first year, and in the second they will rise to a height of two or three feet. In the third year they will reach a little over four feet; in the fourth year they attain to six, or if particularly fine, to even nine and twelve feet. Each year in the tenth moon they are cut down to the roots, and from each stalk five branches appear the next year, so that in five years a large and dense shrub is developed. The cuttings of the fifth year's growth are used for making paper. The roots will not thrive well in old ground; the best place for planting is round the edges of new-made ground or paddy-fields. They will not stand salt or brackish water, nor will they flourish beside millet or sorghum. Care must be taken not to over or under manure them; if under manured they die, and if too much manure is used the plant is injured. If planted in the vicinity of other crops, such as rice, they rejoice in the effects of the manure which is used for their neighbours. They are sometimes planted on mounds which are raised along the beds of valleys, but newly-turned ground is the best.

Cutting the Paper-Mulberry in Winter.—(Illustration No. 2.)

The paper-mulberry suffers from sun-burn in a very dry summer; and, on the other hand, if there is too much rain it grows too fast, and is then injured by the autumnal winds. Care must be taken to protect the plants from the ravages of wild boar and deer, which delight to feed upon them. The shrub known as "Ts'kuri-kake" is the best for making paper of, but it is scarce and expensive. There is also a variety called "kajiso," which makes good paper, but as it is more plentiful it is not so dear, though it is necessary to use a great deal of it. Another variety is called "takaso." Paper made of this is somewhat inferior, but the shrub attains a great height, and it is not necessary to divide the roots; a cutting of it may be planted just as it is cut, and will thrive, and it does not require so much attention as the "makôdzu" as regards manure; it will also thrive in swampy ground. It needs little care, and produces a tolerably large quantity of material for paper; and at present this variety is largely cultivated. The shrubs, like other trees, bud in spring, blossom in summer, and cast their leaves in autumn: by the twelfth moon they are quite bare.

Steaming the Paper-Mulberry.—(Illustration No. 3.)

The diameter of the boiler is 2 feet 6 or 7 inches; the steaming vessel is of straw. The mulberry stalks are cut into lengths of two and a-half to three feet for steaming. When the skin of the stalk begins to separate at the cut ends they are sufficiently steamed. Five or six steamings can be performed during a winter's night.

Stripping the Skin from the Stalk.—(Illustration No. 4.)

The stalks after steaming are taken in the hand as above illustrated, and the skin stripped off. After stripping the stick is of no use but for firewood.

Drying the Skins.—(Illustration No. 5.)

After peeling, the skins should be at once dried. They are divided into portions of a thickness that a woman can grasp conveniently in one hand. They are then hung on transverse poles and tied loosely at the ends, as in the illustration, so that the part tied may not be prevented from drying. They take ordinarily two or three days to dry, but if there is any wind they may dry in a day. After drying, they are weighed into portions of about 32 lbs. avoirdupois, and tied up in bundles.

Washing the Skins.—(Illustration No. 6.)

They are then ready for the next process, which is to wash them in running water in which they are left, as illustrated, for a day or a night, but twenty-four hours' washing will not hurt them. They are then taken in, and the inner fibre is separated from the outer skin.

Removing the Inner Fibre.—(Illustration No. 7.)

The outer dark skin is scraped off with a knife, as in the illustration, the knife being held stationary, pillowed on a straw padding, while the material is drawn towards the operator until the dark skin is removed. This dark scraping is used for making inferior kind of paper, known as "chiri-gami," and also "kizo-suki." It is called "saru-kawa," and after being thoroughly washed in running water, which causes it to open out flat, it is boiled. It is then allowed to rot, and is well beaten, after which

paper is made of it, as described further on, by admixture with the "tororo." In years when the paper-mulberry is scarce, this kind of paper may be made of the common mulberry ("kuwa no ki"). The mode of manufacture is the same, and the leaves are sometimes made use of.

Expressing the Sap.—(*Illustration No.* 8.)

Paper is made of the inner fibre, which is parcelled into lots of about 32 lbs. avoirdupois each. It usually takes three days to make the paper, but adepts can accomplish its manufacture in two. These parcels are taken to the river and thoroughly washed, after which they are steeped in buckets of water; the water is then run off, and heavy stones are placed upon the fibre to express the remaining liquid. They are then boiled as in the following illustration, so that when removed from the boiler they are no longer sticky or glutinous. This fibre is called "sosori."

Boiling the "Sosori."—(*Illustration No.* 9.)

The diameter of the boiler is 2 feet 6 or 7 inches. A portion of the "sosori" is placed in the boiler, and two stirring-sticks, broad at the bottom and narrowed off at the top, are stood up in it; the remainder of the boiling is then scattered into the boiler by degrees (*vide* illustration). The lot is done in one boiling, but common water is not used. The "sosori" is boiled in water, in which the ashes of burnt buckwheat husks have been infused. While boiling it is stirred with the two sticks, one of which is held in each hand, and worked two and fro with a rotatory motion. It may be known to be sufficiently boiled if, when the stirring-sticks are removed, the water wells up from the bottom of the boiler through the holes left by the sticks, and spreads evenly over the surface of the boiling. Great care must be taken that it boils evenly. Occasionally it will be found that it will not boil, when about a quart of "robai" (wax-ash) thrown in will help it. Common lime will do as a substitute if "robai" is not at hand; but the admixture of either of these will slightly affect the colour of the paper.

Second Washing of the "Sosori."—(*Illustration No.* 10.)

The "sosori" is then placed in a basket, through which running water is allowed to percolate, in order that the residue of the ash infusion may be thoroughly expelled; the basket is then lifted up, and the water allowed to run off.

Species of the Plant "Tororo," which is cultivated in the same Manner as the Common or the Small Red Bean.—(*Illustration No.* 11.)

The "tororo" flowers in spring; the seed is inclosed in the flower, and is small and sexagonal in shape, resembling the sesamum. Neither the flower nor the seed are of any use in the manufacture of paper, but the root, of which the following is an illustration (No. 12), is used. The shrub is not unlike the cotton plant. There is also the wild "tororo," which is uncultivated, but which is used in the manufacture of commoner kinds of paper which are red in colour. The root of the "tororo" is taken during the rainy season of the fifth moon, after the flower has died and dried. The size of the root is about the same as that of the common dock, unless it grows in stony ground, when it is shorter. The sprouts and skin of the root are scraped off, and the root is then beaten. When required for use the "tororo" roots are boiled into a tolerably thin paste, a quart and a-half of which is required for each "boat" of the paper stuff. The "tororo" paste should be strained through a fine hair sieve into tubs, and may then be used as required.

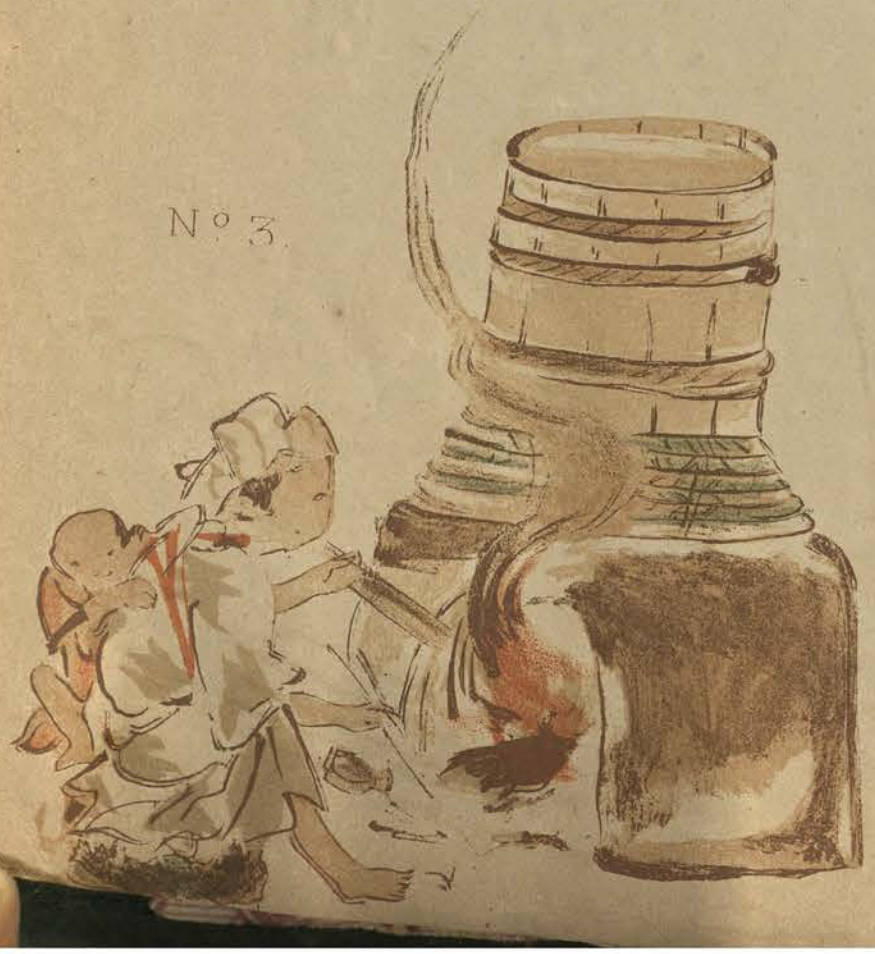
Pounding the "Sosori."—(*Illustration No.* 13.)

The pounder is 3 feet in length, with a round handle, but square thence to the top. The table is 5 feet long, and about 3 feet broad, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. It may be made of oak or cherry.

The night before the paper is to be made the "sosori" should be again washed, and the next morning it is pounded for about as long a time as it takes to boil the rice for breakfast. When paper is made in the winter, a little "tororo" must be mixed with the "sosori" before pounding; when in spring, rice paste is used as a substitute.

N° 1

N° 3.



Nº 2.
Nº 4

N° 6.

Nº 7.
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N° 9.

N° 10.

Harrison & Sons, Lith. St Martins Lane, W.C.

Nº 12.
Nº 11.
Nº 13.

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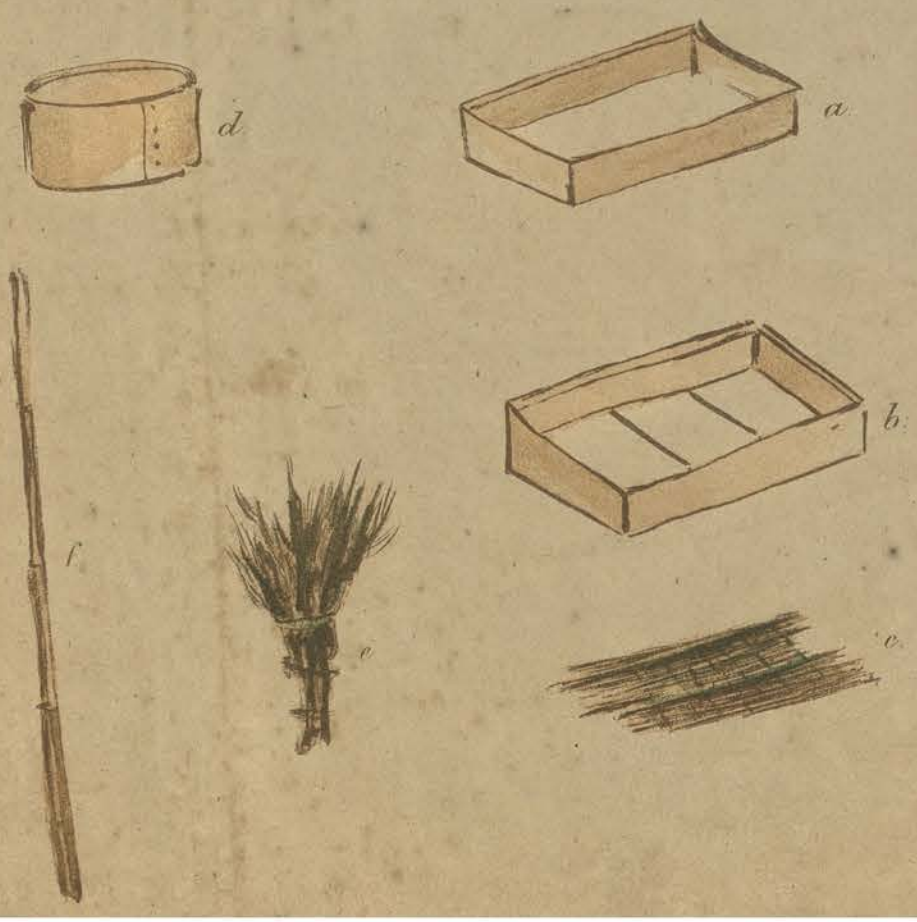
Nº 15.



Nº 16

Nº 18.

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Making the Paper called "Hanshi."—(Illustration No. 14.)

The bucket contains warm water in which to dip the hands when cold. The box or frame used in making "sugihara" (a large size of paper) is very heavy, so that men are employed in the manufacture of the latter; but women can manipulate the frames used for "hanshi."

The "sosori" to be used is made into a large ball, from which lumps are broken off as required. These lumps are cast into what is called the "boat," and thoroughly mixed with well-strained "tororo" paste. It should be stirred up thoroughly, and is of a proper consistency when the stick makes a slight noise when passing through the pulp. If not sufficiently sticky, more "tororo" should be added, but the proportion of the ingredients can only be learned by practice.

The pulp should not cling to or wind round the stick, but should be thoroughly stirred and well mixed.

(*Illustration No.* 15.)

a. The inner frame.
b. The outer frame.
c. The false bottom, made of plaited bamboo.
d. The sieve.
e. The brush.
f. The stirring-stick: length, 1 foot 3 inches; diameter, about a $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch.

(*Illustration No.* 16.)

The "boat:" length 6 feet; breadth 3 feet, with a perpendicular rest for leaning the frame against in it.

The false bottom is placed in the outer frame, into which a portion of the pulp is then poured. The inner frame is then fitted in to keep the false bottom steady, and a peculiar and dexterous jerk is given to the whole, which sets the paper. The frame is then leaned against the upright rest to allow the water to drain off, while another frame is prepared. By the time the second frame is ready the first may be removed. This manipulation can be performed very quickly by experts in the manufacture.

The winter manufacture, which is made with "tororo" only, is called "kidzuki:" it is used for making books, and it does not get worm-eaten; it is the best paper made. The spring manufacture, in which rice paste is used, is liable to become worm-eaten.

Drying the Paper.—(Illustration No. 17.)

The sheet of paper is removed from the frame with a piece of bamboo, as seen in the illustration, by dexterously curling the thicker end of the paper round it; the brush is taken in the right hand, and with it the paper is laid on the drying-board, as seen in the illustration, the side which adheres to the board being the face of the paper. Five sheets are placed on each side of the board, which is 6 feet long. In fine weather the paper dries quickly, and in wet weather it is sometimes dried by the heat of a fire. Each manipulator requires forty drying boards.

Cutting "Hanshi" into Proper Sizes.—(Illustration No. 18.)

Between every 20 sheets two or three straws are inserted. The paper, in parcels of 100 sheets, is then placed upon a table, and a heavy ruler put on the top of it, which is kept steady with the right foot. The paper is held in the left hand, and cut off with a knife, as in the illustration. It is then packed, as seen in *Illustration No.* 19, and is finally made up into bundles ready for the market.

Mode of making Paper Cloth warranted to wash ("Shifu").—(Illustration No. 20.)

Take some of the paper called "hôshô," or some of the best "senka," and dye it of the colour required. Boil some of the roots called "kon-niaku-no-dama" with the skins on; try them with the inner portion of a rice stalk; when it penetrates easily they are sufficiently boiled. Peel them and let the water run off, and then pound them into a paste. Spread this paste on either side of the paper, and let it dry in the sun till quite stiff. Then sprinkle water on it until it is thoroughly damped, and leave it in that state for a night. The next morning roll it upon a bamboo of the thickness of

the shaft of an arrow, and force it with the hands from either end into a crumple in the centre; unroll it, and repeat this process two or three times, rolling it from each side and corner of the paper. Then crumple it well in the hands by rubbing it together until it becomes quite soft, and then sprinkle water on it again to damp it. Pull it out straight and smooth, fold it up, and pound it with a wooden mallet. It may then be put into water as much and as often as is liked without sustaining injury, having become a strong and lasting material. This cloth is made principally in the Daimiate of Sendai. Boxes, trays, and even saucepans, may be made of this cloth; and saucepans thus manufactured sustain no injury over a strong charcoal heat. Bags may be made of it, in which wine may be put, and heated by insertion in boiling water. Paper thus prepared may be used for papering windows; and will withstand the rain without being oiled. Amusing experiments may be made with it.

Manufacture of Oil-Paper for Rain-Coats, &c.

The paper should be "senka" or "tosa-senka." The glue used for joining the paper is made of young fern-shoots, ground and boiled into a paste ("warabi-no-ko-nori"), and thinned by admixture with the juice expressed from unripe persimmons. The dye is usually green, yellow, red, or black. Whichever colour is used, the colouring matter, generally a powder, is boiled with bean paste, and the paper is then painted with it. The preparation of the paper consists principally in softening it by rubbing it in the hands. The oil used is a seed-oil called "ye-no-abura."

LIST of the Varieties of Paper Manufactured in Japan.

District where manufactured.	No.	Name of Paper.	Remarks.
Yamashiro	..	Kiô-no-Kotaka	1 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 5 ins. Used in the manufacture of articles of various kinds.
		Senmen-gami	Used for making fans.
		Ji-gami Sh'ta	
		Nuno-me	
		Chirimeu-morni ..	
		Kiose no Shikishi ..	Used for writing verses and songs upon.
		Kiose no Tanjaku ..	
		Kiose no Kaishi . ..	
		Shisen	
		Man-nen Gami	Memoranda.
		Kiô no Chigo Gami ..	Used for inclosing the fish skin which accompanies presents.
		Yukinari Gami	Ditto Ditto
		Kiu-yukinari Gami . ..	Used for dressing dolls, and such like purposes.
		Hombeni torinoko ..	For lining boxes.
		Haku-oshi-Gami . ..	For framing scrolls.
		Suzu-Gami	For screens, pictures, &c.
		Hakudanshi.	
		Suishi-Gami	
		Bek'ko Gami	
		Inkin-shi	For the edges of scrolls.
		Kiyarabiki Gami . ..	Ditto Ditto
		Muji-Gami	
		Tsuka moto Gami ..	Used by priests for enveloping presents from temple to the Government.
mato	..	Uda-Gami	For account books, umbrellas, and papering slides.
		Kon-uda	For papering hats and umbrellas.
		Honzome	
		Ha-zome	
		Katamen	
		Shi-uda.	For wrapping incense in.
		Kasa Gami	For papering common umbrellas.
		Yoshi no yawara Gami ..	For straining lacquer, also for wrapping precious things in.
		Misu-Gami	For papering backs of scrolls, also for making artificial flowers.
	..	Kidzuki-o-maniai. ..	Writing paper.
		Shiro-maniai	Writing and drawing paper.
		Iro-maniai	Ditto Ditto.
		Torinoko	For papering screens, scrolls, &c.
		Kidzuki	
		Dodzuki	
		Makatadzuki	

District where manufactured.	No.	Name of Paper.	Remarks.
Setsu *(continued)* ..	..	Biobu-maniai	The last paper placed on screens before putting on the gold colour.
		Go-shiu in maniai ..	For official purposes, such as drawing title deeds,&c.
		Kuro-minato Gami ..	Used for papering tea-boudoirs, &c.
		Asagi-minato	
		Nedzumi-minato . ..	
		Hon-usu-yô	Copying paper.
		Hon-chikushi	
		Nashiwo bôshô	Despatch paper.
		Sen-nen Gami	For papering slides and screens.
Suruga	..	Hanshi.	Letter paper.
		Chiri-ban-kire	
		Han-kire	
		Iro-ban-kire	
		Chiri Gami	Used for the wicks of candles, also for handkerchiefs.
		Kobanshi	For handkerchiefs.
		Sumban	
		Usuyo	Tracing paper.
		Wada-atsu	
		O-nobi	
Kai	..	Hom-ban-no nori ..	For wrapping money and medicines in.
		Kenjaku-ban Kire ..	Letter paper.
		Koshin-banshi	
		Koshin-ko-banshi ..	Handkerchiefs, books, &c.
		Koshin hoso Kawa ..	Memorandum books and wrapping paper.
		Kohshin Kohaka. ..	
		Kô-han Kire	Letter paper.
		Konishi no uchi.. ..	Memoranda, &c.
		Awodosa magaye. ..	Papering screens, &c.
		Kidosa magaye . ..	Wrapping medicines in.
		Hom-ban	Letter paper.
		Han-kire	
		Ko-han-kire	
		Kenjaku-han kire ..	
Idzu	..	Gampishi	Tracing paper.
		Shômotsu Gami . ..	Making books and copying.
		Hôsho-ban	Letters, books, &c.
		Nishi nouchi ban . ..	
		Mino ban	
		Kongiku ban	
		Gampi ban kire.. ..	
		Go-unsen	Best.
		Shorinshi nori Gami ..	Good.
		Chôka-sen	Pretty good.
		Zui-ko-sen	Inferior.
		Gampi Koshi bari Gami ..	For bordering.
		Fusuma Gami . ..	
		Matsukawa iri . ..	
		Awonori iri	
		Ishime	
		Ebôshi	
		Chiri-kongiku	Handkerchiefs.
		Shinzenji Gami	Papering screens, &c.
Musashi	..	Hosokawa	Memoranda, &c.
		Yama-kobanshi	Handkerchiefs.
		Chichibu-kobanshi ..	
		O-oki	For making 1 lb. medicine bags.
		Onishi	Medicine and money wrappers.
		Yama santome ban ..	For wrapping pieces of cloth or linen in.
		Yama-uda	Paper bags.
		Yama uda chiri	Sugar bags.
		Hosokawa chiri	
		Kuro kawa chiri . ..	Under papering.
		Jôroku.	Handkerchiefs.
		Nami-roku	
		Nedzumi-ban	
		Chiri-suki	
		Shiro chiri Gami. ..	
		Kuro-ban	Lining borders of mats.
		Nedzumi ban kire ..	Letter paper.
		Shiro	
		Nedzumi koban.. ..	
		Akamiji	
		Awomuji	
		Hariko.	For papering boxes, &c.
		Shiro hariko	

District where manufactured.	No.	Name of Paper.	Remarks.
Musasbi (*continued*) ..	..	Kuro hariko	For papering boxes, &c.
		Kon midzu dama ..	
		Akaban hariko . ..	
		Koshi bari Gami . ..	Bordering.
		Akamatsu ba	
		Asagi i shime . ..	
		Awomatsu ba.. ..	
		Shiro i shime . ..	
		Nedzumi i shime ..	
		Nori-iri	
		Koshi-bari Gami . ..	
		Koban	
		Jimasa	
		O-hiro Gami	For tobacco pouches, &c.
Hitachi	..	Mito-han-kire	Letter paper.
		Mito nishi no uchi ..	Memoranda, &c.
		Mito bôsho	Wrapping paper.
Shimotsuke	..	Homba nichi noushi ..	
		O-chômen Gami . ..	
		O-has-sun	
		Chin-has-sun	
		Hodogura	Drawing deeds, &c.
		Hon santome-ban ..	For wrapping linen and cloth in.
		Nasu-ôtaka	For Daimio's use, wrapping presents in, &c.
		Ai-jaku han kire . ..	Letter paper.
		Shiwo ko Gami	For papering lanterns.
		Ju-monji	For making rain-coats.
		Kadzuye Gami	For ornamental purposes.
Kô-tsuke	..	O-hata	For straining oil.
		Hikoma	
		Itahari	
Shinano	..	Bunshichi Gami . ..	For tying the hair.
		Hikomahashi kiradzu ..	For writing manifests on.
Mino	..	Shôji Gami	For papering slides, writing, &c.
		Mon-shôji	Used for papering, especially temple slides, &c.
		Okaki mono	For books and official purposes.
		O-nawoshi	Official documents.
		Chin-nawoshi	Inferior book paper.
		O-sa dame nawoshi ..	
		Take-naga	For female hair ornamentation.
		Jenyn-jo	Wrapping silver and fine lacquer in.
		Usu-shôji	For papering lanterns and windows, also for writing on preparatory to engraving.
		Kogiku	For handkerchiefs.
		Chiri-kogiku	
		Ita-hari	
		Gampishi	Drawing paper.
		Usu-yô.	Tracing paper.
		Asagi-ban-kire	Letter paper.
Mutsu ..	..	Iwaki-nobe Gami ..	Papering slides, or making books and writing on.
Echizen	..	Otaka-danshi	For official purposes.
		Chin-taka	
		Ko-taka	
		Gosho-hosho-ô-hiro ..	Wrapping presents in.
		Gobu-biro	
		Masashi-bôsho	Letter paper. .. .. 5 colours.
		Airoku-bôsho	
		Mako-bôsho	
		Goshiki-bôsho	
		Is'shiki-bôsho	
		Kidzuki-ô-maniai . ..	For papering screens, &c.
		Kidzuki-ton-no-ko ..	
		Unshi	For lining boxes, &c.
		Chiri-unshi	
		Goshin in maniai ..	
		Kaishi maniai	
		Aida bôsho .. .	
		Tsukinari bôsho . ..	
		Hôsho-han-kire.. ..	Letter paper.
Kaga	..	O-bôsho	
		Chin-bôsho	
		Sugi-hara Gami.. ..	
Tango ..	..	O-bôsho	Letter paper.
		Sugi-hara	
Inaba	..	Kaida..	For books, &c.
		Kikaida	For official purposes.
Bitchin ..	..	Otaka danshi	

District where manufactured.	No	Name of Paper.	Remarks.
I mo	..	Han-kire	For official purposes.
		Unshin bankire	
		Shôji Gami	For papering slides.
Iwami	..	Jô-suki-hanshi	Letter paper.
		Chin-suki-hanshi . ..	
		Iwami-banshi	
		Ichiyama-banshi . ..	
		Tejiro-banshi	
		Tsuwano-banshi . ..	
Aki.	..	Hanshi.	
		Shiro kata	
		Shima chiri	
		Watari chiri	
		Hiro shima bôsho ..	
		Hiro-ori	For making umbrellas.
Suwo	..	Iwakun hanshi	
		Iwakimi chin chiri ..	
		Iwakimi hankire . ..	
Nagato	..	Yama shiro hanshi ..	Letter paper.
		Te shiro hanshi	
		Gokamure hanshi ..	
		Chôsin hanshi	
		Kumage hanshi	
		Tokuyama hanshi ..	
		Tokuji hanshi	
		O-gawa hanshi	
		Hanaoka hanshi	
		Suzu no kawa hanshi ..	
Awa	..	Senka	For making rain-coats.
		Awa no take naga ..	
Iyo.	..	Osu-banshi	
		Ozu-shirokata	For handkerchiefs, &c.
		Ozu-kurokata	
		Osu-chinho.	
		Osu-senka	For making pocket books, &c.
		Iyo-masa	Drawing paper.
		Saijo	Ditto and making fans.
		Senka-homba	For making rain-coats, pouches, &c.
		Meitoku hanshi	Letter paper.
		Meitoku chin ho . ..	
		Meitoku kuro ho. ..	
		Honkuchi hôsho . ..	
Josa	..	Hon-koge-kenjo-gami ..	Paper made for the Government and not sold Used in making presents by Government of Tosa.
		Hon-koge asagi-tosa ..	
		Yakutaishi	For wrapping medicines in.
		Beni-tosa	For making bags for tooth powder, &c.
		Kuro do sa	For papering.
		Awo do sa	
		Kon do sa	
		Asagi do sa	
		Tosa banshi	For writing, books, drawing, &c.
		O-banshi	
		Ko-banshi	
		O-sugi hara	
		Josa-hankire	Letter paper.
		Josa-hon-seuka	For pouches, rain-coats, &c.
		Hon-kenjo-gonjo-gami ..	
		Josa-chiri	
		O-ban-chiri	
Chikıyo	..	Usuki-banshi	Letter paper.
		Saigi-banshi	
Hizen	..	Karatsu-banshi	
		Koshiro-banshi	
		Koshiro chiri gami ..	
Hinga	..	Nobe oka hanshi . .	
		Hinga take naga . ..	
		Hinga ko take naga ..	
		Hon-hinga-han-kire ..	Letter paper.
		Hinga ban kire	
		Nobe oka chin ho ..	
		Omono chiri	For handkerchiefs.
		Mornota gami	

FRED. LOWDER, *Consul.*

British Consulate, Kanagawa, July 2, 1870.

Inclosure 4.

Acting Consul Annesley to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Nagasaki, September* 2, 1870.

REFERRING to your despatch dated the 24th September, 1869, inclosing copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the Returns of Trade and Shipping forwarded annually from Her Majesty's Consulates in Japan, I have noted that the Earl of Clarendon calls attention to the circumstance of no reports having yet been received from Her Majesty's Consuls in Japan on the subject of paper. I have the honour to state that, in conformity with your instructions, I have given this subject my best attention, and have gathered information from every reliable quarter.

Nagasaki, however, contains but one paper manufactory on a small scale, and where only the coarser quality of paper is made. With the above exception all the paper used at this port, comes from the various manufactories in Kiusiu and other parts of Japan. From personal observation of the method employed in paper making from the bark of the kaji tree, I have been enabled to gather a few particulars which, I trust, may prove of some interest. These particulars, together with some details of the paper-tree called kaji, I have embodied into a Report, which I have the honour to inclose herewith.

In elucidation of this Report I have collected numerous specimens of articles exclusively manafuctured from paper for the inspection of Her Majesty's Government.

These articles are contained in a box which I have forwarded to your address by the Pacific mail-steamer "Oregonian," leaving this day for Yokohama.

Acting upon the authority contained in your despatch above referred to, in which you are pleased to sanction a disbursement of 10*l.* in collecting specimens of the paper without previous reference to yourself, I beg to state that I have expended a sum of 25 dollars in pursuing the investigation, and in collecting the specimens of the manufacture. I trust this outlay will meet with your approval.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. A. ANNESLEY.

Inclosure 5.

Particulars regarding the Japanese shrub "Kaji," and the Method employed in the Manufacture of the Paper from its Bark, with Description of the various Forms the Paper is afterwards made to assume.

THE kaji tree grows more or less all over Japan, and is cultivated much in the same manner as the tea plant and mulberry tree. It grows to a height of some 6 or 8 feet, and thrives best in dampish ground. In some districts it is produced on the hill sides. The bark is stripped off in the autumn, and is at once ready to be used for paper making. The branches are left either to decay or are cut away, and fresh shoots are produced before next autumn, when the same process is gone through. The tree or shrub of the kaji resembles the willow of our country, and thrives well near water and in a mild climate. It is, however, also found in the north of Japan, but does not flourish in such perfection in a cold region.

This shrub is extensively cultivated throughout Kiusiu.

There is another species of tree grown in Japan, from which paper is made: it is called "mitsumata," and, like the kaji, is found chiefly in Kiusiu. The bark of the mitsumata is, however, but little used in the general manufacture of paper, but the paper currency of the country is made exclusively from this bark.

The price of dried bark of the kaji in the country ranges from 3 dollars 75 cents to 4 dollars per picul (133⅓ lbs.)

There are no reasons why the kaji tree should not flourish in England, more especially if planted in a damp soil, and when it is considered that paper could no doubt be manufactured from this bark at a cheaper rate than it could be made from rags, added to the considerable strength it can attain, and the various useful purposes

to which it can be applied, the cultivation of the kaji shrub in England is well worthy of a trial.

Some inquiry after this bark has been made by home paper manufacturers from merchants at this port, and samples have been sent to England, where its value will no doubt be appreciated and turned to account.

Method employed by the Japanese in the Manufacture of Paper from the Bark of the Kaji Tree.

The rough bark is soaked in water for several hours, and the outer rind separated; it is then again washed, then boiled, after which it is beaten with mallets until it forms a sort of pulp. The manufacture of the paper now commences, and is carried on as follows:—The pulp is placed in a sort of reservoir about 6 feet square and 1 foot deep, containing cold water, and is stirred about with a large flat ladle made of wood until it is entirely dissolved. A sort of size (obtained from the inner bark of a tree called "ousuke" soaked in water) is mixed with the preparation, which is now ready to be drawn up, and is effected by the help of two frames made of wood and bamboo, of such dimension as the sheet of paper is intended to assume. Between these two frames a very thin matting of bamboo is placed, which acts as a sieve, and when the preparation is drawn up, it is moved on this frame, till the required substance is obtained. The sheet thus made is then deposited on another sieve. The same process is recommenced, and when another sheet is ready it is placed over the first; a strip of straw is laid on the edge to separate each sheet, so as to obviate the risk of their adhering together, and to enable each sheet to be taken up separately. When about a dozen sheets have been thus formed into a layer, they are taken up singly and spread on boards to dry in the sun. By the same process old paper is made into fresh sheets, with the addition of a size obtained from the decoction of a creeper called "sane kadzura," which grows on the hills around Nagasaki, and gives consistency to the solution. The manufacture of old paper into new can apparently be repeated as often as desired.

The imitation leather paper is made by mixing oil with the pulp: in the same manner all waterproof paper is manufactured. The juice of persimmon is sometimes used in making paper intended to resist dampness. Among the samples made of paper forwarded with this Report will be found the branches of the kaji, with the leaves on them, No. 1. The rough bark, as taken from the branches, No. 2. The same bark partially prepared, No. 3. And likewise when in a state of pulp ready to be manufactured into paper, No. 4. Also branches of the creeper called "sane kadzura," from which the size is obtained, No. 6.

With the few exceptions mentioned below, the specimens forwarded with this Report do not require any special explanation.

They are all made of paper manufactured from the bark of the paper-tree. In some instances varnish of various hues has been applied to give the article a finished appearance.

It will be observed how wonderfully proficient the Japanese are in rendering to paper the hardness and weight of heavy wood, and manipulating it in all sorts of shapes. Some of the common paper made is so tough that it can only be torn with difficulty. Coats, hats, shoes, umbrellas, boxes of all kinds, ornaments of all descriptions, pocket-handkerchiefs, fans, &c., are made from paper; in fact, a Japanese will turn paper into a hundred useful forms. The following information on some of the articles forwarded may prove interesting:—

No. 12 is a net coat worn next to the skin in warm weather by the better class of Japanese. It is manufactured by rolling strips of strong paper of equal size into a sort of string, and then worked by hand into a neat net pattern. It takes some days to complete a garment of this kind, and it will bear washing.

No. 13 is of the same kind, only of a cheaper quality.

Nos. 7 and 8. Hats worn by the higher class of Yakunins. It is worked into a very heavy substance by placing many layers of paper over each other until it attains a very hardy and wood-like material. Varnish is then applied to render it waterproof.

Nos. 9 and 10 are paper hats worn by different classes of Japanese, and are worked to resemble straw hats by the paper being twisted and then plaited, shaped, and varnished. The folding hat is generally worn by the soldiery.

No. 11 shows the frame of a paper hat before it is fixed into shape and varnished. Its extreme strength and tenacity are remarkable.

Nos. 14 and 34. Paper box and cover for sandals will exhibit the kind of paper made to resemble leather. It is much used by the natives, and is very well adapted for binding books, covering boxes, &c.

Nos. 49 and 50. Wall-paper; it will be observed that great taste is displayed in some of the patterns.

Nos. 54 and 58 shows the different kind of common paper manufactured in Japan.

Nos. 30 and 31. Paper coats, excellent and light waterproof covering.

No. 5. Frames used in drawing up the solution from the water. The bamboo sieve is between the two frames, and sheets of paper are placed upon it, with the strips of straws showing how each sheet is kept separate after it is made.

The Japanese are acquainted with the method of manufacturing paper from rags, but never adopt it, preferring to make their paper from the bark of trees.

List of Articles forwarded, all made of Paper, and Numbered as follows:

No.
1. Branches of the Kaji tree as fresh cut.
2. Rough bark as taken from the branches.
3. Same bark partially prepared.
4. Ditto in a state of pulp.
5. Frames, &c., used in drawing up the preparation for paper making.
6. Creeper, called Sane Kadzura, used for size,
7. Hat worn by higher class of Yakunins.
8. Ditto.
9. Ditto, worn by different class of Japanese.
10. Ditto. ditto
11. Frame of a paper hat.
12. Coat of fine net work.
13. Ditto, of inferior quality.
14. Box to contain paper.
15. Ditto.
16. Toy box.
17. Flat hat worn by the soldiery.
18. Woman's toilet box.
19. Box containing female hair ornaments.
20. Folding-box.
21. Rain umbrella.
22. Sun ditto.
23. Telescopes.
24. Mask.
25. Lanterns.
26. Fans.
27. Fan made by Coreans, and used after dipping it in cold water.
28. Account book.
29. Picture ditto.
30. Waterproof coat, black.

No.
31. Waterproof coat, green.
32. Letter box.
33. Ditto.
34. Covers for rain sandals.
35. Cord for sandals.
36. Toy.
37. Hair strings.
38. Hair-pins.
39. Purse.
40. Man's tobacco pouch.
41. Woman's ditto.
42. Pocket-book.
43. Ditto.
44. String specially used for tying up presents.
45. Fans.
46. Paper for screens.
47. Ditto, wrapping up medicine.
48. Ditto, waterproof oil, used for wrapping raw silk, &c.
49. Ditto for walls and screens.
50. Ditto for walls.
51. Ditto, prepared with persimmon juice to resist damp.
52. Ditto for letters.
53. Ditto, common quality for walls.
54. Ditto, different kinds.
55. Ditto for letter writing.
56. Ditto, ordinary.
57. Ditto, despatch.
58. Ditto, common, for wrapping parcels, &c.
59. Ditto, coloured, used for ornaments, &c.
60. Ditto, used for making umbrellas.

(Signed) A. A. ANNESLEY, *Acting Consul.*

British Consulate, Nagasaki, September 2, 1870.

Inclosure 6.

Report by Consul Enslie on the Manufacture and Use of Paper in Japan.

IN India the canonical books were in ancient times written on leaves; these books were, in the language of the country, styled "bairatayo."

In China, leaves and thin slips of bamboo were used.

Up to, and during the cycles of Taika (645 A.D.) and Hakuchi (650 A.D.) the sacred books of Japan were written upon long rolls, and the reverse side was used for ordinary writing purposes.

Kakinomoto H'tomaru, Lord of Iwami (one of the western provinces of Japan) instructed his retainers during the cycles of Kei-un (704-708) and Wado (708-715) in the art of making paper; he died in 729.

The celebrated house of O-uchi-uji, at Yamaguchi, in the province of Suwo, had by this time existed for many ages, and its fame had reached as far as China; one of the heads of this family greatly improved the manufacture of paper, and such was the renown of that made in his provinces of Séki-cho-ho (Iwami, Nagato, and Suwo) that people not only came from all parts of Japan, but also from foreign countries to purchase it.

It may here be mentioned that the last Lord of this great house was murdered during Taiko's time by one of his principal retainers, Suyè owarino Kami Harukata, in 1551. Four years later the faithless Suyè was killed by Mori Motonari, another karo of the O-uchi house and an ancestor of the Choshiu family. This Mori Motonari provided, in 1560, the funds required for the "Go sokuï" (public proclamation and ceremony of accession to the Throne) of the 107th Mikado Okimachino-ïu, 1558-87. In return for this loyal act he received permission to wear the Imperial crest and style himself Daidsenno Daibu. The family is still known by this name.

The author of the "Kami dsuki choho ki," who gives the following description of the manufacture of paper, states, with the self-conceit peculiar to all Asiatic nations, that Japanese paper is far superior to that of other countries, and that it was first made in the districts of Kano-ashi and Mino in Iwami, as also in the neighbouring towns of Toshiu, Yoshiu, and Oden.

Iwami is one of the provinces belonging to the westerly division of Japan known as the "Nankaido."

The Makoso or Paper Plant.

The time for planting the makoso varies; in the western provinces it is planted in the 9th or 10th Japanese month (the end of September to the commencement of December); in the neighbourhood of Kioto and Osaka, however, it is planted in the 1st month (February).

The branches are cut off to within about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet of the ground, and soil is then heaped up round the old root to within about 3 or 4 inches of the top of the stump; the new shoots average about five every year, so that in five years it is a good-sized tree about 9 or 10 feet high, when it is cut down and used to manufacture paper.

If planted in a new field or on a bank it will grow well, not, however, in rich soil. It requires a little manure and will not flourish in brackish soil or in the neighbourhood of a field of millet. It will grow well on the slope of a hill, in a valley, or on a bank near a patch of water; excessive heat will blight it, and continuous rain will prove injurious. Care should be taken to prevent wild boar from getting at it, as it is considered a great luxury by that animal.

The "makoso" is also called "tsukakè," and the price is about 6 tempos 40 cash (about 4*d.*) for 1,000 mis about $8\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. avoirdupois) of seed.

The "kajiso,' is a plant which is also used to make paper of; it does not yield so much as the "makoso," and is therefore only one-half the price of the latter.

The "takaso" is also a plant from which paper is made; it grows to a greater height than the "makoso" and the branches which are not immediately required can be again planted and will soon strike root. The quality of the paper made from this plant is, however, inferior to that of the "makoso" and "kajiso."

It does not require manure nor such care as regards the soil in which it is planted. The amount of paper which can be produced from it is larger than from the first-mentioned plant. It was first cultivated during the Kanséi cycle, or about 1789; the average price of the seed is 500 cash (about $3\frac{1}{2}d.$) for 1,000 mis.

It blossoms in the summer and fades about the 10th month, when it is either cut down and sold, or sold while still standing.

The inhabitants of the northern provinces say that if a wild boar is killed in the neighbourhood of a takaso and buried there, a second one will never come near it.

The average price is about 1*s.* 1*d.* for 250 lbs. avoirdupois of the raw material; out of this the bark, when stripped off, will weigh about 41 lbs. The wood itself is used as firewood.

After being cut down, the branches of any one of these plants are cut into lengths of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet, put into a pot and steamed until the end of the bark is seen to loosen; the pot is about 2 feet 6 or 7 inches in circumference, and one day's work is from five to six potsful.

The bark is then stripped off with the fingers and the wood used for the previously-mentioned purpose.

When people are very poor they club together, hire a pot in which to steam the branches, and give the wood, after the bark has been peeled off in lieu of money for the use of the pot,

Immediately after the bark has been separated from the inner wood it is hung up

to dry; this usually takes two or three days, and it is then made up into bundles weighing 41 lbs. It is afterwards packed on horses, one load being six bundles, and sent to different parts of the country.

The price of the dried bark varies from 18 tempos (about 1*s.*) to 40 tempos (2*s.* 2*d.*) per bundle of 41 lbs.; if the season has been bad it sometimes is as high as 3*s.* In the eastern part of the province of Iwami the price is 20 to 30 per cent. cheaper than in other parts of the country.

Preparatory to separating the outer and inner bark it is soaked in water during from twelve to twenty-four hours. The black outer bark is called "sarukawa," and is used in making a coarse kind of paper called "chirigami."

The best kind of coarse paper made of "sarukawa" is very strong, and is called "shosodsuki." The price of the outer bark is about 1*s.* 4*d.* for 82 lbs.; it is an important article of merchandize, sent from Iwami to Iwakuni, in the province of Suwo, and Ogata and Otakè in the province of Géishiu.

In order to manufacture this paper, the outer bark is washed, boiled, and allowed to putrefy; it is then well beaten and mixed with "tororo" (the roots of the egg plant). If the makoso is scarce, mulberry leaves are mixed with it. The remaining part of the process is similar to that used for the inner bark, and will be afterwards explained.

The "sarukawa," having been taken off, the inner bark is repeatedly washed in order to remove the glutinous matter adhering to it, and boiled.

The "sosori" (inner bark) is then mixed with buckwheat-husk ash and again well boiled; a little wax or lime may also be added in some cases, as the process will be more speedily completed. The paper will, however assume a reddish hue. The contents of the wooden vat should be frequently stirred while undergoing the boiling process.

The author of the work from which these extracts are made says that great difficulty is sometimes experienced in steaming and boiling the bark, and asserts that it is generally believed to be the work of the Inugami, or devil. As regards iron foundries he also says:—"It is a well-known fact that the molten metal will not, in some instances flow from the orifice of the crucible;" this he also attributes to the same cause, and states that prayers offered up to the Deity have in both cases proved efficacious.

After having been thoroughly boiled, the bark is again washed in a stream with a view of removing all extraneous matter. It is then hung up and the water allowed to drain off.

The "tororo" is plant which blossoms and brings forth a fruit bearing a great resemblance to the *Sesamum Orientalis*. The root, which is about four-fifths of an inch long, is only used. When the flowers have faded it is dug up and allowed to dry during the rainy season. When required for use the outer skin is peeled off; it is then made into powder, mixed with water, strained through a sieve, and kept in a small bucket until wanted. One sho (111$\frac{1}{3}$ cubic inches, or nearly 3 pints) of "tororo" is required for 41 lbs. of "sosori."

When manufacturing paper the "sosori" must be well washed the previous evening and pounded on a board next morning; during the winter "tororo" is mixed with it and in the spring a little flour must also be added.

The manipulation in making Hanshi (a thin kind of paper used for various purposes) is easy, and women are therefore frequently employed; in making "sugihara" and other thick paper male labour is required.

The "sosori" and "tororo" having been well mixed, this pulp is put into a large trough filled with water; great attention must be paid to the exact amount of "tororo" required.

A mat made of bamboo and horsehair, and placed between two small wooden frames, is then inserted into the trough, and a certain amount of pulp sufficient to cover the mat is collected on it; the wooden frames are then opened, and the mat is placed edgewise on a framework at one end of the trough, to allow the water to drain off during a short time. The mat is then removed, and the sheet of paper which has been made is put on a plank called "toko," and left to dry. The size of the trough is 6 feet by 3, and a skilful workman can go through the various manipulations with great rapidity. The right side of the paper is that nearest to the board.

Paper made during the winter, when only tororo is added, is called "Kidsuki" it is of a very superior quality, and will not become worm-eaten for many years. This is the best kind of Iwami paper.

That made in the spring, to which starch (probably made of rice) is added, is not so good.

At Najiwo, in Settsu, a province belonging to the Gokinai, or great central

division of Japan, "near the Imperial residence," isinglass is added; starch is however used in the other provinces.

When thoroughly dry the paper is cut to its proper size, and packed up in "oris," each containing twenty sheets; ten of these make a "soku" or gogo, ten soku make one "shimè," and six shimès one bale.

The work whence these extracts are made was written in the tenth year of the Kansée cycle (1798), and prices have increased very considerably since then; this will be clearly seen on referring to the list which accompanies the various samples of paper, the manufacturing process of which is still the same.

Paper is now generally made throughout the whole of Japan, the principal paper-producing provinces being:—

Iyo, where the principal manufactures are goyoshi, hosho, séicho, toshi, takènaga, hankiri, rasagami, &c.

The eastern provinces, such as Musashi, Sagami, Surunga, Awa, &c., produce nishino uchi, santomi, rataori, and several other kinds.

Iséi, Musashi, Kishiu, and Setsu, are the principal shibori producing provinces.

Géishiu supplies morokuchi, hanshi, and chirigami.

Mino has minogami, onaoshi, and tengujo.

Yéchidsen has otaka, danshi, kobosho, mani-ai, and usuyo.

Yamato supplies yuton.

Kinsatsu or bank-note paper is principally made at Najiwo, in Settsu, and in Yéchidsen.

Although these various kinds of paper are principally made in the above-mentioned provinces, they are also manufactured in other parts of the country.

The numbers on the inclosed list correspond with those on the various samples, which in many cases represent several specimens of one kind of paper. Although Nos. 57 to 87 inclusive cannot actually be said to represent different classes of paper, they have been added with a view of conveying an idea of the various forms paper is made to assume, and the use made of it in Japan.

In addition to the use assigned in the list to Hosho and Lukehara, these two kinds are also used for making the paper ornaments which are the indispensable adjuncts of the ancient religion of Japan.

The presentation of these paper sacrifices to the Daigingu of Iséi, a god, and the father of the first Japanese Sovereign Jimnu Tenno, is an important ceremony which precedes the accession to the Throne of each native monarch.

Shibori (No. 41) is a peculiar kind of paper, bearing some resemblance to leather; it is made of senka (No. 15) which is pasted together, the number of sheets varying according to the thickness and quality required. When dry it is saturated with oil extracted from a plant called "yè" (*Celtis Willdenawiana*); it is then pressed on blocks of wood prepared with the required pattern. After this it is varnished and dried.

Yuton is also made of layers of thin paper and paste; a little oil is also added to give it a brown colour. It requires to be dried quickly, after which another coat of oil is given. The redder the colour the more it is esteemed.

In making kinsatsu, or bank-note paper, 25 lbs. of bark are mixed with twelve pints of a concoction of fine gravel and water, after which $2\frac{1}{2}$ pints of rice starch are added. The kinsatsu paper generally consists of three layers of paper, and 9 pints of nibè or powdered wheat-husks are also mixed with the pulp to give more substance to the paper.

It is then pressed between two planks. When dry it is submitted to the friction of two oak planks, which gives it a glossy appearance.

Generally, the thickness of paper is owing to the number of immersions into the trough containing the pulp; they average from one to four times, and three are required for Kinsatsu paper.

The water-mark in this paper is made by placing an impression of the mark upon the required spot during the second immersion.

Nos. 62 to 66 inclusive bear a great resemblance to crape; they are made by pressing the paper when damp between two planks in which the necessary pattern has been cut. This paper crape is used by women of the poorer classes in ornamenting the back of their head.

(Signed) JAMES J. ENSLIE.

British Consulate, Osaka, September 1870.

Inclosure 8.

LIST of Samples of Paper, together with Use and Wholesale Price of same; taking dollars at 4·20 bus and 4*s.* 6*d.*

No.	Name.	Use.	Amount.	Price.
			Sheets.	£ *s.* *d.* £ *s.* *d.*
1	Goyôshi	By the Government for despatches ..	12,000	3 16 1½ to 4 0 4½
2	Hôshô	Ditto	In boxes, 3 inches deep	0 12 9 —
3	Séichô	Ditto	4,000	2 6 9 to 2 11 0
4	Tôshi	For specimens of penmanship ..	190	0 6 4½ to 0 12 9
5	Takinaga	In cookshops; also by women in dressing the hair	4,000	1 5 6 to 1 9 9
6	Uda	For account books..	2,000	0 6 4½ to 0 7 5¼
7	Otaka	By Kugés (court officials, &c.) ..	240	2 15 3 to 3 16 6
8	Danshi	Ditto	24	0 3 2¼ —
9	Nishino uchi ..	By the Government	400	0 8 6 —
10	Santomè	Ditto	100	0 4 0 —
11	Kataori	Ditto	8,000	0 12 9 to 0 17 0
12	Hiro ori	For Sakè (wine) shop account books ..	4,000	0 6 4½ to 0 7 5¼
13	Sukihara	For packing up presents	480	0 5 3¾ —
14	Kosugi	By men, as pocket handkerchiefs or for taking notes; to be found in their pocket-books	2,000	0 3 2¼ to 0 4 3
15	Senka	For sweetmeat bags and covers of books	1,000	0 9 6¾ to 0 10 7½
16	Kobôshô	Similar to Hôshô	500	0 13 9¾ —
17	Minogami	For papering slides and lamps; also for light network under garment, used in summer	2,000	1 14 0 to 1 18 3
18	Morokuchi.. ..	Similar to Minogami	600	0 6 4½ to 0 7 5¼
19	Hanshi	For various purposes	12,000	3 0 0 to 3 4 3
20	Chirigami	Ditto, particularly for daily requirements	12,000	2 5 6 to 2 9 9
21	Obanshi	For sweetmeat and cake bags ..	8,000	0 8 6 to 0 12 9
22	Houhan	Ditto	1,000	0 5 3¾ —
23	Hankiri	For letter writing..	10,000	0 6 4½ to 0 7 5¼
24	Phindsuki	Inferior paper, used for first coat in papering walls	600	0 3 2¼ to 0 4 3
25	Gédsuki	Ditto	700	0 5 3¾ —
26	Kasagami	For papering umbrellas	800	0 4 3 to 0 10 7½
27	Atsugami	Ditto	480	0 4 3 —
28	Iro hankiri.. ..	By women, for letter writing ..	10,000	0 9 6¾ to 0 10 7½
29	Yakutaishi.. ..	For packing up medicine	270	0 2 1½ to 0 4 3
30	Mmènokibanshi ..	Similar to Hanshi (No. 19)	2,000	0 3 1½ to 0 3 7½
31	Sennenshi	For papering walls	100	0 5 4½ to 0 8 6
32	Ochiri	For bags for cheap sweetmeats sold in the streets	1 lb. av.	0 5 3¾ to 0 6 4½
33	Mani-ai	For papering walls, upon which drawings and paintings are afterwards executed	100	0 1 6¾ to 0 4 3
34	Usuyô ..	For ornamental writing	480	0 3 3 to 0 5 3¼
35	Chinori chiri ..	Similar to Chirigama	2,000	0 2 1½ to 0 4 3
36	Onaoshi	For papering sliding-doors of family shrines	480	0 6 4½ to 0 8 6
37	Tengujô	Ditto	450	0 4 9 to 0 6 4½
38	Karagami	For papering walls, lower layer ..	10,000	0 12 9 to 0 17 0
39	Karagami	Ditto	10,000	0 13 2 to 0 19 0
40	Fukurogami ..	For packing purposes and cake bags ..	600	0 4 3 to 0 12 9
41	Shibori (A, B, and C)..	For making pocket-books, tobacco pouches, &c.	1	0 0 3½ —
42	Yuton	For covering and preserving floor mats	6 by 3 feet	0 1 0 —
43	Yoshino gami ..	For covering lamps	100	0 5 4½ to 0 8 6
44	Yoshino sugi ..	Ditto	480	0 4 3 to 0 10 7½
45	Aburagami . ..	For waterproof coats, packing purposes, hats, &c.	100	0 5 9¾ —
46	Konshi (katamèn) ..	For papering inside of boxes ..	600	0 10 7½ to 0 14 10½
47	Ditto (riomen) ..	Ditto	600	1 1 3 to 2 2 9
48	Kingami	Covering screens, walls, &c... ..	100	0 1 9¾ to 0 2 7½
49	Gingami	Ditto	100	0 1 6¾ to 0 2 1¼
50	Irogami	For lining boxes, &c.	2,000	0 5 3¾ to 0 10 7½*
51	Iro mani-ai ..	For papering walls	100	0 1 6¾ to 0 14 10½†
52	Dosa	For papering the inside of boxes, &c...	240	0 1 6¾ to 0 3 2½
53	Kidôshi	Ditto	100	0 5 9¾ —

* Green being most expensive, yellow the cheapest.
† Grey-yellow being most expensive, and yellow cheapest.

No.	Name.	Use.	Amount.	Price.
			Sheets.	£ s. d. £ s. d.
54	Sorabèni hankiri ..	By women, for letter writing, &c. ..	1,000	0 7 5¼ —
55	Nimai tsugi sudôshi ..	For lining boxes; also used as marks for the difficult or unknown characters Japanese sometimes meet with in reading their books	100	0 3 2¼ —
56	Chomèn omotè gami ..	For covers of account books.. ..	100	0 18 3¾ —
57	Murasaki gami (1)		100	0 0 10⅓ —
	Ginshibo (2)		100	0 1 11¾ —
	Ditto (3)		100	0 1 11¾ —
	Kinshibo (4)		100	0 2 5 —
			Pieces.	
58	Wagakè		100	0 1 5¾ —
59	Hongin migakè (1)		100	0 8 1¼ —
	Daigin shakunaga (2)		100	0 0 10 —
	Shô „ (3)		100	0 0 5½ —
	Shakunaga ginshibo (4)	By women, in ornamenting and dressing the hair	100	0 1 11¾ —
	Okin shakunaga (5)		100	0 1 11¾ —
	Chiu „ (6)		100	0 0 10½ —
	Shôgin „ (7)		100	0 0 5½ —
60	Gin midsuhiki (1)		100	0 0 5½ —
	Chiu kinnawa (2)		100	0 7 10 —
	Dai „ (3)		100	0 8 4 —
	Gin taki (4)		100	0 1 11¾ —
	Aka taki (5)		100	0 1 11¾ —
	Shô gin (6)		100	0 2 2½ —
	Shô kinnawa (7)		100	0 0 5½ —
61	Murasaki kin (1)	Ditto; also for fastening up presents ..	100	0 0 10 —
	Kin midsuhiki (2)	Ditto; ditto ..	100	0 2 11 —
62	Riogoku kanoko ..		100	0 4 4½ —
63	Kanoko (A)		100	0 2 2¼ —
	Ditto (B)		100	0 2 0 —
	Ditto (C)		100	0 1 10½ —
64	Kanoko (inferior) ..		100	0 1 3 —
65	Sugikuganoko ..		100	0 1 1 —
66	Rogata ganoko ..		100	0 0 10 —
67	Nishi hiki himo ..	For ornamenting the hair	100	0 1 3 —
68	Taki		100	0 1 8 —
69	Ditto		100	0 1 1 —
70	Ditto		100	0 0 10 —
71	Tshi datami kakèmono		100	0 2 4 —
72	Warabi „		100	0 2 7 —
73	Itonawa „		100	0 3 4 —
74	Itonawa kakimono (superior).		100	0 5 4 —
75	Benni midsuhiki ..		100	0 0 7 —
76	Tô benni ginmaki ..	Ditto; also for fastening up presents..	100	0 0 3½ —
77	Konjo „ ..		100	0 0 3½ —
78	Shiro „ ..		100	0 0 3¾ —
79	Shiro shakunaga ..		10	0 0 1 —
80	Gobu „ ..	For ornamenting the hair	10	0 0 2 —
81	Isson „ ..		15	0 0 0¾ —
82	Isson gobu „ ..		15	0 0 1½ —
83	Moto yûi (white) (A)		100	0 0 5¼ to 0 0 7¾
	Ditto (black) (B)	For fastening the hair while dressing it	100	0 0 4½ —
	Nemaki motoyui (C)		100	0 1 2½ —
		(A, B, and C are only used by women; A, the thicker, by men.)		
84	Noshi	For packing up presents	100	0 1 6 to 0 5 0
85	Chiyogami		100	0 5 0 —
86	Kinsatsu irè ..	For inserting paper money	100	0 1 2 to 0 2 4
87	Midsuhiki	For fastening up presents	100	0 0 7 to 0 2 5
88	Nayaganriki ..	For papering walls and slides ..	1 sheet	0 0 6 —
89	Specimens of kinsatsu paper	.. ..		— —

Duplicate book of wall-paper not obtainable.

(Signed) JAMES J. ENSLIE.

Inclosure 9.

LIST of Samples of the various kinds of Paper Manufactured in Japan, with Prices, taking the dollar at 4*s*. 6*d*.

Series A.

The papers in this series marked 1 to 39 include all sorts which are used for the various purposes which paper is made to serve, such as writing, printing, packing, papering walls, doors, screens, &c.; for making articles of clothing, such as hats, overcoats, pocket-handkerchiefs, &c., and for umbrellas, parasols, toys, boxes, &c.

All these sorts are imported into Yedo from the different provinces named in the List.

(Of many sorts there are three qualities—superior, middling, and inferior, marked respectively 1, 2, 3.)

No. of Sample.	Name.	Quality or Colour.	Province.	Price per number of Sheets.	
				s. *d.*	Sheets.
1	Hosokawagami	1	Mushashi	0 $6\frac{3}{4}$	48
		2		0 $5\frac{7}{8}$	,,
		3		0 $5\frac{1}{4}$	,,
2	Konishigami	1		0 $3\frac{1}{4}$	,,
		2		0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	,,
		3		0 2	,,
3	Chichibu Kobanshi	1		0 $0\frac{3}{4}$	20
		2		0 $0\frac{5}{8}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{9}{16}$	,,
4	Sanlomeban	1		0 $8\frac{3}{8}$	26
		2		0 7	,,
		3		0 $5\frac{1}{4}$	,,
5	Yamato Chirigami	1		0 $4\frac{1}{4}$	60
		2		0 $2\frac{1}{4}$	,,
		3		0 $1\frac{3}{4}$	,,
6	Yama Udagami			0 10	,,
7	Ohadagami			0 $4\frac{1}{4}$	48
8	Ji-sukigayeshi	1		0 2	96
		2		0 $1\frac{1}{2}$	,,
9	Shirahogami	1		0 2	,,
		2		0 $1\frac{1}{2}$	,,
10	Shirahogami Nedzumiban	1		0 $2\frac{2}{3}$	,,
		2		0 2	,,
11	Shiraho Hankiregami	1		0 $1\frac{3}{5}$	,,
		2		0 $1\frac{1}{8}$	,,
12	Shiraho Sendaigami	1, white		0 $7\frac{3}{4}$	,,
		2, light green		,,	,,
		3, yellow		,,	,,
		4, grey		,,	,,
		5, red		,,	,,
		6, green		,,	,,
		7, dark green		,,	,,
13	Shiraho Harikogami	1		0 $0\frac{1}{2}$	1
		2		0 $0\frac{1}{3}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{1}{12}$	,,
14	Shiraho Hiroban	1		0 $4\frac{3}{8}$	48
		2		0 4	,,
15	Wasei Zôshi	2		8 $1\frac{1}{4}$	185
16	Wasei Gasenshi			0 2	1
17	Taiheishi	1		0 $3\frac{3}{8}$	,,
		2		0 $3\frac{1}{8}$	,,
		3		0 $2\frac{7}{8}$	,,
18	Wasei Toshi Hankiri			0 $2\frac{3}{8}$	48
19	Hikomagami		Shimotsuke	0 4	,,
20	Urabanshi			2 $1\frac{1}{8}$	26
21	Hodomura Kami	1	Hitachi	1 $11\frac{1}{2}$	,,
		2		1 $8\frac{1}{4}$	,,
		3		0 $7\frac{1}{2}$	,,
22	Nishi-no-Uchigami	1		1 1	40
		2		0 $10\frac{1}{3}$	,,
		3		0 $7\frac{2}{3}$	,,
23	Inmonjigami			1 $5\frac{1}{4}$	34
24	Santomeban	1		1 $0\frac{1}{8}$	26
		2		0 11	,,
25	Hassungami	large		0 $9\frac{1}{3}$	48
		small		0 $7\frac{5}{6}$	,,
26	Otakashi			1 $3\frac{1}{6}$	26

No. o Sample.	Name.	Quality or Colour.	Province.	Price per number of Sheets. s.	d.	Sheets.
27	Iwaki Nobegami	1	Ohsiu ..	0	$1\frac{5}{6}$	20
		2		0	$1\frac{1}{3}$	,,
		3		0	$1\frac{1}{8}$	,,
28	Saraschigami	1	Shinshiu ..	0	$8\frac{1}{3}$	48
		2		0	$7\frac{1}{5}$	,,
		3		0	$6\frac{5}{6}$	,,
29	Homban	1		0	$4\frac{1}{2}$	,,
		2		0	3	,,
		3		0	$1\frac{7}{8}$	,,
30	Nagajaku Hankirischi	1		0	4	96
		2		0	$3\frac{3}{5}$	,,
		3	Koshiu ..	0	$3\frac{1}{5}$	,,
31	Hankirishi	1		0	$4\frac{1}{8}$	,,
		2		0	$3\frac{7}{8}$	,,
		3		0	$3\frac{1}{4}$	,,
32	Kobanshi	1		0	$0\frac{4}{10}$	,,
		2		0	$0\frac{3}{10}$	,,
		3		0	$0\frac{3}{10}$	,,
33	Hanshi	1		0	$0\frac{1}{2}$	20
		2		0	$0\frac{4}{5}$	,,
		3		0	$0\frac{3}{10}$	,,
34	Kobanshi	1		0	$0\frac{2}{5}$	,,
		2		0	$0\frac{3}{10}$	,,
		3		0	$0\frac{1}{5}$	,,
35	Hankiri	1		0	3	96
		2		0	$2\frac{1}{2}$	,,
		3		0	2	,,
36	Iro Hankereshi	1, light green	Suruga ..	0	2	,,
		2, orange ..		0	$1\frac{5}{8}$	,,
		3, yellow ..		0	$1\frac{7}{8}$	,,
		4, grey ..		0	$1\frac{3}{8}$	,,
37	Homban	1		0	$3\frac{1}{8}$	48
		2		0	3	,,
		3		0	$2\frac{1}{3}$	,,
38	Atsugami	.. ..		0	$7\frac{1}{2}$	,,
39	Chirigami	1		0	$0\frac{3}{10}$	20
		2		0	$0\frac{5}{20}$	,,
		3		0	$0\frac{1}{5}$	,,
40	Shojigami	1		0	$7\frac{1}{8}$	48
		2	Mino ..	0	6	,,
		3		0	$3\frac{1}{2}$	,,
41	Usushojigami	1		0	4	,,
42	Tengujo	1		0	$3\frac{1}{3}$	,,
		2		0	$2\frac{1}{3}$	,,
		3		0	$2\frac{1}{4}$	,,
43	Oshomotsugami	1		1	6	,,
		2		0	$11\frac{1}{8}$	,,
		3		0	$7\frac{2}{3}$	,,
44	Monshojigami	.. ..		0	$9\frac{1}{8}$	,,
	Kogikugami	.. ..		0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	,,
45	Kogikugami	1		0	$1\frac{1}{5}$	,,
		2		0	1	,,
		3		1	6	,,
46	Hoshoban Gampishi	.. ..		0	$6\frac{1}{3}$	,,
47	Nishimouchiban Gampishi ..	.. ..		0	$3\frac{1}{4}$	,,
48	Shojiban Gampishi	.. ..		0	$2\frac{1}{2}$	,,
49	Hanshiban Gampishi	.. ..		0	$2\frac{1}{4}$	,,
50	Kogishuban Gampishi	.. ..		0	$5\frac{1}{8}$	,,
51	Ousuyôshi	.. ..	Made in various Provinces	0	$3\frac{1}{6}$	,,
52	Chin Uusuyôshi	.. ..		0	$1\frac{1}{3}$	,,
53	Makinakagama	.. ..		0	$0\frac{1}{5}$	20
54	Itabari Chirigami	.. ..		8	$3\frac{1}{2}$	24
55	Otaka Danshiji	.. ..		5	7	,,
56	Chintaka Danshi	.. ..		2	$1\frac{3}{8}$	,,
57	Kotaka Danshi	.. ..		10	$4\frac{1}{2}$	48
58	Obiro Hoshoshi	.. ..		6	10	,,
59	Chinbiro Hoshoshi	.. ..		5	$6\frac{1}{2}$	,,
60	Gobuhiro Hoshoshi	.. ..		4	6	,,
61	Ohoshoshi	.. ..		3	$1\frac{1}{4}$	,,
62	Chinhoshoshi	.. ..		2	3	,,
63	Kohoshoshi	.. ..		6	$8\frac{1}{4}$	50
64	Otake Nagagami	.. ..		2	$8\frac{3}{8}$	1
65	Gosho Kangami	.. ..		0	$0\frac{2}{5}$	,,
66	Unshi	.. ..		0	$0\frac{1}{2}$	10
67	Yoshino	large ..	Yamoto ..	0	$0\frac{2}{5}$	,,
		small ..		0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	20
68	Osuchiu	.. ..				

No. of Sample.	Name.	Quality or Colour.	Province.	Price per number of Sheets.	
				s. *d.*	Sheets.
69	Iôkisuke Omaniagami	.. ..		11 3	100
70	Iôkisuki Maniaigami	.. ..		7 9	,,
71	Shiro Maniaigami	.. ..		5 8	,,
72	Iro Maniaigami	1, light blue ..		5 $4\frac{1}{2}$	,,
		2, green ..		4 6	,,
		3, yellow ..		4 1	,,
		4, light yellow		4 1	,,
		5, brown ..		4 1	,,
		6, grey ..		4 1	,,
73	Yaku Tashi	1		0 $6\frac{3}{8}$	24
		2		0 $5\frac{7}{8}$	,,
74	Iro Tosagami	1, dark blue ..		0 4	,,
		2. blue ..		0 3	,,
		3, light green		0 $3\frac{1}{2}$	,,
75	Momijibukurogami	.. ..	Setsu ..	0 $7\frac{7}{8}$	12
76	Chinyoshi	.. ..		2 $5\frac{5}{8}$	50
77	Honzome Udagami	.. ..		3 $4\frac{1}{2}$	60
78	Hashizome Udagami	.. ..		4 $6\frac{3}{8}$	,,
79	Katamen Udagami	.. ..		1 $5\frac{1}{8}$	,,
80	Hanairo Udagami	.. ..		1 $6\frac{5}{6}$	,,
81	Shiu Udagami	.. ..		3 $11\frac{1}{4}$	100
82	Moyegi Sukashi	.. ..		1 8	60
83	Akabudakagami	.. ..		0 3	40
84	Asbudakagami	.. ..		0 $2\frac{1}{2}$	,,
85	Akagami	.. ..		0 $1\frac{7}{8}$	,,
86	Aogami	.. ..		0 2	,,
87	Kigami	.. ..		0 $1\frac{5}{6}$	,,
88	Moyegigami	.. ..		0 $2\frac{1}{3}$	,,
89	Sukikomi	1	Harima ..	0 3	48
		2		0 $2\frac{3}{4}$	,,
90	Susaki-banshi	1		0 1	20
		2		0 $0\frac{7}{8}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{5}{6}$	,,
91	Kataoko-banshi	1		0 $1\frac{1}{10}$	,,
		2		0 1	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{9}{10}$	,,
92	Obanshi	1		0 $1\frac{1}{2}$	,,
		2		0 $1\frac{2}{5}$	,,
		3		0 $1\frac{1}{5}$	,,
93	Kosugi-harashi	1		0 $0\frac{3}{5}$	,,
		2		0 $0\frac{1}{2}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{2}{5}$	,,
94	Hannunogami	2	Tosa ..	0 $4\frac{3}{8}$	100
95	Seicho	1		0 $6\frac{1}{4}$	48
		2		0 $4\frac{5}{6}$	,,
		3		0 $4\frac{1}{6}$	,,
96	Osugiharashi	1		0 $7\frac{1}{4}$	,,
		2		0 $6\frac{1}{4}$	,,
97	Atsugami	1		0 $6\frac{7}{8}$	,,
		2		0 $6\frac{1}{4}$	,,
		3		0 $5\frac{1}{2}$	,,
98	Okuragami	1		0 $4\frac{5}{8}$	,,
		2		0 $3\frac{3}{8}$	,,
99	Senkashi	.. ..		0 $10\frac{7}{8}$	60
100	Chirugami	2		0 $0\frac{1}{2}$	20
		3		0 $0\frac{2}{5}$	,,
101	Odzabanshi	1		0 $1\frac{1}{10}$	,,
		2		0 $0\frac{9}{10}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{7}{8}$	,,
102	Odzuchirigami	1		0 $0\frac{3}{5}$	,,
		2		0 $0\frac{1}{2}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{2}{5}$	,,
103	Odzu Senkashi	1		1 $2\frac{1}{4}$	60
		2		1 $0\frac{3}{4}$	,,
104	Nanatome Senkashi	1		1 1	,,
		2	Iyo	1 $0\frac{5}{8}$	,,
105	Uwajuma Senkashi	2		1 $0\frac{1}{4}$	,,
		3		0 11	,,
106	Uwajima Chirigami	2		0 2	48
107	Oboschoshi	1		1 $2\frac{7}{8}$	,,
		2		1 $0\frac{5}{8}$	,,
		3		1 0	,,
108	Koboshoshi	1		0 $9\frac{3}{4}$	,,
		2		0 $8\frac{7}{8}$	,,
		3		0 $7\frac{5}{6}$	,,

No. of Sample.	Name.	Quality or Colour.	Province.	Price per number of Sheets.	
				s. d.	Sheets.
109	Takenagagami	1		2 $11\frac{1}{8}$	50
		2		2 $0\frac{3}{8}$	,,
		3		1 $10\frac{1}{2}$	,,
110	Houkuchi Hoshoshi	1	Iyo	1 $0\frac{1}{8}$	48
		2		0 $11\frac{5}{6}$	,,
111	Karakasagami	.. ..		0 6	,,
112	Heichinchirigami	.. ..		0 $2\frac{1}{6}$	,,
113	Takenagagami	1	Awa	4 $1\frac{1}{8}$	50
		2		3 9	,,
114	Goshiki Gampishi	.. ..		0 $5\frac{1}{6}$	5
115	Hamada-banshi	1		0 $0\frac{4}{5}$	20
		2		0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	,,
116	Yoshiga-banshi	2	Iwami . ..	0 $0\frac{4}{5}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	,,
117	Takutsu-banshi	2		0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	,,
118	Hiroshima-banshi	2	Aki	0 $0\frac{2}{5}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{3}{10}$	,,
119	Hiroshima Chirigami	3		0 $0\frac{1}{5}$	,,
120	Karatsu-banshi	1	Hizen . ..	0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	,,
		2		0 $0\frac{3}{5}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{1}{2}$	,,
121	Karatsu Chirigami	1		0 $0\frac{3}{10}$	,,
122	Hankireshi	1	Hinga . ..	1 $7\frac{3}{4}$	100
		2		0 $9\frac{1}{8}$	,,
		3		0 $7\frac{1}{6}$	,,
123	Nobeoka-banshi	2		0 $0\frac{4}{5}$	20
		3		0 $0\frac{3}{4}$	,,
124	Hankireshi	1	Chikugo ..	0 $5\frac{1}{3}$	100
		2		0 $5\frac{1}{6}$	,,
		3		0 $4\frac{5}{6}$	,,
125	Sennenshi	1		4 $11\frac{1}{2}$	50
		2		4 4	,,
126	Sahekibanshi	3		0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	20
127	Usukibanshi	1		0 $0\frac{4}{5}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	,,
128	Bungobanshi	2	Bungo ..	0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{3}{5}$	,,
129	Bungo Haukireshi	1		0 $7\frac{1}{3}$	100
		2		0 $6\frac{4}{5}$	,,
130	Iwakunibansh	1		0 $1\frac{1}{10}$	20
		2		0 1	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{9}{10}$	,,
131	Tokuceibansho	1		0 $0\frac{4}{5}$	,,
		2		0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	,,
132	Samabanshi	1		0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	,,
		2		0 $0\frac{3}{5}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{1}{2}$	,,
133	Kanobanshi	1		0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	,,
		2		0 $0\frac{3}{5}$	,,
134	Hanaokabanshi	1	Suwo	0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	,,
		2		0 $0\frac{3}{5}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{1}{2}$	,,
135	Mitajirubanshi	1		0 $0\frac{4}{5}$	,,
136	Gokamurabanshi	1		0 $0\frac{4}{5}$	,,
		2		0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{3}{5}$	,,
137	Yamashirobanshi	1		0 $0\frac{7}{10}$	,,
		2		0 $0\frac{3}{5}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{1}{2}$	,,
138	Yamashiro Chirigami	2		0 $0\frac{3}{10}$	,,
		3		0 $0\frac{1}{4}$	,,
139	Hiro-origami	.. ..		0 $1\frac{5}{6}$	,,

Series B.

The papers in this series are prepared in Yedo from the appropriate kinds in Series A.

PAPERS for Bookbinding, prepared by the Firm of Maruya, and marked M.

No. of Sample.	Name.	Price per Sheet. s.	d.
1	Oban Mombiyoshi	0	$0\frac{7}{10}$
2	Minoban Mombiyoshi	0	$0\frac{3}{5}$
3	Hanshiban Mombiyoshi	0	$0\frac{1}{2}$
4	Minoban Mujihiyoschi	0	$0\frac{2}{5}$
5	Hanshiban Mujihiyoshi	0	$0\frac{2}{5}$
6	Shuzome Hiyoshi	0	$0\frac{2}{5}$
7	Kouzome Hiyoshi	0	$0\frac{3}{5}$

Oil-soaked Papers, Imitation Leathers, &c., prepared by Takeya, and marked T; used largely for making boxes, purses, pocket-books, tobacco-pouches, &c.

1	Kurokazaorimomi	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$
2	Kurisuiguimomi	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$
3	Kobichamomi	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$
4	Yebiiromomi	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$
5	Kuroyanagimomi	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$
6	Uguisuchagami	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$
7	Chakazaori	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$
8	Aomomi	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$
9	Kindanmoyo	0	$4\frac{1}{3}$
10	Kinjirinnassi-moyo	0	$4\frac{1}{2}$
11	Ninjindekin	0	$4\frac{1}{2}$
12	Ginjifurifuri-moyo	0	$4\frac{1}{2}$
13	Kiuji Takasago	0	$4\frac{1}{2}$
14	Sabi Tenjinde	0	$4\frac{1}{2}$
15	Kin Tenjinde	0	$4\frac{1}{2}$
16	Kaori Yanagimomi	0	$5\frac{2}{5}$
17	Gokuatsu Kadrigami	0	$6\frac{5}{5}$
18	Kintabisugawa.	0	$7\frac{1}{3}$
19	Kinsugawa..	0	$7\frac{1}{3}$
20	Shimofuri Sugawa	0	9
21	Aburanashi Shiagekata Shitajigami	0	$2\frac{1}{8}$
22	Yogan Kodaimoyo	2	$6\frac{1}{6}$
23	Yogan Suichin Nokoye		
24	Yogan Tadzunazome	1	$10\frac{1}{2}$
25	Beni Yogan.	1	$4\frac{1}{3}$
26	Yogan Tsugaru	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
27	Yogan Tsugarudake	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
28	Shuyogan	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
29	Kimomi Yogan	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
30	Aomomi Yogan	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
31	Yogan Mokume	1	$2\frac{5}{6}$
32	Aoyogan	1	$2\frac{5}{6}$
33	Kiyogan	1	$2\frac{5}{6}$

Oil-damped Papers, Imitation Leather, &c., prepared by Okuraya, and marked O; used by the upper classes in the various modes of room-decoration, as wall-papers, screens, panelling, covering boxes, &c.

1	Otaka Kurowsukuchi	0	$0\frac{4}{5}$
2	„ „	0	$0\frac{4}{5}$
3	„ „ (middle size)	0	$1\frac{1}{3}$
4	„ Aousukuchi	0	$0\frac{9}{10}$
5	„ Kuriirochiu	0	$1\frac{3}{10}$
6	„ Kikkogata	0	$1\frac{3}{5}$
7	„ Kurochinatsu..	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$
8	„ Ao	0	$1\frac{7}{8}$
9	„ Chairo	0	$1\frac{7}{8}$
10	„ Kuriiro	0	$1\frac{7}{8}$
11	„ Kaori	0	$1\frac{7}{8}$
12	„ Sarasagata	0	$1\frac{7}{8}$
13	„ Kaorihiroban..	0	$2\frac{1}{10}$
14	„ Kumogataro	0	$2\frac{3}{4}$
15	„ Kuriiro	0	$2\frac{3}{4}$

No. of Samples.	Name.	Price per Sheet.
		s. d.
16	Otaka Shobugata Ao	0 $2\frac{1}{10}$
17	„ Tsumegata	0 $2\frac{1}{10}$
18	„ Kuro atsukuchi	0 $2\frac{1}{3}$
19	„ Shiboriiro Mongata	0 $2\frac{1}{6}$
20	„ Kuro gokuatsukuchi	0 $2\frac{3}{5}$
21	Housho Otaka Kaori arai	0 $2\frac{5}{6}$
22	„ „ Kazaori Kuro	0 $3\frac{1}{5}$
23	„ „ Kuriiro.	0 $3\frac{1}{3}$
24	„ „ Chairo	0 $3\frac{1}{3}$
25	„ „ Yurigata	0 $3\frac{1}{3}$
26	„ „ Kouzaisuke	0 $3\frac{3}{5}$
27	„ „ Kinji kumogata	0 $3\frac{1}{2}$
28	„ „ Yanagi Juyo	0 $3\frac{1}{2}$
29	„ „ Karahana	0 $3\frac{1}{2}$
30	„ „ Kiritsugi	0 $3\frac{1}{2}$
31	„ „ Tadzemagata	0 $3\frac{1}{2}$
32	„ „ Isegami Chimban Atsukuchi . .	0 $4\frac{1}{4}$
33	„ „ Hiroban Usukuchi	0 $4\frac{4}{5}$
34	„ „ Jomomi Kuro	0 $4\frac{3}{4}$
35	„ „ Kuriiro.	0 $5\frac{1}{3}$
36	„ „ Chairo	0 $5\frac{1}{3}$
37	„ „ Shuhiroban	0 $5\frac{3}{4}$
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JAPAN. No. 4 (1871).

Reports on the Manufacture of Paper in Japan.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1871.

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JAPAN. No. 2 (1871).

REPORT

OF A

TOUR IN JAPAN

BY

MR. TROUP,

FROM

JUNE 16 TO JULY 1, 1870.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1871.

LONDON:
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[C.—242.] *Price 7d.*

Report of a Tour in Japan by Mr. Troup, from June 16 to July 1, 1870.

No. 1.

Sir H. Parkes to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, Foreign Office.—(Received October 19.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, August* 22, 1870.

MR. TROUP has recently made a tour of some extent through the district round Niigata, and has forwarded to me in the inclosed despatch a report of his observations. The country visited appears to be remarkably rich in minerals as well as in silk and other agricultural productions.

As Mr. Troup was very well received wherever he went, both by the authorities and the people, I have thought it desirable to convey to the Government, in the inclosed note, my thanks for these courtesies. Having recently had reason to complain of the conduct of the Niigata officers, I was glad to have an opportunity of showing that I appreciated the attention they had shown to Mr. Troup by facilitating his preparations for the journey.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Acting Consul Troup to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Niigata, July* 13, 1870.

I INCIDENTALLY mentioned in my despatch of the 5th instant that I had lately made a tour through the eastern parts of this province, and parts of the neighbouring Provinces of Iwashiro and Uzen, for the purpose of making some researches into the resources of this district. On this tour I was accompanied by the Vice-Consul of Holland at this place and three other gentlemen. I have now the honour to inclose a few notes by way of a journal of this tour, which may prove of interest as indicating the nature of some of the productions of those regions for which this port would appear to form the natural outlet. I inclose a sketch map showing the route which our party took.

I feel bound specially to call your attention to the kind and respectful treatment which our party met with, especially at the hands of the Chikenji and officers of the Imperial territory of Wakamatsu and the Department of Tsugawa, and of the Chihanji of Yonezawa and his officers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. TROUP.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

Notes on a Sixteen Days' Tour through the Eastern Parts of the Province of Echigo, and the Provinces of Iwashiro and Uzen: June 16 *to July* 1, 1870.

June 16.—LEFT Niigata in the morning, passing the towns of Ono, Sakaya, and Kosuto, and arrived in Niitsu in the evening. Observed that the planting out of the rice in the rice-fields had mostly been completed in the localities passed through.

June 17.—Left Niitsu in the morning; visited the fire-well at Garameki and the

petroleum-wells at Kusodzu (descriptions of which have been formerly given). Found the working of the petroleum is still carried on in the same ineffectual manner as last year. Passing through the village of Sambouki, and some others, arrived early in the afternoon at Gosen. The same day visited the village of Shimbo, on the other side of the Aga-no-kawa, which is the most important seat of the silk culture in the neighbourhood. The worms had not yet formed cocoons, but were pronounced by the gentlemen engaged in the silk trade who accompanied me, to be very fine and regular. They were said to be all annuals. The intention appeared to be to make seed rather than silk. Silk culture is carried on throughout this neighbourhood generally. Rape, tobacco, &c., are grown towards Sambouki, and small quantities of tea about Gosen. Found the barley and wheat crops from Niitsu, by Gosen, Shimbo, and everywhere in that district, very poor and late. This was accounted for on the ground of the severity of the weather in the early part of the year.

June 18.—Visited a former coal-working at Karasawa. It consists of a narrow horizontal cutting into the side of a hill, only some 30 feet below the level of the summit, and a few yards in length, through a bed of shale. The imperfect mode of working pursued not having proved remunerative, the work is not now carried on. Passed along the foot of a range of finely-wooded hills to Raikoji, and visited the house of the proprietor of a lead mine in the district which is called generally Kawachi-dani. Were shown specimens of the ore, and the metal obtained from it, which appeared to be of good quality. Were informed that the cost of labour was now too high to admit of working the mine with profit. Copper was also said to be found in the same locality. Between Kawachi-dani and Muramatsu observed very large tea plantations. Were shown the tea-firing process at Muramatsu. Some of the tea shown was pronounced to be of a superior quality. It would appear that an extension of the tea-culture is taking place in that locality.

June 19.—Left Gosen early in the morning, and passing through Yazawa and some other villages, arrived at Tsugawa in the evening. Found hemp, said to be good, grown in frequent localities on the way, and vegetable wax-trees in abundance. I was informed at Tsugawa that the extraction of lacquer from the same tree is prohibited there, the tree being reserved for the production of wax.

As the lacquer is obtained by making incisions in the bark of the tree while young, the result of which is the death of the tree before coming to full maturity, both products can hardly be obtained from the same tree. This appears to be the reason for the prohibition. At Yonezawa, on the other hand, the extraction of lacquer from the tree is permitted; the result of which is, that little vegetable wax is produced there. I observed that many of the trees in the neighbourhood of Tsugawa had been injured, apparently by the severity of last winter. On the road, we observed also, several useful species of rock, including limestone, granite, and, perhaps, marble. The scenery on the river, above Yazawa especially, is unparalleled.

In the evening some officers of the Local Government called upon us at our lodging.

June 20.—As I had on our arrival expressed a desire that our party should visit some of the mines in this neighbourhood, the local authorities, in the kindest manner, sent the Superintendent of the Mines, Mr. Ogawa, to accompany us to the important copper-mine at Kusagura, situated about six or seven miles from Tsugawa. On our arrival at the spot, we found that the mine, which had been worked while this territory was in the hands of the former Prince of Aidzu, but had been allowed to remain unworked during the unsettled period of the civil war, was again in operation. We first viewed the mine itself. This consists of a series of very narrow passages driven into the side of the mountain, which passages have been formed simply by the displacement of the ore taken out of the mine. They are so narrow in some places that a full-grown person of large size could by no possibility pass through them. At other places they are, however, much larger. At present there are four openings from the outside—three of these at different levels on the same perpendicular. The upper one was the first opened, and the one next under it, which is now considered the principal entrance into the mine, was originally opened as a passage to allow the water to flow out. More recently, the lowest entrance has been opened with a similar object.

The collection of water in the mine appears to be a great hindrance to the working of it. At present none of the workings can be carried on at a level much lower than that of the lowest outer opening, on account of the water. Not merely did I find that no pumps were employed in the mine, but on suggesting that probably a syphon might be employed in it with advantage, in default of pump work, seeing that the mine was situated on a level very much above that of the valley, I was astonished to find that the head working manager of the mine, a man of considerable intelligence, was totally ignorant of the principle of the syphon. Recently the use of gunpowder for blasting the ore has been introduced. There are, at present, nine separate galleries being worked, all diverging from

one or other of the entrances above-mentioned, and all being connected with each other. The ore obtained is of a very superior nature, being what is termed, I believe, by miners, "solid ore." On being taken from the mine, which it is by boys or lads, who carry it out in baskets, it is brought down the hill to be smelted. It is first crushed by hammers, then washed in sieves, and afterwards roasted in clay furnaces,—wood being used as fuel. All the processes carried on are by manual labour, without the assistance of any other power, although there is a stream of water, which might easily be turned to advantage for some of the processes, close by. The metal, as finally prepared in slabs, is still so impure that I believe some samples of it which have been offered for sale at Niigata to foreigners have failed to induce purchases on that account. There are, at present, some 200 persons, men, women, and boys, employed in connection with the mine. In despite, however, of the great richness of the ore and the productiveness of the mine, even under present circumstances, it is quite clear that, until improved means of working the mine and better processes in preparing the metal are introduced, not much profit can accrue from the working of this the most important of the Aidzu Copper Mines.

Two drawings, one of the hill and one a sort of sectional drawing of the mine, which were given to me, are here attached, and these may assist to show the nature of the operations carried on at the mine.

On the side of the ridge, on the other side of the stream from the copper-mine, a seam of coal, as yet unworked, crops out on the surface. A specimen of the coal which was shown would seem to indicate a bituminous coal of good quality.

Another smaller copper-mine is worked a little further down the same ridge, nearer to Tsugawa.

Coal is also found in another locality, a little over a mile from Tsugawa itself.

At the Government Office we were shown specimens of other copper and of gold ore from different places in the neighbourhood.

The extreme kindness and considerate attention of the officers of the Local Government at this place, which forms a Department (Kiyoku) under the Provincial Government of Wakamatsu, made our visit there very agreeable.

June 21.—Proceeded from Tsugawa to Nozawa. Were shown a specimen of silver ore on the way at Shimo-Nojiri, from the silver-mine near that place. Found that Mr. Yamamoto, a Daisanji of the Wakamatsu-Ken, and General Superintendent of the Mines in that territory, had, a few days before, been on a visit of inspection to this mine, which had not been worked since the civil war. I was afterwards informed by Mr. Yamamoto, when I met him in Wakamatsu, that it was the intention to resume the working of the mine at an early date. On the way we also observed rocks of white, of green, and of red sandstone in various localities.

This and the following day was remarkable for the number of families, men, women, and children, but chiefly the latter two, whom we met on our way, leaving this country for the sea-coast. These, we were informed, were the last of the Aidzu clan, who were now leaving their country to be shipped to the territories said to have been granted to the clan in the far north. The large proportion of women and children was accounted for partly by the fact that, as I was told, the men were marching overland through the interior. Of the men whom we met, many were old. All appeared to have been allowed to retain their arms, and some of them even carried rifles besides their swords. A singular sight presented itself occasionally. Several of the women even, it could be observed, wore swords.

June 22.—Left Nosawa early in the morning, and arrived at Wakamatsu in the afternoon. Observed, on the way, indications of coal cropping out at Karnisawa and at Tabané-matsu-yama. On arriving at Wakamatsu, sent a letter to the Governor, asking when he could receive a visit from the Dutch Vice-Consul and myself; and were informed, in reply, that he would see us in the morning.

June 23.—Called on the Governor in the Castle, and were received in a very frank and kind manner by the Governor (Chiji) himself, Shijo Shii, Warden of the Castle, by Mr. Yamamoto, Daisanji, and the other principal officers of the Provincial Government. After a conversation of some length on general subjects, and on some economical subjects, in which they interested themselves, affecting the development of the resources of the province, we took leave, the Governor expressing a wish that he might see us again in Wakamatsu. In the afternoon we were shown about the Castle, which had suffered in many places severely in the war. The intention evidently is to pull down and rebuild the residences within the walls, so as to have the Governor's house and the offices of the Government all contained there. Without the main walls and moat, the whole of the buildings, once the habitations of the retainers of the former Prince, had been burned, and the vestiges of broken mud- and stone-walls remaining there, as well as the tower within

the main-walls, perforated by bullets and balls, bore testimony to the violence of the struggle which had here taken place. A different scene was now presenting itself—the work of reconstruction had been commenced, and the gun-carriages which had served in the war were now, we observed, being used as timber-carts.

Still beyond the former "official quarter" lies the town, which had also been burned in the war, but had now been mostly rebuilt, although not, I was assured, in its former style. The distress occasioned here by the war must have been very great, many having lost literally everything they possessed. There can be no doubt that these distresses were one chief reason of the depressed state of the trade of this district during last year.

Among the industrial products of the place we were shown by the Governor lacquer and copper wire. The preparation of ginseng, which grows in the district, and the manufacture of candles, appear to complete the most important industries of the town. In the large plain of Wakamatsu the usual wheat, barley, and rice crops are the chief ones which meet the eye.

June 24.—Left Wakamatsu early in the morning, and crossed the range of hills which separates the plain of Wakamatsu from the Lake of Inawashiro. Visited a former gold-working in this range, in a hill called Kanyosan. Found that the disintegrated rock on being washed showed the existence of gold, but did not meet with any evidence of great productiveness.

Skirting the fine Lake of Inawashiro, from which the Aga-no-kawa issues—from its birth a pretty large stream—we arrived at the town of Inawashiro, or more properly Hommachi, in the afternoon. Some silk culture is carried on in this neighbourhood.

June 25. Visited the sulphur springs of Numajiri, which are reached from Inawashiro by a somewhat laborious mountain-road. The springs are several in number, all issuing in different places on the sides of the mountain stream which they combine to form. This stream is probably one of the most singular phenomena of its kind which can be met with in any part of the world. It is literally a stream of hot sulphur water. Its breadth may be stated at from two to three yards, although, as it runs over a stony bed, it spreads out in some places over a greater space. Immediately below the several springs a very rich deposit of yellow mud is left: in the main stream the deposit assumes more of a greenish tinge. Several miles below the springs, after the stream has mingled with other mountain streams, it still retains a very perceptible sulphurous smell and taste.

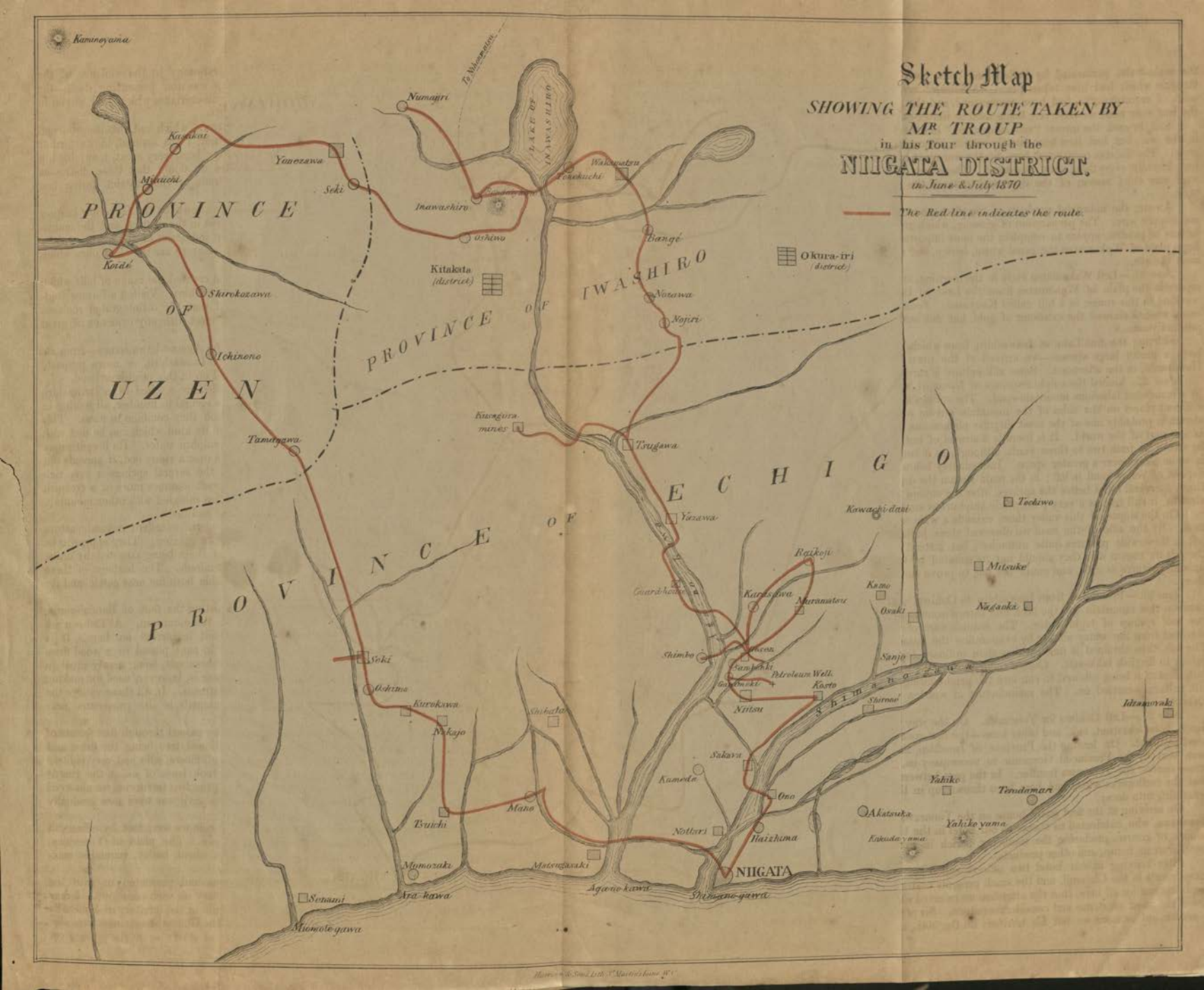
On the slopes of this valley there extends a wide range of excellent natural pasture land. By the side of the road we observed three bullocks grazing. They appear to be left in these wide pastures quite untended; but instead of their being counted by units, there is no reason why they should not be counted by hundreds. The herbage of these upland pastures is rich, and could not fail to prove suitable both for neat cattle and for sheep.

June 26.—Proceeded from Inawashiro to Oshiwo, skirting the foot of Bandai-yama, between that mountain and the lake, and thence rounding the mountain. At Oshiwo are two salt springs of tepid water. The manufacture of salt is carried on here. It is obtained from the water simply by evaporating the latter in pans placed over wood fires. The salt thus obtained is much whiter than ordinary Japanese salt, being nearly equal in colour to English table-salt. Only a small part of the water is, however, used for making salt, most of it being allowed to run into the neighbouring stream. In all these valleys the silk culture is carried on. The manufacture of wooden utensils is also prosecuted near Oshiwo.

June 27.—Left Oshiwo for Yonezawa. On the way we passed through fine forests of beech, horse-chestnut, oak, and other trees—the first-mentioned tree being the finest and most plentiful. On leaving the Province of Iwashiro, the officers, who had very politely been sent by the Provincial Governor to accompany us, took leave of us at the guard-house nearest the Yonezawa frontier. In the pass between the two territories we observed that the earthworks which had here been thrown up in the civil war were now gradually crumbling into decay.

On arriving at the first guard-house on the Yonezawa side we were met by officers of Yonezawa, who conducted us thence to our hotel in the town. The plain of Yonezawa, besides, of course, producing the mulberry, is rich in rice, wheat, barley, vegetable wax-trees, ginseng, hemp, and other products.

After arriving at our hotel two officers called on us and presented us with the compliments of the Chihanji, and the small presents customary on such occasions. I may mention once for all here, that the attention we received while in the territory of Yonezawa was of the most courteous and considerate nature. Six of the Chihanji's retainers were sent to accompany us until we left his territory on the 30th, and otherwise on the route great


Sketch Map
SHOWING THE ROUTE TAKEN BY
Mr TROUP
in his Tour through the
NIIGATA DISTRICT.
in June & July 1870
The Red line indicates the route.
Kaminoyama
To Nihonmatsu
LAKE OF INAWASHIRO
Numajiri
Kasukai
Yonezawa
Seki
Inawashiro
Oshiwo
Wakamatsu
Tonekuchi
Bangé
Okura-iri (district)
Kitakata (district)
Nozawa
Nojiri
PROVINCE OF IWASHIRO
PROVINCE OF UZEN
PROVINCE OF ECHIGO
Koidé
Shirokozawa
Ichinono
Tamagawa
Kusagura mines
Tsugawa
Yazawa
Guard-house
Kawachi-dani
Tochiwo
Mitsuke
Nagaoka
Kamo
Osaki
Sanjo
Shimbo
Petroleum Well
Kosto
Niitsu
Shirone
Idzamoyaki
Sakava
Kameda
Ono
Yahiko
Terudamari
Akatsuka
Yahiko yama
Kakuda yama
Haizhima
Nottari
NIIGATA
Agano kawa
Shimano gawa
Matsugasaki
Mano
Tsuichi
Mumozaki
Ara kawa
Senami
Miomote gawa
Shibata
Nakajo
Kurokawa
Oshima
Seki
Shimano gawa

regard was shown to us. It may not be out of place further to mention that, since my return to Niigata officers, both from Yonezawa and from Tsugawa have come to see me; and it is evident that the authorities of both these places are anxious to develop the resources of the territories under their jurisdiction with a view to foreign trade.

June 28.—Left Yonezawa early, and passing through Mia-uchi and other towns and villages, arrived at Koïdé in the afternoon. The town of Yonezawa itself is large, but the houses appear not to be so well built, nor the inhabitants as a rule so well to do as those of the country villages. The latter, in which the silk culture is apparently the staple occupation of the people, have about them an air of great comfort and tidiness. Koïdé, a rather large trading town, is one of the chief centres of the silk culture. The worms in Yonezawa this year were generally pronounced superior; but the quantity was said not to be very large. They had just begun to form cocoons. The intention here also appeared to be to make seed rather than silk. We discovered at this place that a practice was carried on which cannot be characterized by any milder term than that of a fraud. It appears that, the Yonezawa seed having obtained some reputation for superiority, cocoons already formed have been brought this year from Joshiu to Koïdé to be hatched and lay their eggs there. These eggs will thus come into the market as Yonezawa seed. The empty cards ready to receive these eggs, already bearing the Yonezawa stamp, were shown to us, and the persons engaged in this transaction appear to have little care for the reputation of their seed, provided they can make some money by the operation.

Although this was not the season for the reeling of cocoons, some of our party having expressed a desire to see the machine used for reeling, we were shown the same. It is of the very rudest description, and only great skill on the part of the girls employed in reeling the silk can account for the Yonezawa silk not being much worse reeled than it actually is. The machine used in Shinshiu and elsewhere had been lately introduced here; but want of practice in the use of it had prevented its general adoption.

June 29.—Proceeded from Koïdé to Ichinono, through a country which did not present any object of particular interest.

June 30.—Having received intelligence on the evening of the 29th, which induced us to hurry back to Niigata, the party now proceeded rapidly by Seki, Kurokawa, Nakajo, and Mano, to Niigata, which was reached on the evening of the 1st July. Probable indications of coal were observed between Ichinono and Oguni. Timber in some quantity grows on these mountains. A sulphur spring of no great importance near Seki was visited. From there the road lay through the great wheat, barley, and rice-producing plain of Echigo. The journey from Mano to Niigata was made by boat.

The party had thus been absent from Niigata for sixteen days, and had travelled a distance of probably over 290 miles.

(Signed) J. TROUP.

British Consulate, Niigata, July 13, 1870.

Inclosure 3 in No. 1.

Sir H. Parkes to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yedo, August 11, 1870.

MR. TROUP, Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Niigata, has reported to the Undersigned that he has recently made a short tour through the Province of Echigo, and parts of the neighbouring Provinces of Iwashiro and Uzen, for the purpose of inquiring into the resources of the country around Niigata, on the productiveness of which the prosperity of that port depends.

Mr. Troup informs me that his journey proved very interesting, and that he is much indebted to the Niigata authorities for allowing him to undertake it, and in particular to the Chikenji and other officers of the Wakamatsu Ken, the officers of Tsugawa belonging to the same Ken, and also to the Chihanji of Yonezawa and his officers for the great kindness shown him while he travelled through their respective territories.

The Undersigned begs to express to their Excellencies his high appreciation of these courtesies, which do much to promote national friendship and good-will, and he trusts that their Excellencies will be so good as to convey to all the authorities above-named his thanks for the attention they showed to Her Majesty's Consul.

Mr. Troup has made a few notes of his journey, and although the Undersigned cannot suppose that these notes contain any information that is not known to their Excellencies, he will be glad to place them at their disposal if their Excellencies would wish to see them.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 2.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 25, 1870.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 22nd of August, inclosing a copy of a Memorandum drawn up by Mr. Troup, containing an account of his recent tour through the Niigata district; and I have to instruct you to convey to that gentleman my approval of his conduct on the occasion in question.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

JAPAN.

Report of a Tour in Japan by Mr. Troup, from June 16 to July 1, 1870.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1871.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic Society.
CLASS

JAPAN. No. 3 (1871).

REPORT

BY

MR. ADAMS

ON THE

DETERIORATION OF JAPANESE SILK.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1871.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

[C.—388.] *Price* 1*d.*

Report by Mr. Adams on the Deterioration of Japanese Silk.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Granville.—(Received June 5.)

My Lord, *Yedo, April* 21, 1871.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship herewith a Report by Mr. Adams on the present condition of sericulture in Japan, and on the causes of the marked deterioration in the quality of Japanese silk during the last few years.

This deterioration is to be attributed in some measure to the hasty and imperfect system of reeling now practised by the natives, but probably still more to the excessive export of silkworms' eggs to France and Italy, a trade which, as your Lordship is aware, has assumed very great proportions in consequence of the dearth of good seed in those countries, owing to the prevalence of the disease called pebrine. Mr. Adams is clearly of opinion that the high prices paid by foreigners for these eggs have prevented native breeders of the worm for silk from purchasing, as formerly, first-rate native seed year after year. They have, therefore, been obliged to content themselves with the inferior seed of their own localities, and hence the silk produced has deteriorated.

Mr. Adams also shows that this excessive production of seed has been the cause of the increase of the parasite called uji by the Japanese, and that there is evidence of an increase in the amount of pebrine, which may in the future become a very serious matter.

It is, of course, impossible to interfere with the trade in eggs; and your Lordship will observe that the Japanese Government have declared officially that they have no intention of limiting this export. Such trade must of course be left to itself, and will doubtless eventually right itself by the operation of natural laws. There seems to be good reason to hope that pebrine is moderating in Europe, and consequently less seed will probably be required in future years from Japan.

As the subject of the deterioration of Japanese silk is at this moment exciting a great deal of attention among the foreign merchants in Yokohama, and as the Chamber of Commerce at that place has just appointed a Committee of some of its' members, for the purpose of making suggestions with the view of remedying the existing defects and mal-practices in the preparation of Japanese silk, I have thought it advisable to communicate a copy of Mr. Adams' Report to the Chamber.

The members of the Chamber will thus have before them, at an opportune moment, an authoritative opinion, in which I entirely concur, that there is great danger, if, as has been suggested, an official representation were to be made to the Japanese Government, and they were requested to take steps to remedy the present state of the silk industry, that the only result would be the framing of a number of complicated regulations by an official of no adequate knowledge, to be carried out by means of a swarm of officials throughout the country, whose dealings with the lower class would probably be neither very judicious nor very scrupulous, and that the enforcement of such regulations would not be beneficial to the silk trade.

I may add that I have received a letter from the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, acknowledging Mr. Adams' Report, and stating that he has handed the latter to the Committee now charged with the investigation of the subject, who, he believes, will profit materially by the assistance thus afforded them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure.

Report by Mr. Adams on the Deterioration of Japanese Silk.

IN my second Report on Silk Culture, I mentioned that there were two causes for the deterioration which has only been too evident of late years in Japanese silk, viz., the bad reeling and the immense export of silkworms' eggs of the best quality. With regard to the second of these two causes, I was careful to say that this trade in eggs would not be stopped; that as long as foreigners would give high prices for the cards, the great merchants from Uyeda, in Shinshiu, and from Yonezawa and Yonagawa, in Oshiu, would sell their produce to the former in preference to selling them to the natives. And this is still my opinion; such trade must have its way, and is not to be impeded or prohibited by the Government. Besides, the Treaties forbid any such action on the part of the authorities.

In my third Report I did not touch upon the subject, I merely recounted what my companions and I observed on our journey, and I have waited to hear the experiences of the last season.

From circumstances which have come to my knowledge, I am led to infer that it has been supposed that the British Legation has given advice to the Japanese Government to limit the amount of the export of cards from this country. In case any such idea has been entertained, I am anxious to take this opportunity of stating that it is wholly erroneous, as neither by Sir Harry Parkes nor by myself has such advice ever been tendered to the Government of Japan. In the early part of last year, when, acting on instructions from Her Majesty's Minister, I had an interview with Daté, then Mimbu Kiô (Minister of the Interior), for the express purpose of discussing with him certain matters relating to sericulture, and of deprecating any interference with the trade in silkworms' eggs, his Excellency distinctly assured me that, although the Government were well aware of the fact that the great export of eggs was doing harm, they had no intention of interfering with it. I thereupon said that I was glad to hear this, as, should any such attempt be made, the British Minister would have to protest against what would be a clear infraction of Treaty engagements.

A similar assurance was given by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs to the French Minister, in a letter dated the 20th of September, 1870, a translation of which was communicated to the Chamber of Commerce at Lyons by the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and it will be found in the "Moniteur des Soies," of the 10th of December last. Sawa and Terashima distinctly state that the Government has never entertained the idea of limiting the export of silkworms' eggs.

But it is not the Japanese Government alone who are aware of the consequences of the export of so much good seed. In the Report of the Yokohama General Chamber of Commerce, for the half-year ending on the 30th of June, 1870, a letter will be found which was addressed by the Chairman to Daté Mimbu Kiô on the 11th of the previous April. That letter contains the following passages.

"The production of seed carried to excess exhausts the race; and while the Chamber fully recognizes the fact that Japan is able to produce seed enough to meet the wants of Europe, in addition to its own, it would earnestly recommend a prudent use of this power.

"If Japan would retain the source of profit and wealth arising from the export of seed, and if Europe is to continue to receive this precious assistance, it is absolutely indispensable that a reserve of good seed should be retained in the country from year to year, and that the whole of it be not sold."

Such was the language held by the Chamber of Commerce to the Japanese Minister of the Interior. Now, most of the principal firms in Yokohama are members of that Chamber, and they belong to many nationalities, not only are there Englishmen, Germans, and Americans, but also Frenchmen and Italians. It may, therefore, be assumed that the majority of resident merchants, of whatever country, share in the opinion recorded in the passages of the letter just quoted. And those passages would never have been penned, if the Chamber did not feel that the matter was becoming serious, and that there was danger, not only that the French and Italian graineurs in a very few years would no longer be able to obtain good cards from this country, but that the quality of the silk would deteriorate year by year, more even from the excessive export of the eggs than from the bad and hasty reeling of the silk.

A few details here may not be out of place. Let us go back to 1865. The

foreigner then knew little about Japanese eggs; he considered 3 bus an extravagant price for a card, and when he was told that the native rearers of silkworms paid 8 bus a piece for good cards, he would not believe it. The Japanese were aware of this ignorance, and the large export of cards in 1865 was composed of mere rubbish. The consequence was that, in 1866, the European crop was no better, and the Japanese crop was no worse.

But gradually foreigners learnt wisdom by experience, and offering higher prices for the best eggs, they obtained them. In 1867 they exported 500,000 annual cards; in 1868, 1,500,000. The European crops were much better in consequence, and the Japanese were much worse. Complaints respecting the quality of the silk were loud in 1868, they were much louder in 1869, and in 1870 the effect of the export of 700,000 to 800,000 annual cards in 1869 was more than ever visible in the deteriorated quality of the silk.

As one instance of what has been taking place, I may mention that I have been informed, upon good authority that, in the district of Chichibu in Musashi, formerly so famous, there was hardly a good cocoon to be found in 1870. The fact, as stated by the breeders, is that formerly they bought good Shinshiu cards year after year, and thus always obtained good cocoons, whereas, now the price of eggs from that province is so exorbitant, that they no longer purchase them, but are obliged to content themselves with the inferior seed of the locality, and consequently the silk produced must be inferior in quality.

This excessive production of seed must necessarily increase the amount of uji. Now, it may be remembered that in my first Report (1869), I stated as follows:

"The numerous experiments which we made during our journey enable us to state that, in the most favoured district of Shinshiu, the proportion of uji was from 30 to 40 per cent., in another part of Shinshiu not far from the confines of Kôshiu an experiment gave 56 per cent., besides 10 per cent. of dead chrysalides; in Musashi, Jôshiu, and Kôshiu, the general proportion was from 60 to 70 per cent., and in one district of Kôshiu it even reached 84 per cent.; last year (1868) the average is said to have been only from 10 to 25 per cent."

A very similar passage will be found at page 17 of the pamphlet published in French by the three silk inspectors who accompanied me, two of whom were Frenchmen.

In 1870 the average was expected to be as low as in 1868, but the results have not borne out this expectation. In Shimonita, Tomiôka, Chichibu, and all the surrounding districts, the uji have been so numerous that the cocoons have in general been reeled during the late season. In Oshiu the parasite existed, as I have been informed, in great quantities; in Echigo it was not so prevalent, but I find in my notes that at one village, near Tochiwo, the amount of uji was calculated at 20 per cent.; and at Shimamura, a particularly favoured spot, where the average appears generally to be about 10 per cent., it was universally stated to be somewhat higher in 1870.

Now, the greater the amount of cocoons reserved for seed, the greater must be the number of uji. If proof of this really self-evident proposition be wanting, it can easily be given. Take 1,000 cocoons, and suppose, for the sake of example only, that 800 of them are reserved for reeling and 200 for seed, and suppose the amount of uji to be 20 per cent., the chrysalides in the 800 cocoons being suffocated, the 160 uji contained in that number die, and out of the 200 remaining 40 maggots kill the chrysalides, pierce the cocoons, live to become flies (according to our theory) the following spring, and lay their eggs in the new brood of worms.

But if the breeder, allured by the increased price of cards, and by the certainty of a greater immediate profit on them than on silk, suffocates only 600 of the chrysalides, it is clear that out of the remaining 400, the cocoons of which are not to be reeled, there will be 80 uji, and so on. It is an easy sum in arithmetic. Hence, the greater the amount of cocoons reserved for seed, the greater the number of uji.

It may be, from causes with which we are not yet acquainted—from certain conditions of weather, temperature, &c.—that many of these maggots will not, in a given year, turn into flies, or will die in the fly state before they have laid their eggs in the silkworms; but unless the Japanese can be persuaded to adopt the plan of killing these parasites when they emerge from the cocoons, their number will have an evident tendency to increase year after year, according to the increase in the production of seed.

With respect to the export of eggs, I do not mean to say that all the good cards are sold to foreigners. For instance, as far as Shimamura, in Jôshiu, is concerned,

there is evidence to show that the rearers for eggs are careful to reserve a certain amount of their very best cards for the succeeding season. But the excessive export is clearly injurious to many silk-producing districts, where the climate and soil are not so favourable to the silkworm, and where the system of renewing the eggs every year by purchase, from Uyeda and elsewhere, can no longer be continued.

Another alarming symptom relates to the disease called pebrine. There is, unfortunately, no room to doubt that this disease which has made such ravages in France and Italy, has existed in Japan ever since the export of eggs has been allowed. This is proved in M. Pasteur's book, "Etudes sur la Maladie des Vers-à-Soie." By microscopic observations he ascertained that the corpuscles, which are the cause of the disease, existed in some of the eggs presented by the late Shôgun to the ex-Emperor of the French (vol. II, p. 165); and he distinctly states (vol. I, p. 293) that a comparison of the eggs which came from Japan in 1865 and in the following years, proves that the disease is making constant progress in that country; he even prophecies that the time will come when the Japanese eggs will be no longer worth importing into Europe. This is a very serious matter, but it is one upon which I am not prepared to say anything further at present. But if pebrine is increasing in Japan, is it not to be attributed to this excessive production of seed for export—to this "grainage industriel" on a large scale?

On the other hand it is very possible that the export of Japanese eggs may decrease in the future. There seems good reason to hope that pebrine is assuming smaller proportions in France and Italy. The patient investigations of M. Pasteur have thrown a flood of light upon the nature of this scourge, and the system which he has devised for its prevention has been carried out with much success in many localities, both in France and Italy. More native seed is consequently being used, and therefore less will be required from other countries.

There has certainly been a great drop in the export since 1868. In that year there were exported to France and Italy 2,300,000 cards, a quantity much in excess of what could possibly be required; if the eggs of reproduction, either from stock originally brought from Japan or raised from native eggs, be taken into account. M. Pasteur says (vol. I, p. 302): "Thus, after having demanded a price of from 20 to 30 francs a card, the holders of this merchandize were obliged to sell, on the eve of the season of 1869, in all the markets of Gard and of the silk districts, thousands of cards at 10, 15, 25, and 50 centimes. . . . This circumstance will, no doubt, cause a great diminution in the importation of Japanese seed for 1870." And we know that the export of cards from here in 1869 was 1,400,000, which was a great diminution, whilst that for 1870 was 1,300,000.

With regard to the question of making representations to the Japanese Government, with the view of restoring the native silk to its pristine quality, I venture to observe, with all due deference, that great caution is necessary. Any attempt at even a partial prohibition of the export of eggs is, as already mentioned, out of the question. And if complaints respecting the present system, whether relating to deterioration of quality in the silk, bad reeling, or any other defect, are brought to the notice of the Government, and they are requested to apply a remedy, there is great fear that the only result will be the framing by an official of no adequate knowledge of a number of complicated regulations to be observed by every sericulturist in Japan. Such regulations would have to be enforced by a number of subordinate officials, of course of the two-sworded class, also ignorant of the art, and, it may be supposed, not likely to be very judicious or very scrupulous in their dealings with the farmers and peasants. It is at least doubtful whether the silk trade would be benefited by such a result. At the same time if a paper containing the principal articles of complaint, and such other observations as might be considered necessary were to be drawn up by a competent foreigner, and if a Japanese translation of this paper were to be disseminated throughout the silk districts by the Government on the one hand, and by foreign merchants in Yokohama to native silk merchants on the other, much good might be done. I am glad to hear that this course has already been suggested in Yokohama.

In my third Report I mentioned the unsatisfactory results of an experiment made with certain eggs of foreign origin which had been sent last season to Shimamura, in order that the hatching and rearing might take place there, and which were stated by the Japanese rearer at that place to be Italian eggs. I have since been informed by the gentleman who caused the cards to be sent to Shimamura that they were not Italian but Chilian eggs. The circumstances of the case were published last October in a Yokohama newspaper, and in its overland issue; and it

will be sufficient for me to say here that they were received from Signor Sada, an Italian gentleman in Santiago, who many years ago imported into Chili some eggs of the true Lombardy stock, and who gave his assurance that the cards thus imported into Japan were entirely free from pebrine.

To sum up in a few words the result of my observations. It appears to me that the production of eggs on a greatly extended scale has done harm, because it has increased the amount of uji, and has injured the race by the propagation of at least one contagious disease, namely pebrine; and that the excessive export of eggs has done harm, by forcing the rearers for silk to breed from inferior eggs, and thus the silk has suffered deterioration. But beyond disseminating information among the people on these or any other points, such as defects in reeling, sorting the silk, &c., I do not see what action can be taken beneficially. I am convinced that interference on the part of the Government would be more likely to do harm than good. The Japanese must come to see themselves what is best for their own interest; and if they find that the foreign merchant refuses to give large prices for their inferior silk, and that the demand for their eggs becomes less, whilst the prices offered for them diminish, they will surely be ready to adopt those changes which are manifestly required to restore the silk industry to its former level.

(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

Yedo, April 18, 1871.

JAPAN. No. 3 (1871).

Report by Mr. Adams on the Deterioration of Japanese Silk.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1871.

LONDON:
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JAPAN. No. 1 (1871).

THIRD REPORT

MR. ADAMS

ON

SILK CULTURE IN JAPAN,

DATED

AUGUST 5, 1870.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1871.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

[C.—243.] *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Third Report by Mr. Adams on Silk Culture in Japan, dated August 10, 1870.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Granville.—(*Received October* 31.)

My Lord, *Yedo, September* 5, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to forward copies of a Third Report by Mr. Adams on silk culture in Japan, giving the result of his observations during a tour which he made in the months of June and July last through the Provinces of Bushiu, Shinshiu, Joshui, and Echigo. The map, which is attached to this Report, traces the route which Mr. Adams and his companions followed during this journey, and also during that of last year, and shows how widely they extended in the present instance the field of their research.

I feel that it would be superfluous for me to commend this Report to your Lordship's notice, as it contains ample evidence within itself of the care with which it has been compiled, and of the industry which Mr. Adams continues to devote to the subject. The appointment by the Minister of the Interior of a Japanese Officer, and near relative of his own, to accompany Mr. Adams, afforded a gratifying proof of the interest now being taken in silk culture by the Japanese Government, and proved of material assistance to Mr. Adams, who was most kindly received by the authorities and people at every place he visited.

I trust your Lordship will approve of my having followed the course I adopted in the case of Mr. Adams' previous Reports, by allowing the present one to be published at Yokohama, in order that it may become readily accessible to the mercantile community in Japan, who are so much interested in the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure.

Report of a Visit to various Silk Districts of Japan, made by Mr. Adams, Secretary to Her Britannic Majesty's Legation, accompanied by Matsuné Gonroku and Messrs. J. Davison and C. Wirgman, in the months of June and July, 1870.

SINCE the date of my last Report the Japanese Government have devoted some attention to the subject of silk culture. Two Notifications, translations of which have already been published, have emanated from the Ministry of the Interior, under the intelligent guidance of Daté, ex-Prince of Uwajima. For convenience' sake I annex copies of these Notifications (Appendices Nos. 1 and 2); the first contains a series of questions which the natives are encouraged to investigate and answer, with a view of giving information to the Government: and the second treats of a variety of diseases incident to the "bombyx mori" at different stages of its existence, and to the intention of introducing European machinery in order to improve the reeling of the silk. To this document was added a Japanese version of the substance of my second Report, in so far as it treats of the uji, and of the necessity for European machinery. This, as well as the two Notifications, has been sent extensively into the silk districts by order of the Minister of the Interior, and it was also published separately. Six hundred copies were presented by the British Minister to the Yokohama General Chamber of Commerce, for distribution among the native silk merchants who come to Yokohama; and I took with me this

year a number of copies for distribution in the country wherever it might seem requisite.

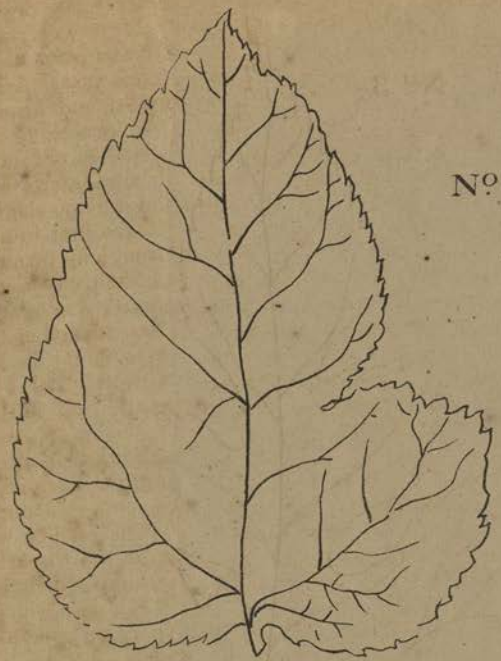
Owing to the manifest interest which the Japanese Government were evincing in the matter of silk culture, it was considered that it would be not only a courteous act, but one likely to prove of much benefit in an international point of view, if a Japanese gentlemen were associated in my expedition of this year. Accordingly Matsuné Gonroku, son-in-law of the Minister Daté, was invited, and formed one of the party. He was of the greatest assistance to me, both in smoothing away the little difficulties which inevitably occur on such a journey, and in obtaining for us more unrestrained intercourse with the natives. He also interested himself especially in the particular subject which occupied us; and it is no small satisfaction to me personally that it has fallen to my lot to be the first to associate a Japanese gentlemen with foreigners in an extended tour through his own country in the common interests of commerce. The other members of the party were Messrs. Davison and Wirgman. The practical knowledge of the former was again of great use to me. Unfortunate and unforeseen events had rendered our Legation very short-handed for the moment, and therefore no interpreter could be spared to accompany me. Mr. Wirgman, however, supplied that want; and I am also indebted to him for the sketches and maps which accompany and illustrate the Report.

Our guards were seven in number, and vied with each other in attending to our wants. I would particularly mention the head-man, Murata Uhachirô, who has accompanied me both years, and whose excellent arrangements and unremitting attention will always be remembered by us with pleasure. The civility which we met with from officers of various clans and districts, was even more marked than last year. Our journey extended to more than 600 miles, and Appendix No. 3 contains an itinerary of the whole route. Appendix No. 4 is a map which shows this year's as well as last year's route; and Appendix No. 5 is a general map of part of Japan.

We travelled on horseback, and started from Yedo on the 6th of June, our first point being Shimonita, a name well known in the Yokohama silk market. The direct road runs a little to the left of the Nakasendô, and gradually approaches the continuous range of hills and mountains which skirt the great Yedo plain. We first came upon the mulberry plants about forty miles from the Eastern capital. We commenced our investigations at Okawa, where the larvæ were either in their first rest, awakening from it, or had already completed their fourth rest. The eggs came from Chichibu in Musashi. The inhabitants of Okawa and the neighbourhood are in the habit of buying their seed, and confining themselves to reeling the cocoons. In the season a market day is held six times a-month; and the silk is brought in from a circuit of ten or twelve miles, and is generally bought by the head-man, who forwards it on to Yokohama for sale. The produce is computed at about 100 bales.

The worms were said to be very free from disease this year. There had been little frost in this neighbourhood during the spring, and hence the mulberry leaves were of good quality. As usual, those were considered best where there was a good current of air; and the trees near the river were most thickly covered with leaves, and throve best. As the weather had not damaged the leaf, fewer uji than last year were expected, the ravages of that parasite depending, according to these people upon the quality of the mulberry. At the same time they allowed that it was too soon to speak positively on this subject. They knew of no dark spot indicating the presence of the uji.

At Hachimanyama, on the 8th, the worms, mostly reared from eggs of the place, were either in their fourth rest, or near the spinning time. There had been a little frost whilst the larvæ were in the early stage, and their somewhat poor condition was thus accounted for. It seems, however, more probable that the cause was to be found in the inferior quality of the eggs. We were told that the town (of about 500 houses) reared 14,000 cards from annuals, and 4,000 from bivoltini. They were sold last year in Yokohama for 4 dollars a card. The peasants reel their own silk, and sell it to wholesale merchants either in their cottages or at the town market. There were a few diminutive cocoons, spun by worms after the second or third rest; and there were several worms which, having arrived at the period for spinning, were unable to perform that function. These were distinguishable by the unhealthy appearance of their extremities, and by the want of transparency in their bodies. They were expected to die in a few days. We could not ascertain the



No. 1

No. 3

No. 5

No. 2

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name of this disease; it was attributed to the larvæ having been fed either upon wet or damaged leaves.

We were assured that there has been a great increase in the cultivation of the mulberry in this district of late years; that even last year a number of fresh cuttings were planted; and in confirmation of this, as we rode along, we observed a quantity of young shoots. From Hachimanyama to Fujiôka the plantations of the mulberry were much thicker. They were to be found in patches, in lines bordering the fields, and in rows between the grain. The soil had now become much lighter; instead of a rich loam, it was sandy and stony, especially near the river, which forms the boundary between the Provinces of Musashi and Jôshiu; and the mulberry appeared to flourish in proportion as the grain yielded a poorer crop.

On the 9th at Tomiôka, a place of about 500 houses, we found healthy worms. Two diseases were mentioned, one called "fushikaka," where the portions between the joints swell after the 4th rest, and the worm dies without being able to spin its cocoon. This disease is not generally frequent in a crop. Another disease was called "kajimi," when the worm does not feed after the 4th rest, its head becomes a light red colour, and it does without spinning. This would seem to be the same disease as the "angaru kaiko," mentioned in the Government notification. Most of the eggs were said to come from Shinshiu; a small quantity, however, were of local production. A thousand bales were given as the average annual amount of silk sent to Yokohama.

The 10th and 11th of June we spent at Shimonita, and as it does not appear to have been previously visited by foreigners, some little description of the locality may not be out of place. It is a village of 270 houses, said to have been larger before a fire which took place three years ago. It contains one principal street, roughly paved, the houses being two-storied, and their roofs weighted with large stones. The street runs at right-angles across a narrow valley, almost hemmed in at this point by hills which rise up in abrupt peak-like forms, and are covered with trees to their summits. A river which takes its source in the hills near the top of the Wami Pass (dividing Jôshiu from Shinshiu), rushes past one end of the village, and is supplemented on the right bank by two streams emanating from narrow picturesque gorges. Along the banks of the river, on the sides of the hills, and indeed in every available spot, mulberry plantations are to be seen, in patches, in diminutive avenues along the paths, and in borders round the fields.

Shimonita has always been famed for producing some of the best hank silks which are sold in the Yokohama market. Its situation presents certain similar features to those common to the best producing places, such as the proximity to a river, and the light stony soil. As to elevation, it is higher than the plain which stretches from Yedo to Mayebashi and Takasaki, but not so high as the Uyeda basin. The several valleys which meet there must generally secure a current of fresh air that cannot but be advantageous to both mulberry-plants and worms. There was an appearance of health about the people, and of cleanliness about the rooms appropriated to the silkworms, and it was evident that silk culture is the one important business of the whole locality.

The most interesting visit of the first day was to the house of Ishigami Sanyemon, a little way out of the village, close to the river. He said that silk-culture had been practised in his house for a hundred years, and that he himself had reared worms for eleven years; that the seed came originally from Shinshiu, but that now his worms were partly hatched from Shinshiu eggs, and partly from his own; that he reared them in general for eggs, to be sold as well to people in the neighbourhood as in Yokohama; that last year there were a great many uji, but that this year a good crop was expected, owing to the favourable weather and to the healthy appearance of the worms. The latter were in first-rate condition, mostly approaching the period of spinning, and no particular disease was complained of.

He showed us his mulberry plantations, and pointed out several kinds of trees, both there and on our way. Drawings of six different varieties of leaves will be found annexed. The names given to the same leaf in various localities are quite different and very confusing. The "yotsumé," mentioned last year, does not exist under that appellation, as far as we could gather, in Joshiu. After much questioning here and in many other places, we were forced to come to the conclusion that the worms are in general fed indiscriminately on all the varieties, care being, however, taken to choose the most tender leaves whilst the worms are young, and immediately after each rest, as they are then more delicate. These mulberry-plants

were originally propagated, as we were told, mostly by seed from the adjacent Annaka district, but are now reproduced from cuttings and layers. It was gratifying to observe a number of fresh cuttings both of last year and of this spring. Manure is applied in autumn in the depth of winter and in spring. That obtained from the lees of saké is considered best, but night-soil, lees of rape-seed, and the bean called "daidzu" are also used. This information corresponds with that collected last year.

One disease in the mulberry leaf was very apparent. At a distance, white patches were to be seen on the plants, and these on examination were found to arise from some of the leaves being covered with long strings of a sort of white fluff, emitted from small light coloured insects called "kuwa-jirami (mulberry lice). All such leaves were tainted and unfit to be used as food for the worms.

On the 11th we walked some two miles down the valley to the house of Yamada Hiroyemon in the little village of Mayama. The worms were generally between the 2nd and 3rd, and 3rd and 4th rests. They had been kept purposely in the godown in order to be hatched later, the owner having another house to attend to were the worms were more forward. The eggs were all his own, and in general he reared for seed, but last year, owing to the great prevalence of the uji, he killed a number of chrysalides, and reeled the cocoons. This year the weather had been favourable and the leaf good, so that he expected a good crop.

We talked a good deal to the proprietor, and to several other men who were present, respecting the uji, and as they had not seen the Japanese version of my pamphlet, we left them several copies, and afterwards gave a few to the head official of Shimonita for distribution. They mentioned having observed a dark spot now and then on larvæ, but not often, and they believed such marks to be an indication of the presence of uji inside the worms, but they stated that such worms died without spinning. This is the only instance we have found as yet of any native testifying to have seen the aforesaid mark. It would seem fair to conclude from this information, that in a few instances the uji are in a more forward state, and feed upon and destroy the larvæ before they turn into pupæ. These men also said that the uji turns into a fly, but they persisted in asserting that it did so at the end of the sixth month (say at the end of July), about fifteen days after emerging from the chrysalis. This can hardly be true, for, as hereinafter mentioned, I have uji in my possession now which I have kept for more than a month, and there has been no change in them. Besides, upon pressing our informants, we gathered that they could not declare to have seen the fly come out of the uji, and they knew nothing of what became of it, or where it deposited its eggs. I mention the above to show how loose the observations of the natives are, and how ignorant and unreflecting they are upon a subject which vitally concerns their industry. As they said that they threw away all these maggots, we urged them by all means to put every one into boiling water or otherwise destroy them, which could at least do no harm, and would give but little extra trouble.

They said that the mulberry suffered a good deal last year from the "kuwa-jirami." They spoke of a disease called "hoshii," which comes on four or five days after the 4th rest, when the weather is very damp and changeable; the larvæ become red and die, and then turn white and stiffen. It was reckoned that, in 1868, from 15,000 to 20,000 cards were sent from Shimonita to Yokohama, and that in 1869, the number was about 8,000. This year they expected to equal the number in 1868. The average annual produce of silk is 800 bales.

Since my return, however, I have received information which shows how little the calculations of natives can be depended upon. M. Brunat, one of my companions of last year, who has lately visited Shimonita, Tomiôka, and the surrounding district, informs me that the amount of uji has been so considerable, that there will be very few cards this year from all that locality. The expectations of the rearers have, therefore, been singularly at variance with the result. They looked forward to good crops because the weather had been favourable, and the worms appeared generally healthy, and yet they have been disappointed. What, then, becomes of the theory so continually in the mouths of natives, that the quantity of uji depends on the weather, and the consequent state of the leaf? It was satisfactory, however, to learn that at Shimonita they were carrying out our suggestions and were killing the maggots. This is really an important step in the right direction.

From Shimonita we proceeded over the Wami Pass to Owaké in Shinshiu, and thence by the Nakasendô, over the Wada Pass to Lake Suwa; from there by Shiwojiri to Matsumoto, our object being to gather information respecting the

"bombyx yamamai," or oak-silkworm, which is reared in the open air not far from the latter place.

We arrived at Matsumoto on the 16th of June. It is a castle town of over 3,000 houses, lying on the eastern side of a broad level valley of high elevation and light soil. Immediately to its north a low range of hills runs partly across the valley, so that, at first sight, the town appears to be situated at the north-east corner of a plain eleven or twelve miles in length and six or seven in breadth, surrounded by high hills. Further down the valley reopens, but is narrower; and above the hills, which on the western side rise abruptly from the plain, a snowy range of granite mountains is visible, dividing the Province of Shinshiu from that of Hida.

At Matsumoto we were informed that we should have to proceed twelve or fourteen miles further along the valley, in order to reach the centre of the most favoured district for the culture of the "yamamai." Accordingly, on the following morning we rode along rough roads, and across swift torrents which are often impassable, till we reached the village of Furumaya, on the opposite or western side of the valley. There we put up at the house of the head-man, Mokuzayemon, himself a rearer of the worm, and from him, as well as from Benjirô and Tozayemon, of the villages of Tateashi and Arayama, we gained much interesting information. Their accounts tallied entirely in substance. It appears that there are sixteen villages, the inhabitants of which form an association called the "Matsukawa-gumi," and are entirely engaged in the culture of the "yamamai;" that this culture was first initiated about forty years ago, and since then had gradually taken greater dimensions, till the number of cocoons annually sold by the association alone is computed at not less than 20,000,000. The three men stated that the number which they severally reared each season averaged 170,000, 100,000, and 80,000, the price of each thousand being estimated at about 4 riyos (equivalent now to nearly 4 dollars); also that the cocoons, as well as the silk, used to be bought principally by merchants who came from Gifu in the Province of Mino. Now, customers also arrive from Echizen, Oshiu, Echigo, Yonezawa in Dewa, and from other places. The best sort of silk is sold, as we were informed, at about 840 riyos a picul; the inferior sort at about 530 riyos a picul. A stout kind of netting is manufactured from the silk, and it is also made up with other raw material, such as cotton.

The elaborate and scientific descriptions of M. Guérin-Méneville and M. Personnat in France, and of Dr. Wallace in England, have already made known the habits of the "yamamai," and the mode of rearing it in those two countries; I will attempt simply to record what we saw and heard in this district of the native land of the oak-silkworm. In other districts the mode of rearing may be somewhat different.

Close up to the western range of hills are a number of plantations of the "kunogi," which is considered by the rearers of Furumaya and its neighbourhood to be the best food for the "yamamai." Its leaf is pronounced to be that of the *Quercus Serrata*. The worms can be fed on other varieties of oak leaves, but those of the "kunogi" alone are used for the purpose in this district. The plantation at Furumaya is less than a square mile in extent, and is thickly covered with plants of the species in question, some mere shoots of a year's growth, others varying from 1 or 2 to 5 or 6 feet, and others even taller. These plantations were said to extend at intervals for a distance of 15 miles along the west side of the valley. The most approved method of propagating the "kunogi" was stated to be by sowing seed in a separate piece of ground, and then taking up the young plants and transferring them from these nurseries to the plantations. We were told that they are cut down close to the roots every three to five years, in order that fresh shoots might be given out. The soil is light and very sandy. The region is cold, and the leaves are often injured by the frost. The land belongs to peasants, who let it out in lots to different breeders, and there is a sort of rough surveillance, especially just at the period of spinning, but no particular watch seems to be kept, nor any thieving from man to be apprehended. The real thieves appear to be sparrows and other birds; and though some scarecrows are put up, and guns are said to be let off at times, no serious attempt is made to put a stop to such ravages. The leaves, too, are infested with other caterpillars, and we were told that red ants, though not prevalent in this particular locality, did damage. Black ants, too, were noxious when numerous, but nothing was done to prevent them from going up into the trees, where we saw them, sometimes swarming about the "yamamai" in

great numbers. In fact, in this, as in every other matter, the general principle of letting things take their course, and of leaving the issue to Providence, was plainly and painfully manifest.

The larvæ were mostly in the fourth and fifth stages, and it was a curious and most interesting sight to watch them clinging to the branches and leaf-stems, and to observe how completely their colour corresponded with the leaf on which they most delight to feed. Their bodies were of a pure and almost transparent green, with a bright line running down the sides, ending in a brown patch, the two quick-silver-like spots on each side being plainly visible. Diminutive blue spots were also to be seen at intervals along the body. So much did every colour and streak resemble the plants to which they clung, that it was some time before our eyes became sufficiently practised to distinguish them at all without close examination. The annexed sketches will give an idea of the larvæ upon the trees.

The eggs of the "yamamai" are deposited by the female on the bars of cages made of plaited bamboo strips, of the bell-like form delineated in the sketch. This is probably towards the end of July, and the cages are hung up one under the other, in rows of ten, under the eaves of the roof, where ventilation can be secured without exposure to sun, rain, or smoke.

In the 10th month (November-December) it is generally the custom to take the eggs off the cages with the fingers, and place them in hempen trays of oblong form, with wooden rims about 3 inches high. Care must be observed that the eggs are not crowded one upon another. The trays are placed upon the verandah. A cold atmosphere is essential at this stage. Sometimes the eggs are not detached from the cages, and the latter are placed in a shed outside the houses where good ventilation can be secured. The walls of the shed are formed of a course matting composed of reeds, and the roofs should be constructed of such material that no rain can penetrate inside and injure the eggs. About the end of the 2nd Japanese month (say the beginning of April) the eggs are collected in small hempen bags, which are placed in boxes pierced with holes in order to admit of proper ventilation. These boxes are either suspended out of doors amongst the trees where no sun can reach them, or kept in a cold cellar, where they are put into deep holes dug in the ground. This operation is only necessary when the hatching has to be retarded, because the buds of the "kunogi" have not come out. The eggs, in short, have to wait for the buds, which are expected about the eighty-eighth day after the Japanese new year (say at the end of April or in the first ten days of May), though they may be much later. As soon, however, as the buds have come out, all the eggs, whether from outside or from the cellar, are brought into the house, and fixed with paste made of barley, or, still better, of buck-wheat, on the middle of slips of paper five inches long and a quarter of an inch broad. About ten eggs are placed upon each paper, and all the slips are then taken to the plantation and tied to the branches of the "kunogi" in a single knot, which the nature of Japanese paper readily admits of, the two ends standing out at right angles to the branch. The paper thus surrounds a small section of the tree, the eggs lying on the external surface. The slips are placed in such manner that the eggs may have a northern aspect, and not be exposed to the rays of the sun. One slip is sufficient for a small plant, two or three may be attached to a large one. In four or five days the hatching will commence, and it continues for five or six days more; the young caterpillars, on leaving the shells, immediately crawl from the papers upon the "kunogi," and seek the leaves. We saw a number of these papers still remaining on the trees as they had been tied before the hatching, with the empty shells sticking to the surfaces, and we untied some and brought them away with us as specimens.

The length of time between hatching and spinning, during the whole of which the larvæ remain in the open air, passing through four periods of rest, is reckoned at about sixty days, more or less, according to the temperature. We were told that the first rest commenced on the seventh day, and continued for two days; that the succeeding three periods of activity and torpor were severally longer than the first, and that the spinning commenced about ten or eleven days after the fourth rest.

Three days after the commencement of spinning, said our informants, the hinder part of the cocoon is seen to be stained a white colour. This comes from the secretion of the "yamamai" which it emits after having finished spinning. The cocoons are then taken off the "kunogi," together with the leaves to which

Plate II.

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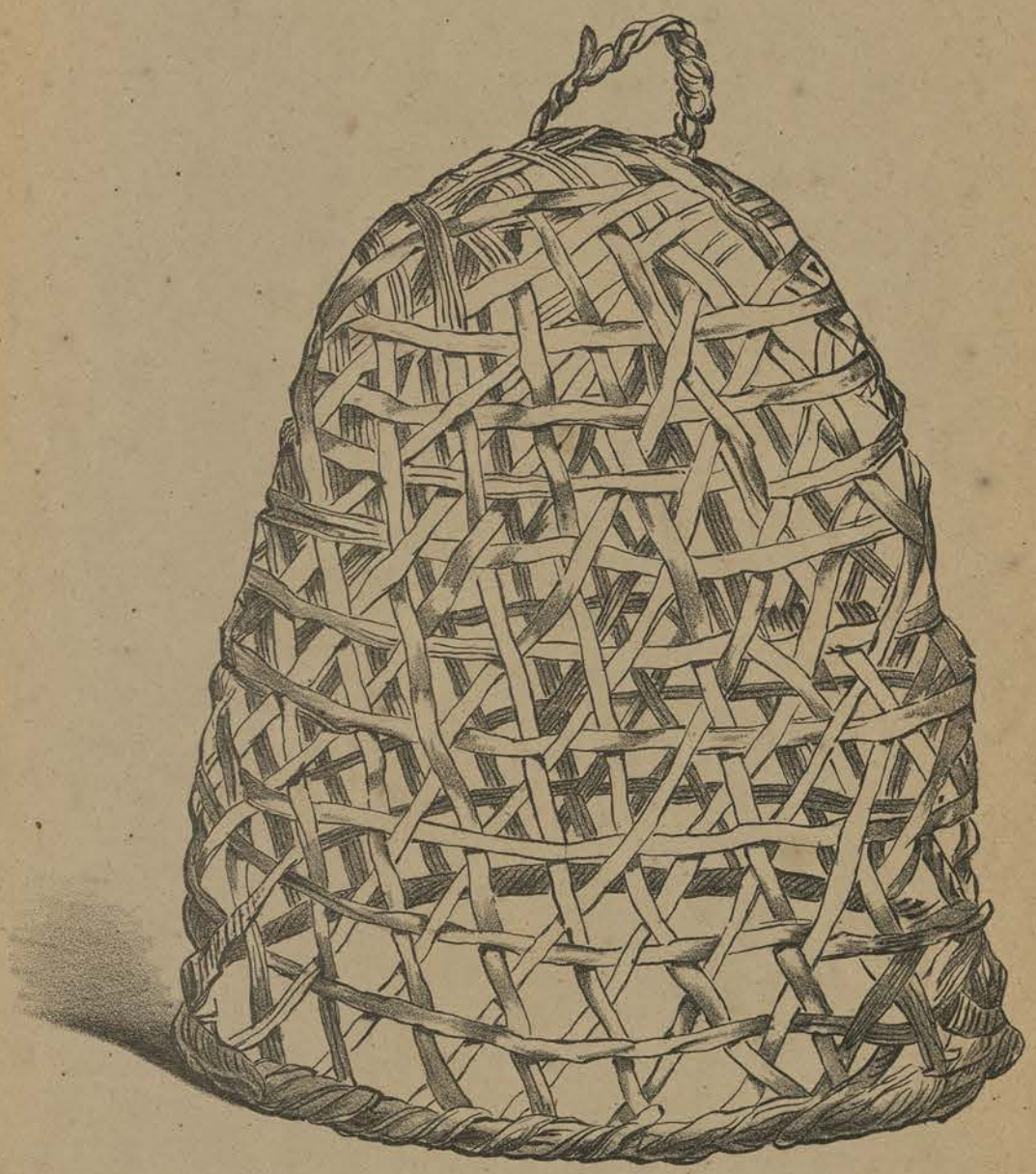
Plate III.

Harrison & Sons Lith. St. Martins Lane W.C.



YAMA-MAI BASKET-CAGE.

Harrison & Sons Lith. St. Martins Lane W.C.

Plate V.

REELING SILK, YAMAMAI.

Harrison & Sons Lith. St Martin's Lane W.C.

they are attached, and a small portion of the branches. They are then brought into the house, and placed upon shelves. About ten days subsequently, the leaves are stripped off, and the cocoons, held by the lower and broader ends, are shaken. Those which do not rattle are considered to contain dead chrysalides, and after having been dried through the action of a charcoal brazier, are reeled. Those which rattle on being shaken are considered to be in good condition, and such of them as are to be reserved for seed are placed in trays, and the moths emerge in about twenty-five days from the time of spinning. The remainder are, of course, subjected to heat, in order to kill the chrysalides, and are reserved for reeling.

The moths emerge between 4 in the afternoon and night, and the great majority of the first moths are males. The proportion was stated to us to be 300 males to 10 females. The males are then secured in the bell-shaped cages already mentioned, and as the females emerge, they are distributed among the males. It would be best, we heard, to place but one couple in a cage; in practice, however, several couples were put into the same, otherwise there would not be sufficient cages. One of the men said he had as many as 500. The bottoms of the cages are then closed with paper. The coupling commences in the evening, and lasts ten or twelve hours, after which the males are thrown away and die. It happens now and then that other males, coming from a distance, fly to the bars of the cages and couple with the females inside; these, however, are looked upon, not as legitimate husbands, but as interlopers, and their presence or absence does not enter into the calculations of the rearers of this district. The females then lay their eggs, as already stated, on the bars of the cages. This operation lasts four or five days, the average number of eggs to each female being estimated at from 150 to 200. The females then die. The best eggs are those laid on the first two or three days, and it is considered preferable that the males which emerge on one evening should couple with the females which emerge on the following evening.

The same process which has already been described is then adopted with the new eggs.

The men to whom we spoke did not seem to trouble themselves much about the uji. They all allowed that this parasite preys upon the chrysalis of the "yamamai," and they considered that it was more prevalent after a rainy season. They even talked of ten uji being found in one chrysalis. To our questions as to how they knew whether it existed, and at what stage of the "yamamai's" life it was observable, we received the invariable answer that they could only detect it after the worm had become a chrysalis, which did not rattle in the cocoon when the latter was shaken; that such chrysalides never turned into moths, and generally contained uji.

With regard to other diseases, they stated that after the fourth rest dark spots sometimes came out upon the worms, which subsequently die before spinning; that they are also subject to attacks of diarrhœa, which prove fatal; that another disease shows itself by a watery fluid exuding from the pores, the worms turning a brown colour and then dying. No particular names appeared to be given to these maladies. Our informants also said that if a considerable amount of rain falls whilst the egg-papers are attached to the "kunogi" in the open air, the eggs are apt to be spoiled.

We were shown a species of creeping plant called "tonzuru," with leaves resembling those of the convolvulus and a dark stem, which sometimes clings to the "kunogi." If the "yamamai" eats of these leaves, it is poisoned, and dies at once.

The three men who gave us the above information were evidently in easy circumstances, and they answered our questions readily and with intelligence. On the eve of our departure, we invited them to a meal partly of Japanese and partly of European food, in order to testify our sense of their willingness in assisting us with all the practical knowledge which they possessed in reference to the culture of the "yamamai," and we have reason to believe that our intention was duly appreciated, and that our visit to this valley will be remembered with some little pleasure.

The accompanying sketch will show how primitive a reeling-machine is used at Furumaya. It was taken from nature, some of last year's silk being spun in our presence. The woman sets the machine in motion with a chop-stick which she inserts in a hole in the wheel.

After our return to Matsumoto we crossed the Hofukuji Pass, and reached Uyeda on the 20th of June. The accounts which we received there and in the

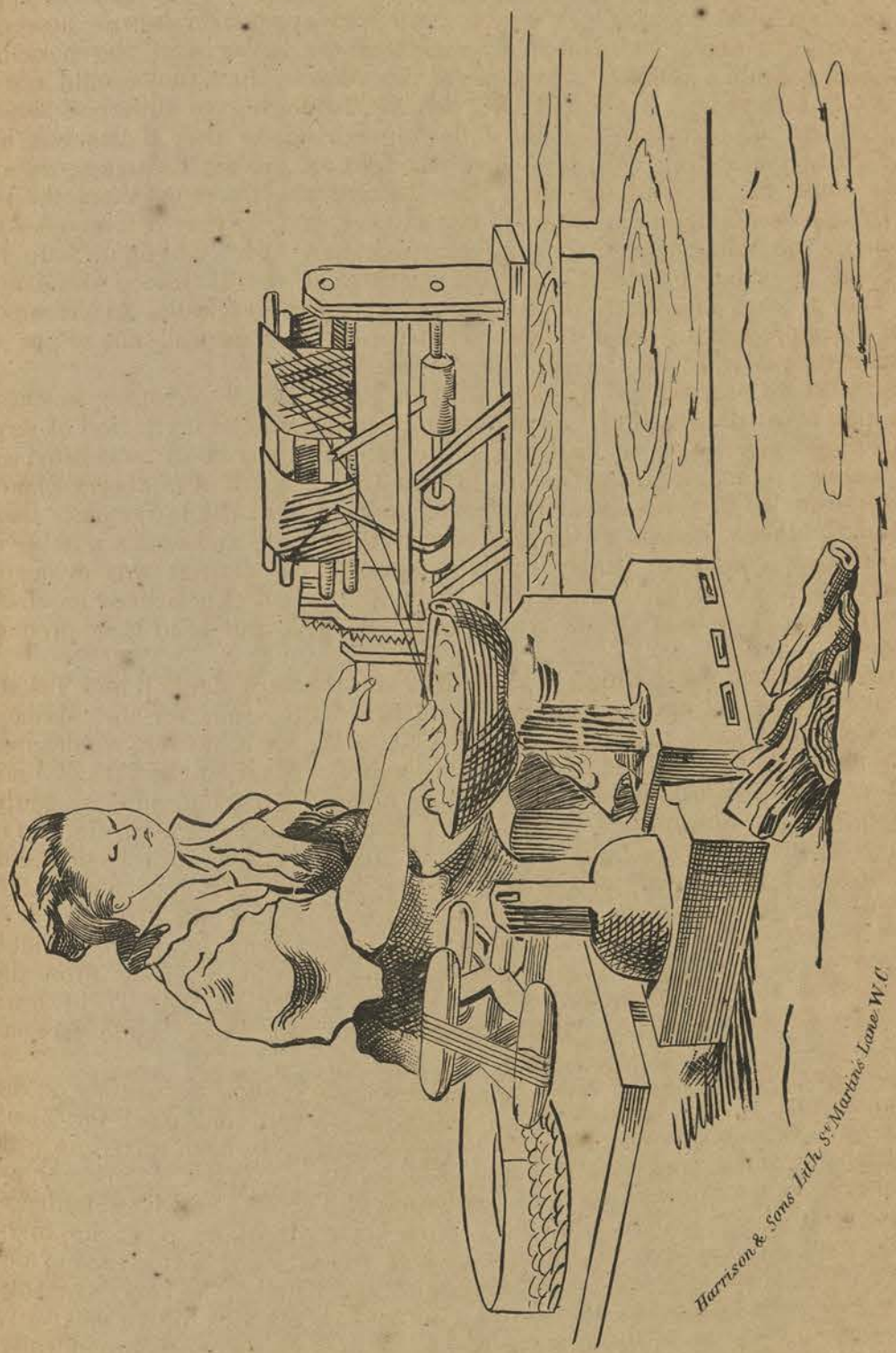
immediate neighbourhood with respect to the coming crop of "bombyx mori" were not so favourable as those which we had heard of the crops between Okawa and Shimonita, at the commencement of our journey. The weather in the spring is stated to have been very uncertain, and the frost and frequent changes are said to have injured both mulberry-leaves and worms. Consequently, a great number of the latter had died during their last stage. In the village of Komaki, on the opposite side of the river, we saw a quantity of diseased worms and of abortive cocoons. In the house visited on the 29th of June last year, the cocoons were small, and the moths were expected to emerge in about ten days. In another house we saw some splendid cocoons. A very few uji had appeared; it was, however, rather too early to know the probable amount of the ravages of the parasite: there was a vague idea, founded on no particular reason, that they would not be so numerous as last year. We found two persons, belonging to different houses, who said that the uji turn into flies the following spring, as they themselves had observed. Notwithstanding this, they never thought of killing the maggots, and all that we could do, as we have often done before, was to show them the oft-mentioned pamphlet, explain our views on the subject, and, leaving a few copies for distribution in the village, urge the natives to destroy every single uji. In the town there was the same complaint about the weather and the likelihood of a dearth of eggs. But as it is manifestly the interest of the egg-merchants to presage a scarcity of their produce in order to enhance its price, it is as well not to put too implicit confidence in what they say on the subject.

On the 21st we started for Niigata, whither I was called on other business, and I was glad to avail myself of this opportunity to accept the invitation of some influential Echigo merchants to visit the principal silk district of that province. The valley below Uyeda, as far as Yashiro (fifteen miles), is full of mulberry-plants, a great many dwarfed like those near the former town, and at the latter place there were some of the finest cocoons we have observed this year, and also a number of worms in excellent condition, nearly ready to spin. This district was evidently warmer and more protected than the Uyeda basin, and it had experienced less frost during the spring. The inhabitants rear mostly for eggs, and send their produce to the Yokohama market.

We then continued by the high road to Niigata, through Zenkôji and Takata in Echigo, and after skirting the western coast turned up again through Miôhôji, near which there are some petroleum wells, to Nagaôka. From there we dropped down the Shinano River in a boat to Niigata, where we arrived on the 27th of June. Leaving it again on the 3rd of July, we returned along the level plain close to the banks of the river for upwards of twenty-five miles. The next day, turning up in an easterly direction, and crossing a low range of hills, we came into a basin full of paddy-fields, in the midst of which was Tochiwo, a long village of 800 to 900 houses, which may be considered as the head-quarters of the silk district. It is situated on a small river. The horizon in front of us was bounded by high mountains, some of which were still streaked with snow, and they form the boundary between the Aidzu country and this part of Echigo. At Tochiwo we stayed in a comfortable house, where every preparation was made for our reception.

Up to the present time the Echigo silk has not been quoted separately on the Yokohama market. It has been mostly bought by natives and used for home purposes; what has found its way to Yokohama has generally been mixed up with Jôshiu or Shinshiu silks, and stamped and sold as such. There is, however, an evident desire on the part of the principal merchants of Tochiwo and its neighbourhood to make a name for Echigo silk, and to turn their attention to the improvement of its quality. Thirteen of them, amongst whom were Kanzayemon, the owner of the house where we were lodged, and Saizo and Kambé, the two merchants at whose invitation we had come, have already formed themselves into a company, with the avowed purpose of bringing their silks and cards more prominently forward, and of checking certain frauds which, as they allege, have been practised in the trade.

The district is situated, as already stated, close to mountains, and the soil, as usual, is light and stony. The mulberry is mostly planted on the slopes of the hills, a quantity of stumps appearing about an inch above the ground. Plants are also to be seen amongst the fields. Cocoons of the year were reeled for us, and I annex a drawing of the reeling-machine, which differs little from those of Jôshiu and Shinshiu.



SILK REELING IN ECHIGO.

Harrison & Sons Lith. St.Martins Lane W.C.

The next day was devoted to an excursion on horseback through various villages in the neighbourhood, and we examined a great number of cocoons, and some worms in the last stage. The impression made upon our minds, both on this and on the following day, when we continued our researches as we proceeded on our homeward route, was that the Echigo silk is in general inferior to that of Jôshiu and Shinshiu, that it wants nerve, and that the cocoons are of mixed quality. Still, in some spots where there was a good current of air, and on some of the higher levels, the cocoons were excellent. In other villages less favourably situated, there was a considerable refuse, and on opening some of these imperfect cocoons we found the worms dead before turning into pupæ, and either black or withered up.

We also found in a number of cocoons dead worms still in the larva state, each having a dark spot distinctly visible on its skin. On opening these larvæ we invariably found uji inside; and in one, on the skin of which two dark spots were seen, there were two uji. We can therefore now confidently assert that we have proceeded one step further in our investigations, and have proved that the parasite sometimes kills the worm before it turns into a chrysalis, and the hypothesis started at Shimonita, namely, that some uji are developed earlier than others, seems to be true. The small uji taken out of a larva last year, as mentioned in my second Report, was doubtless a particularly early specimen. One of the merchants informed us that he had kept some uji five years ago, and that they had turned into flies seven days after having pierced the cocoons. I ventured to doubt this assertion, and requested him to furnish me with a few, that I might make the experiment, and also to keep some himself with the same object. Up to the present time there is no change in mine. The proportion of uji was said to be much less than that of last year.

Nothing could exceed the attention and civility which we experienced at Tochiwo, and we are particularly indebted to the two merchants Saizo and Kambé, who only took leave of us at the end of our first day's journey after our departure from the above place.

We now proceeded on our way through valleys more or less extensive and full of paddy, and joined the regular road from Niigata and Nagaôka to Yedo by the Mikuni Pass. We met the mulberry and silk-culture at every step. This part of our route, however, does not call for any special remark; there were some worms in the last stage, but generally speaking they had spun their cocoons, and were either in "mabushi" composed of bundles of straw, or in trays in the streets, exposed to the sun's rays. Then, after having crossed over several high hills, partly on horseback and partly on foot, according as the nature of the road permitted, the scenery being very striking and picturesque, we found ourselves, on the afternoon of the 9th, at the summit of the Mikuni Tôge or Pass of three Provinces, viz., Echigo, Shinshiu, and Jôshiu, which meet at that point. As we descended into Jôshiu, amidst a profusion of fine timber, we came upon large mulberry-trees growing wild, and soon after they had disappeared upon silk-culture again. The large mulberry-trees had given place to pollards of three or four feet high, and to smaller plants. Many of these were full of leaves, whilst others were entirely stripped, which made us surmise that in this valley, leading down to the great plain, a good many "bivoltini" were reared, and on inquiry we found such to be the case. Much of the silk produced is taken to Mayebashi, and the eggs come in general from Shinshiu, though the "bivoltini" are produced from eggs of the particular locality.

Our next point was Mayebashi, where we arrived on the morning of the 11th. There we found reeling going on in every street, and 300 bales of silk were said to have been already sent to Yokohama. Some of the merchants whom our party met last year said that eggs were scarce, but that the silk was of good quality, and the specimens of the latter which we saw seemed to confirm their assertion. These men were very earnest in requesting us to use our interest with the Japanese Government, for the purpose of prevailing upon the latter to enforce a uniform system of paper-ties throughout the country, because this was insisted upon by the Mayebashi authorities throughout their jurisdiction. Certainly such a measure would be productive of advantageous results, and as it has been carried out in one district, there seems to be no sufficient reason why it cannot be extended to all. This is a matter for the consideration of the Ministry of the Interior.

The Inspection Office still exists, and I was told that it acknowledged the

defects which I was obliged to mention last year, and that it was desirous of removing them. It remains to be seen whether any progress will be made in that direction.

On our way back to Yedo from Mayebashi the only other place concerning which I have to report is Shimamura (which we reached on the 12th.

Shimamura is a village scattered over some extent of ground in the middle of the great plain, and it contains a number of substantial houses. Those which are specially devoted to silk-culture are roomy and well ventilated from the top. Last year, we were told, seven or eight new "magnaneries" were erected, and two more were built this spring. Yané, the proprietor of the house where we stopped, stated that he had erected the first of the kind nine years ago. I annex a sketch of one of these buildings, a description of which will be found in my first Report. In each upstairs room there was a thermometer, and during the breeding season care was taken to keep the temperature between 50 and 70 degrees Fahrenheit. There has been a decided increase of late years in the cultivation of the mulberry-plants. The best are those which grow in the sand near the River Toné, which runs at a short distance from Shimamura; they are all dwarfed, the stumps hardly appearing above the surface; there are also plantations in the fields about the village, the soil being less sandy and mixed with stones. These were considered inferior to the others, and the people had the following theory respecting the uji. They said that if the worms were fed upon leaves taken from the plants growing in the pure sand, they were entirely free from the parasite, whereas the chrysalides of a portion of those which ate leaves from the plants to be found in the fields always contained uji. They were very positive on this point, and one man in particular declared that he had proved it by actual experiment. No one, however, could explain how the parasite was generated, and in answer to our reiterated questions one and all simply repeated that it came from the worms eating bad leaves. We then asked them whether they found uji in any worms of the second crop of the "bivoltini," which had been fed upon leaves taken from mulberry-plants grown in the fields, *i.e.*, those of inferior quality. They replied in the negative, saying that whether the worms were fed on leaves from the plants in the sand or from those in the fields; the second crop was free from uji. This admission does not appear very favourable to the theory of the Shimamura farmers, that the parasite owes its existence to the fact of the worms being fed on particular leaves. Some declared that the uji turned into flies, but they had never had the curiosity to make any experiments, with a view of ascertaining what becomes of those flies. They were in the habit of throwing the uji into the river, and I heard that one man feeds his fowls with them. Almost all our informants declared that the parasite has appeared in greater numbers this year than last, but the average in this favoured locality is always small. The rearing is almost entirely for seed.

We found that cards of Italian eggs had been sent this season to Shimamura, in order that the hatching and rearing might take place there. The result of this experiment has not, I fear, been at all satisfactory. We were assured that out of over 26,000 larvæ which had been hatched, only about 10,000, had lived to spin cocoons; that the remainder had died off two or three days after the completion of the fourth rest; and that out of the 10,000 remaining, the proportion of uji was about 50 per cent. We were shown some of the cocoons, which, though generally well formed, were weak and soft. I am not possessed of sufficient scientific knowledge to affirm that these worms, which were produced from Italian cards, were affected with "pébrine," but the fact of the mortality occurring after the 4th rest tends to raise a suspicion that such may have been the case. The cards produced from the moths which had come out, and some of which were then laying their eggs, were to be sent to Yokohama—for re-exportation, we conclude, to Italy. We had heard at Fujiôka and Tômiôka in Jôshiu, and at Yashiro in Shinshiu, of similar experiments being made; we reached the two former town too early in the season to know the result there, but at Yashiro it was said to have been unsatisfactory.

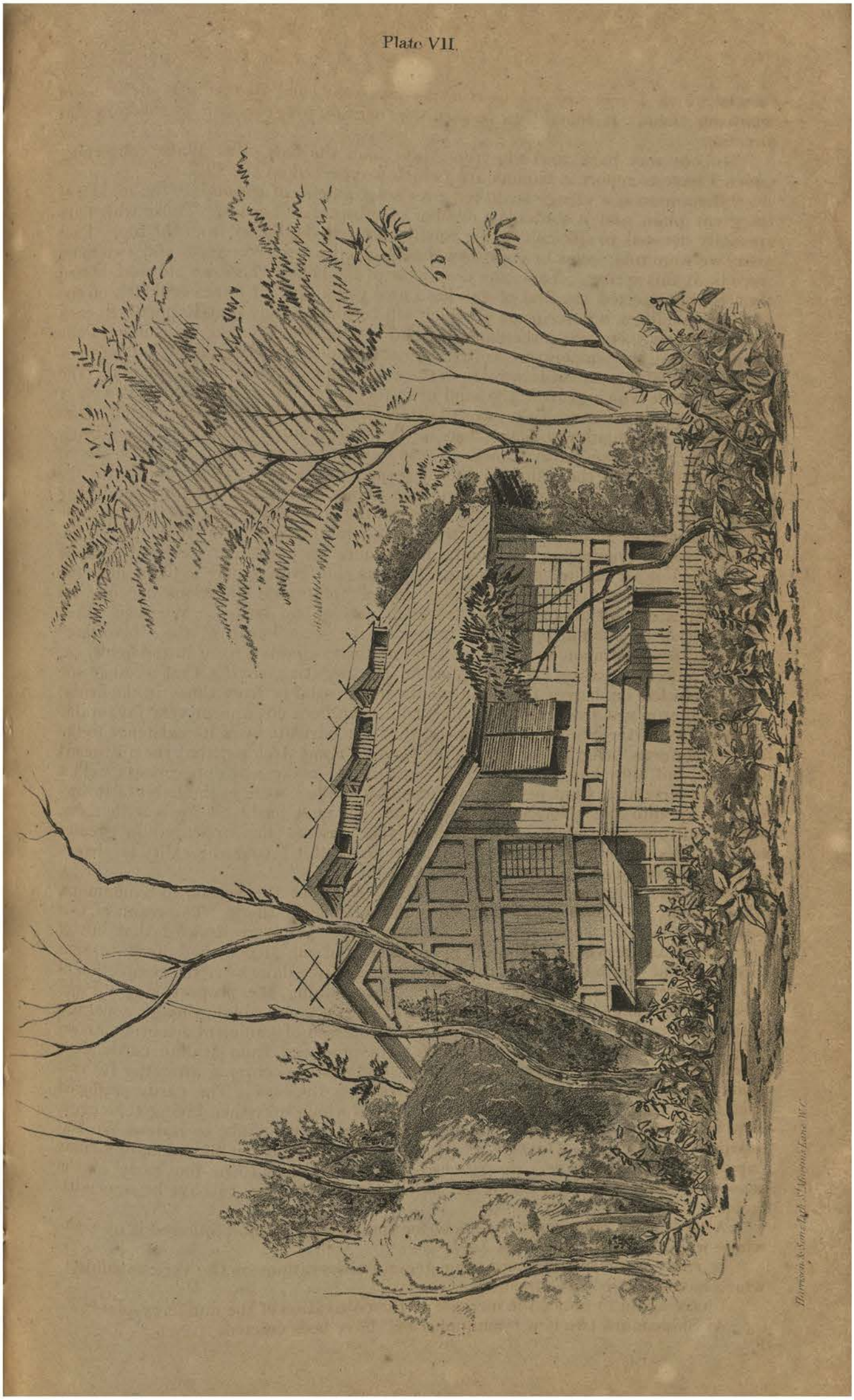
After leaving Shimamura, we made for the Nakasendô, and followed it to Yedo, where we arrived on the 14th of July.

It remains for me to record some general observations on the various subjects which have engaged our attention.

I have again to notice the increase in the cultivation of the mulberry-plants.

At Shimamura two new "magnaneries" have been erected.

Plate VII.



Harrison & Sons, Lith. St Martin's Lane, W.C.

In one part of Echigo there is a decided movement with a view to the improvement of the silk.

I am happy to be able to report that the suggestions which I have made with reference to the necessity of introducing European machinery in order to remedy the grave defects in the reeling of Japanese silk, and which have been urged on the Government by the British Minister, seem to have begun to bear fruit. And here again, as in the case of the paper-ties, Mayebashi takes the lead. The first filature that has been ordered is intended to be set up there. I am also informed officially that, under the auspices of a Company patronised by the Government, steps will soon be taken to establish a modern system of reeling at Tomioka, to be superintended by a skilled European.

Opposition must doubtless be expected at first from many who are accustomed to the primitive system now in use, and whose wives and daughters have found employment in the trade during a certain period of each year; but when once it is shown in different districts that silk reeled by European machinery is superior to that which has hitherto been turned out by the natives, and that it consequently commands a higher price, such opposition will grow fainter and fainter.

The most troublesome question to deal with is that of the uji. The Japanese silk-cultivators have accepted this scourge year after year as inevitable, and, considering it as such, they have never dreamed of carrying out experiments with a view to discover what becomes of the uji, or to provide means for at least lessening its ravages. They attribute it generally to the character of the leaves on which the larvæ are fed, and not only is this stated in the second Government Notification annexed hereto to be the opinion of the natives "whose skill is in greatest repute," but the writer of the official document appears himself to share in this belief. Last year I found no one who would admit that the uji did not die; this year some admitted and some denied that it turned into a fly, but no one attempted to trace it beyond that point. The fact that the fly must lay eggs never seems to have occurred to the Japanese. I think it is now abundantly clear, especially since the recent news from Shimonita, that no trust can be put in the surmises or theories of the natives.

The theory advanced in my second Report that the uji becomes a fly in the following spring, and pricking the young larva, deposits its egg or eggs within the skin, is approved of by M. Guérin-Méneville in a paper which he laid before the Académie des Sciences on the 18th of April last (see the "Moniteur des Soïes" of the 23rd of the same month). A similar theory is upheld by Mr. A. B. Farn of the Medical Department of the Privy Council Office in an Article which is published in No. 78 of the "Entomologist." It may reasonably be presumed that this theory is the true one, and it is surely for the Japanese Government, in the interest of so important a branch of the trade of their own country, to probe the matter to the bottom, and to settle the question once for all. What measures they should take it is not for me to discuss here, but they should not pause; the Notification on the subject which has already been issued is a beginning, but it is not sufficient to rouse the whole mass of silk-cultivators from their apathy. It is true that in that document the silk-cultivators are urged to make observations, and to send in written reports to the Government, but if the observations made this year should lead to no discoveries, then the only course would appear to be for the Ministry of the Interior to cause intelligent experiments to be conducted by competent men, who should visit the various silk-districts. Unfortunately, the science of entomology does not seem to be known in Japan. All that we can, I think, claimed to have proved this year during our journey is, as already stated, that the uji sometimes kills the silkworm before it has spun its whole cocoon, and whilst it is still in the larva state.

With regard to the prospects of the coming season, we cannot say that the number of cards is likely to be increased as far as annuals are concerned. The uji are evidently much more prevalent in some parts than was expected, and scarcity of eggs was complained of in several districts. Owing to the quantity of mulberry leaf which we observed still untouched, and to the knowledge which the natives possess that considerable profits were realized from the sale of "bivoltini" cards last year in Europe, the amount of these may be somewhat greater.

The average quality of the silk appears to be good, and the amount is likely to be at least equal to that of last season.

In conclusion, we may express the hope that, in a few years time, owing more especially to the gradual introduction of European machinery, and to the measures which will in all probability be taken to check the ravages of the uji, the trade both in silk and eggs will show a marked improvement.

Yedo, August 10, 1870.

(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

APPENDIX.

Appendix No. 1.

Notification.

(Translation.) *March* 1870.

SILK-CULTURE is an industrial pursuit of the highest importance to this Empire, and it is not only profitable to the persons engaged in it, but it also contributes largely to the increase of the national wealth. In course of time this art will be brought to perfection, and all the silk-cultivators will be skilled in its exercise. But at present the yield of silk depends on the skill or want of skill of the silk-cultivators, and the consequence is that some make large profits whilst others sustain considerable loss. Of late years the competition in the silk-districts for the profits of this industry has excited in some persons an envious feeling, and many have attempted it although unacquainted with the art of producing silk, notwithstanding that it was a task beyond their strength, and unsuited to their station in life. We have been informed that there have been frequent instances where persons, instead of bettering their positions, have lost their all in this way. This is very sad. Such a misfortune is to be attributed entirely to their own covetous desires. Still, inasmuch as there have been no scientific principles laid down for their aid and guidance, people imperfectly acquainted with the art of cultivating silk have contracted the idea that good or bad yields are blessings sent by Heaven. The consequence is that our knowledge makes no progress: a state of things which must not be allowed to continue.

Heretofore silk-culture has been considered to be an employment suitable for women, and to be an art which impressed itself on the mind by means of manual practice; but now that it has taken such a development, it ought to become the main occupation of whole families. In particular those persons engaged in the manufacture of cards, who have devoted special attention to this branch of industry, have noted down the conclusions which their practical experiments have led them to form. The present Notification, which will be circulated throughout the silk-districts, is intended to elicit general information on this subject, irrespective of difference of soil, climate, or methods of culture. When the replies shall have been received, the important points will be selected, and trivial observations will be rejected. In this way a body of information respecting the mode of silk-culture will be collected and published, so that mistakes arising from ignorance of principles may be corrected, and a way opened for their successful application.

Every one should therefore divulge the processes he has privately made use of, ann should draw up a Report under the following heads, which he should send in to the authorities:—

1. Structure of the buildings used in silk-culture; measures for regulating the temperature; means of affording shade and ventilation; fashion of the windows.

2. Treatment of the eggs; choice of cards.

3. Mode of delaying or hastening the change from the egg to the worm state, according to the growth in the mulberry-leaf.

4. Whether it is more difficult to rear the worm which produces the white, or that which produces the yellow, cocoon.

5. The most successful mode of treating the silkworm in the first stage of its growth; the number of times of feeding it; the degree of temperature; the arrangements of the building where the silkworms are kept.

6. Advantage or disadvantage of feeding the young silkworm on the mulberry flowers; whether the effects of feeding them with leaves moistened by rain or dew are good or bad.

7. From the commencement of the first to the end of the last moult, the circumstances connected with their moulting, the period of moulting, and the treatment of the worm when in this state; the mode of removing the less promising worms; the number of times of feeding, and the degree of temperature.

8. Arrangements for the worms when ready to spin; the number of days before the cocoon is spun; mode of removing the cocoons.

9. The number of days from the time the cocoon is formed till the worm is changed into a chrysalis; treatment of the cocoons.

10. The number of days from the time the chrysalis is formed till it is changed into a moth, together with the reason of the chrysalis becoming an uji.

11. Mode of causing the eggs to be laid on cards; the degree of temperature.

12. The number of days from the time the worm emerges from the egg till the cocoon is formed, and from the forming of the cocoon till it becomes a moth.

13. The reason why worms different from the "harugo" (annuals, viz., the "natsugo," also called "saide" ("bivoltini"), are produced from the eggs twice in the same year, and also the mode of manufacturing the eggs of these two descriptions of worms.

14. How many moths are required to cover thickly with eggs one card (half the size of the original card), and how many eggs are required to cover a card.

15. How many mulberry-trees are required to feed the silkworms produced from one card (how many horse-loads); also the arrangement and size of the rooms employed, and the expense of the necessary implements.

16. The different species of mulberry, with the qualities of the soil and the mode of cultivation.

17. What condition of climate or other circumstances are noxious to the silkworms, with the kinds of diseases to which they are liable, and their causes.

18. Measurements and drawings of implements used in silk-culture; description of the worm in its different stages, and accurate drawings of cocoons, of chrysalides, of uji, and of moths.

One set of drawings from each neighbourhood would be sufficient.

The above are merely rough headings from which much that has reference to processes in local use has necessarily been omitted, but this should not dissuade any one from observing facts closely, and from reporting the results of his investigation to the authorities in writing.

(Signed) HOME DEPARTMENT.

Appendix No. 2.

Notification.

(Translation.)

AS a consequence of the opening of Japan to foreign trade, the profits of silk-culture have become gradually greater, and a great impulse has been given to this branch of industry. All persons engaged in the cultivation of silk in Dewa, Oshiu, Iwaki, Iwashira, Shinshiu, Kodzuke, Kai, Tamba, Tajima, and other provinces, are doubtless endeavouring daily after increased excellence in this art. They test the goodness of mulberry trees grown on different soils; they calculate the effects of warm or cold situations, and excellent plans of cultivation will doubtless be the result. They should, however, remember the saying, "Fear posterity," and that it is impossible to affirm that the extreme limit of progress has been attained.

It is asserted that, of the two branches of sericiculture, the profits of reeling silk are not equal to those of the manufacture of egg cards, but of course distinctions should be drawn, as the profits depend upon such things as soil, climate, the kind of mulberry with which the silkworms are fed, and the skill or want of skill in attending to their growth. Both classes of producers, while pursuing their personal profit, confer a benefit on the country at large, and it should be their object, working together harmoniously in their respective departments, to study the principles of their art, and endeavour to raise it to the highest perfection.

The first part of the process of producing silkworms' eggs is to choose those of the best quality. The eggs are transformed into caterpillars, from which time until they are ready to spin they must be fed through their four stages of torpor and activity with mulberry leaves of proper quality; all these operations may have been performed with the minutest care, and yet after the silkworm has at last become a cocoon, in some seasons, a dark spot appears on the chrysalis contained

in the cocoon, and an uji is produced from it, by which the number of eggs for that year is greatly diminished. This calamity being independent of any good or bad quality in the silkworm itself, but being entirely attributable to natural causes, is truly regrettable. Amongst large numbers of silkworms, especially when it is remembered that their transformations depend upon the temperature, and that, after changing their form several times, eggs are again arrived at in the short space of about thirty days, numerous diseases are caused by unsuitable temperature, or a want of proper care in supplying a wholesome kind of mulberry leaf. Nobody says that these diseases have no cause, and is it not painful to attribute a plague like that of the uji solely to Providence because we have not yet ascertained its causes?

According to the statements of those manufacturers of cards whose skill is in greatest repute, the attacks of the uji depend upon the kind of mulberry with which the silkworms are fed. If they are fed with leaves from trees growing in a situation to which the wind has not free access, such as those growing inside "yashikis," or upon leaves from trees which have not been manured, or of trees whose vigour has decayed from old age, although the caterpillar does not appear to suffer when the cocoon stage is reached, it seems that the poison declares itself, and an ulcer is formed upon the chrysalis which becomes an uji. It will doubtless prove, upon examination, that this account is true, but it cannot be said that any proof has been obtained, or that the bottom of the matter has been arrived at, except that it is clearly shown by further investigation what is the origin of the uji and what it afterwards changes into. A pamphlet containing the results of investigations made by some European gentlemen into the cause of the uji will be circulated generally through the silk districts.

The causes of the uji's appearance should be investigated by the light of facts, and if the observations made this year by silkgrowers should lead to any discoveries a written report should be drawn up and forwarded to Government. If the discoverer's views are conclusively established, he will not only be suitably rewarded, but his treatise, with his name attached, will be published throughout the Empire.

It seems that a strange disease called "koshari" has been very prevalent of late years. It attacks the full-grown silkworm, which is suddenly paralyzed, and the entire crop dies. The strangeness of the disease has caused it to be considered contagious, and the sheds have been changed in which the silkworms were kept, the utensils employed have been thrown away, and other losses sustained. This disease also has doubtless its cause, and as the temperature is affected by a change of the sheds, this practice is doubtless well grounded, but is it not painful to have merely to call this disease contagious, and not be able to indicate its cause? Its cause has not yet been ascertained in foreign countries either, but if investigation should lead to any decisive proof, the result will at once be publicly notified, and any person who may succeed by an actual observation of facts in determining the cause of this disease should communicate to Government the results of his observations. If he should appear to have ascertained the true cause, he will be treated as above.

The silkworm is affected by a variety of diseases. Two or three days after it emerges from the egg it is liable to a disease when it is said "kane ni naru," *i.e.*, to become metal. When attacked with this disease it becomes black, and dies while still in the caterpillar state.

Sometimes the first or second period of torpor is missed, in which case the body of the silkworm contracts, and it eventually dies. This is called "yasumadzu."

Another disease is called "angaru kaiko." The head of the silkworm swells, it becomes a light red colour, and dies.

The "chijimi kaiko" is a disease, when attacked by which the silkworm gradually wastes away and dies.

The occurrence of hot weather or a strong south-east wind after the silkworm's fourth period of torpor (the "niwa yasumi") produces a disease called "fushi kaiko," in which the joints of its body become prominent. It afterwards turns a dark colour and its body mortifies.

This stage of the disease is called "tare kaiko."

The above are the principal diseases to which the silkworm is liable, but there are doubtless many others produced by inferiority of soil, of climate, of the mulberry or of the method of cultivation. The ignorance of the causes of all these diseases is due to the negligence of silk growers, and if this continues, the intelligence of other persons cannot be stimulated.

If there is any explanation of any of the above diseases, let the discoverer draw up a report and forward it to Government, when he will be treated as above stated.

A machine for reeling silk, called "futatsu dore," has lately been introduced, and employed for articles for the foreign market, and also for Japanese fabrics. This a convenient machine, but very imperfect in its construction, so that foreigners are greatly discontented with the inferior quality of the silk reeled in this way. and buy it at a lower price, which is the reason why at present greater profits are secured by the manufacture of cards. Still, this should be no reason why the entire silk-culture should be solely devoted to this particular branch. Even if it were, as reeling is an occupation which can be pursued after the card season has closed, it is desirable that reeling machinery should be introduced, greater skill attained to, and the profits of the silk growers increased in proportion. Machines for this purpose will shortly be procured from abroad, their construction taught, and the mode of using them clearly explained. Persons who want these machines should send in their names without loss of time. As soon as they are constructed, their use will be explained, and full permission given to purchase them.

The above to be notified to all without exception in the districts where silk is grown.

(Signed) DATE, *Home Department.*

Appendix No. 3.

Itinerary.

1870.

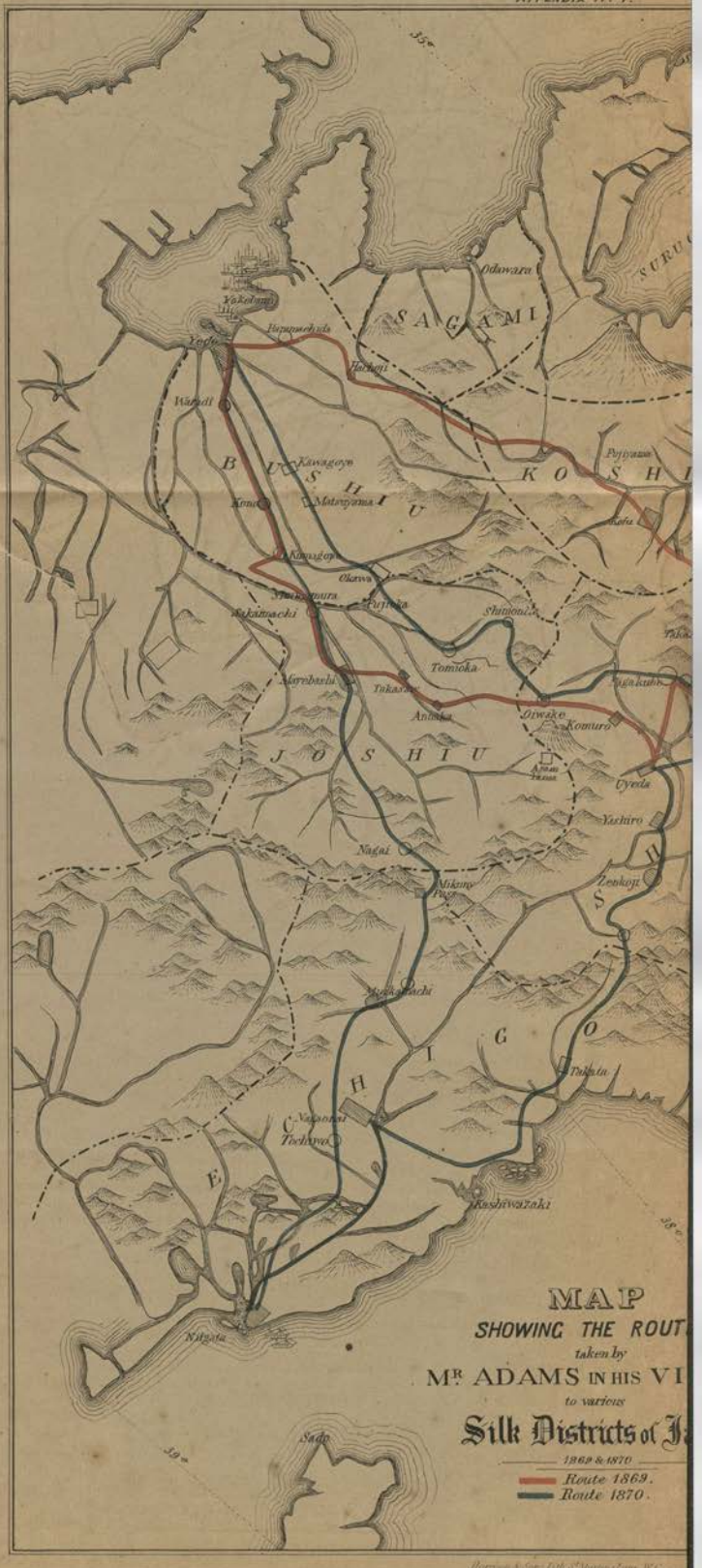
June 6. Yedo to Oi.
7. Oi to Matsuyama. Matsuyama to Okawa.
8. Okawa to Hachimanyama. Hachimanyama to Fujiôka.
9. Fujiôka to Tomiôka. Tomiôka to Shimonita.
10. 11. Shimonita.
12. Shimonita to Oiwaké.
13. Oiwaké.
14. Oiwaké to Wada.
15. Wada to Shiwojiri.
16. Shiwojiri to Matsumoto.
17. Matsumoto to Furumaya.
18. Furumaya.
19. Furumaya to Matsumoto. Matsumoto to Hofukuji.
20. Hofukuji to Uyeda.
21. Uyeda.
22. Uyeda to Yashiro. Yashiro to Zenkôji.
23. Zenkôji to Nojiri.
24. Nojiri to Takata. Takata to Kuroi.
25. Kuroi to Kashiwazaki.
26. Kashiwazaki to Miôhôji. Miôhôji to Nagaôka.
27. Nagaôka to Niigata.
June 28. to July 2. Niigata.
3. Niigata to Sanjo.
4. Sanjo to Tochiwo.
5. Tochiwo.
6. Tochiwo to Suwara.
7. Suwara to Muikamachi.
8. Muikamachi to Mitsumata.
9. Mitsumata, over the Mikuni Pass to Nagai.
10. Nagai to Yokohori.
11. Yokohori to Mayebashi. Mayebashi to Isezaki.
12. Isezaki to Shimamura. Shimamura to Kumagaye.
13. Kumagaye to Urawa.
14 Urawa to Yedo.

Appendix No. 4.

Map showing the Routes taken by Mr. Adams in his Visits to various Silk Districts of Japan, in 1869 *and* 1870.

Appendix No. 5.

General Map of part of Japan.



MAP

SHOWING THE ROUT

taken by

Mr ADAMS IN HIS VI

to various

Silk Districts of J

1869 & 1870

Route 1869.

Route 1870.

Morrison & Gibb Lith. Edinburgh

Harrison & Sons Lith. St. Martin's Lane W.C.

JAPAN.

Third Report by Mr. Adams on Silk Culture in Japan, dated August 10, 1870.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1871.

LONDON.
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic Society.
CLASS

JAPAN. No. 2 (1870).

FURTHER REPORT

FROM

MR. ADAMS,

SECRETARY TO HER MAJESTY'S LEGATION IN JAPAN,

ON

SILK CULTURE IN JAPAN.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1870.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

[C.—72.] *Price* 1*d.*

Further Report from Mr. Adams, Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation in Japan, on Silk Culture in Japan.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received March* 14.)

My Lord, *Yeddo, January* 21, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to forward a further Report from Mr. Adams on the silk culture of Japan, containing much useful information relative to the destructive parasite called "uji," and the deterioration in the quality of Japan silk in consequence of careless preparation.

I shall bring these points to the notice of the Japanese Government, in the hope that the native silk-growers may be stimulated to remedy these evils.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1.

Further Report by Mr. Adams on the Silk Culture of Japan.

Yeddo, January 12, 1870.

SINCE writing my last Report, dated August 7, 1869, I have obtained some further particulars respecting the maggot called uji, which feeds upon the chrysalis of the silk-worm, and also respecting other matters connected with the whole subject treated in the Report.

There seems to be no doubt that the Japanese are quite wrong in stating that the uji dies a few days after it leaves the chrysalis. M. Piatti, an Italian gentleman residing in Yokohama, has been kind enough to place at my disposal several specimens of uji in different stages, and I have had the accompanying drawing made, in order to illustrate the subject for the benefit of the Japanese.

No. 1 is a silkworm, the dark spot on which indicates the presence of an uji in its intestines; this spot has been observed between the third and fourth moutls; whether it is always to be seen on worms containing uji I cannot yet affirm; No. 2 is a cut cocoon; No. 3 is a chrysalis with a similar dark mark to that on the worm in No. 1; No. 4 is the light-coloured maggot as it appears when it first issues from the chrysalis; No. 5 is the black dried up appearance of the uji after four or five days; No. 6 is the same with its outer skin taken off, plainly disclosing the embryo of a fly.

It now only remains to ascertain at what period the fly emerges. This must be in the spring; and the fact that uji are rarely, if ever, found in the summer crop of the "bivoltini," is accounted for on the assumption that the fly into which this maggot turns is hatched during the period of the first crop of worms, and being, like all such creatures, short lived, dies before the second crop of worms comes into existence. If an uji is found in a chrysalis of the second crop, the conclusion is, either that that crop is particularly early or that the fly is a particularly late one.

The uji also preys upon the "yama mayu" (oak silkworm). This variety hatches at the same period as the "bombyx mori." I was unable, during my last summer's trip, to visit the district of Matsumoto, in Shinshiu, where the greater part of the "yama mayu" are reared, but some of the chrysalides in possession of persons in Yokohama have been found to contain uji.

With regard to the manner in which this parasite is introduced into the body of the worm, the better opinion appears to be that the fly fastens upon the young worm, and pricking it, deposits its egg or eggs (for there may be two or more) within the skin; that then, as in similar cases, adipose matter is formed round each egg; that when the

egg is hatched, the maggot feeds upon this matter, and increasing in size, penetrates more and more into the intestines of the silkworm. Recent communications from China favour this theory; the disease seems also to be prevalent in that country, and it would be interesting to obtain from there some details bearing upon this important subject.

The Japanese make one fatal mistake. They throw away all the uji, under the impression that they are dead, or doomed to die in a few days. Now, if instead of doing so, they would destroy them all as soon as they come out of the cocoons, it seems to follow as a matter of course that the number of flies, which, according to the present theory, would come out the following spring, must be very materially diminished, and that the disease would be at once arrested. But the Japanese could do still more. When the silkworms are going to spin, they should separate all those which from the dark mark upon them are known to contain uji, and they should suffocate all the cocoons produced by these worms, thus destroying the uji at the same time. These cocoons would of course be reserved for reeling.

This is a matter which could easily be taken up by the Government. Information should be disseminated throughout the silk districts that the uji does not die, but that it turns into a fly, and lays its eggs in the silkworm, and those employed in the trade should be enjoined to destroy every uji they can find as soon as it emerges from the cocoon, and to set aside all the worms and suffocate all the cocoons which are known to contain the parasite. In this manner the disease ought to be arrested at once, and, it would seem, eventually eradicated. It is not necessary to dwell upon the beneficial results to the silk trade which would follow the adoption of such measures.

The inspection office (" Aratamesho") which we visited at Mayebashi has not fulfilled all the purposes for which it was said to have been established. The only advantage gained is, that there has been a certain uniformity in the size and weight of the paper ties. The foul hanks have not been rejected; indeed, I am informed that what has been bought this season from the Agent Hikishimaija is in general more tangled and unclean than the produce of the Mayebashi district in previous years.

In fact, the complaints of the degenerate quality of this season's silk are universal. I have had some conversation with one silk inspector, who buys for a house in Lyons, which employs the article entirely at home for making goods, and not for speculation with the hopes of selling it again at a profit. He states that he has never had such difficulty in procuring hanks suitable for his employers, and that there has been very little really first-rate silk in the market since the beginning of the season.

Other silk inspectors, whilst they have bought a fair quantity because they hope that a profit on resale may be realized in England, declare that the general quality has visibly deteriorated, the hanks being unclean and very tangled.

As I have mentioned in my former Report, one reason for this deterioration is, that the Japanese, carried away by the high prices which foreigners have hitherto given for silk, have looked to quantity rather than quality, believing that they can sell at a remunerative price whatever produce they bring to the Yokohama market. Their sole object, therefore, is to reel the cocoons as quickly as possible, and to get the silk off to Yokohama. More women are consequently engaged at the reeling period, and not only are the new hands inexperienced, but being for the most part paid according to the amount which they reel, they do their work in haste and carelessly.

Another cause of the deterioration of the silk doubtless arises from the immense export of eggs of the best quality. This trade, however, will not be stopped; as long as foreigners will give high prices for the cards, the great merchants from Uyeda, in Shinshiu, and Yonezawa and Yonagawa, in Oshiu, will sell their produce to the former in preference to selling them to the natives. The foreigners not only buy the cards dearer than the natives, but they pay cash, whereas it is the custom of the Japanese buyers to pay only one half cash and the other half after the crop.

I must now repeat what I have stated in my former Report, viz., that modern machinery should be introduced into Japan. This is essential. The " filatures " used in France and Italy would not, I am told, be entirely suitable for this country. The one fact that the women who are employed in reeling are much smaller in stature than the European reelers, would require the machines to be somewhat different, and other modfications are considered necessary by those who have studied the subject. Once, however, let the great proprietors in the silk districts take the matter up, and there can be no doubt that machinery of a kind adapted for Japan would soon be forthcoming. At the same time, a certain number of European reelers should be engaged to teach the Japanese how to use the machines. The natives would soon learn their lesson, and thenceforward would be able to do without any teachers. The silk would then become

clean and uniform, and would rise in value, soon making up by its increased price for the first outlay in machinery.

This is a matter which the great proprietors should take into their immediate and serious consideration.

I annex hereto a Table showing the amount of cases of silkworms' eggs shipped in 1869 to France and Italy by the three great steam-boat lines, and also the gross weight of the cases in pounds avoirdupois. It will be seen that the total export of cards in 1869 is estimated at 1,390,000 against 2,300,000 in 1868. The universal ravages of the uji have, as was expected, much to do with this considerable decrease.

I am also informed that the total shipments of silk from the 1st of July, 1869, to the end of the year, are about 6,850 bales against 12,000 in 1868, and 5,000 in 1867, for the same period. There is, however, no dearth of silk in the market. Indeed, from all appearance, the crop of 1869 seems to be quite as abundant as that of 1868, but much less business was done in Yokohama during the last six months than during the corresponding six months of 1868.

(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

Inclosure 2.

STATEMENT of Export of Silkworms' Eggs in 1869.

	To France.	To Italy.	Total.	Gross Weight.
	Cases.	Cases.	Cases.	lbs. avoirdupois.
Per Messageries Impériales	1,965	1,633	3,598	189,641
„ Peninsular and Oriental Steam-ship Company ..	1,733	950	2,683	126,678
„ Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company	78	..	78	3,510
	3,776	2,583	6,359	319,829

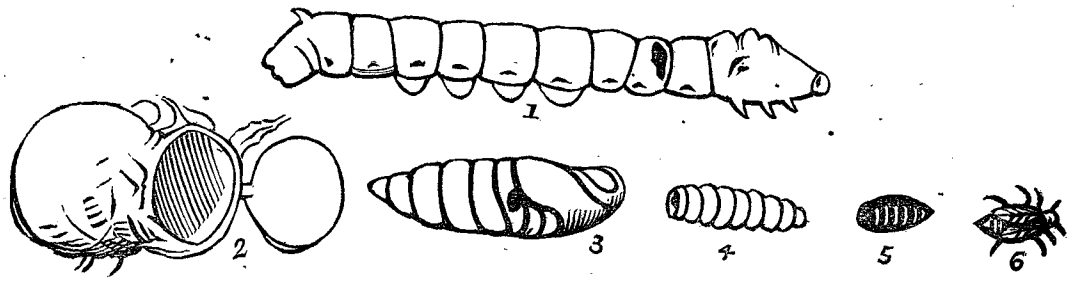
	Cards.
The gross weight for 100 cards being found to be 23 lbs. on an average, 319,829 lbs. give a total export of	1,390,500
Or an average number of 220 cards per case. The returns of the Custom-house for export duty paid give a total of	1,360,000
The daily returns for arrivals, settlements, and stocks, from 28th June to 1st December, result in total settlements of	1,420,000

Taking the average of the three above figures, the total export may be stated to be:—

	1,390,000	cards in	1869
Against	2,300,000	„	1868
„	850,000	„	1867
„	950,000	„	1866
„	3,000,000	„	1865

Inclosure 3.

Drawing illustrating the Uji.



No. 1. Silkworm, the dark spot on which indicates the presence of an Uji in its intestines.
No. 2. Cut cocoon.
No. 3. Chrysalis, with similar dark spot to that on No. 1.
No. 4. Uji when it issues from the chrysalis.
No. 5. Uji after four or five days.
No. 6. Same as No. 5, with its outer skin taken off.

JAPAN. No. 2 (1870).

FURTHER REPORT from Mr. Adams, Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation in Japan, on Silk Culture in Japan.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1870.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

JAPAN. No. 1 (1870).

REPORT

BY

MR. ADAMS,

SECRETARY TO HER MAJESTY'S LEGATION IN JAPAN,

ON THE

CENTRAL SILK DISTRICTS

OF

JAPAN.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1870.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

[C.—27. *Price 8d.*]

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic Society.
CLASS

Report by Mr. Adams, Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation in Japan, on the Central Silk Districts of Japan.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 3.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, August 9,* 1869.

I LATELY reported that Mr. Adams, accompanied by Mr. Wilkinson, and three members of the foreign community, had visited certain of the principal silk districts for the purpose of acquiring information as to the culture of the silkworm and the prospects of the silk season which is just commencing.

The success of this expedition is proved by the inclosed valuable Report which has been drawn up by Mr. Adams, and which I have the honour of laying before your Lordship.

In view of the local importance attaching to the subject, and the great desire evinced by the merchants here to profit by the information which has thus been gained, I trust your Lordship will approve the determination I have taken to communicate this Report to the Chamber of Commerce at Yokohama, without waiting for its publication in England.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1.

Report upon the Central Silk Districts of Japan.

Yeddo, August 7, 1869.

I LEFT Yeddo on the 22nd of June, 1869, accompanied by Messrs. Davison, Piquet, and Brunat, silk inspectors belonging to three different firms in Yokohama, and by Mr. Wilkinson, of this Legation, as interpreter.

We travelled on horseback, and, as has been usual in the expeditions into the interior of Japan, which have been taken from time to time of late years by bers of the Diplomatic Body, we were attended by a mounted escort, consisting of ten yakunins, supplied by the Government. One or two of their number started before us in the morning, and gave warning of our approach to the officials of each post town in the day's route. Much trouble was thus avoided with respect to the transport of our baggage and provisions, and on reaching our resting-place for the night we found the officials and the keepers of the "honjin," or hotels, prepared to receive us.

On the road we met with great civility, both from the retainers of Daimios through whose territories we passed, and from the yakunins of the post-towns and villages. Our escort were also uniformly attentive to our wants, and the Government had even inserted in the "Official Gazette" a formal notice of our intended journey.

In order to show our route more clearly, I annex to this Report a tracing of a Japanese map. The original map, though not strictly accurate, is sufficiently so for

the present purpose. I also annex a Table containing the names of a number of towns and villages through which we passed, and the distance between them in "ri," as nearly as they can well be computed from the Do-chiu-ki, or road-books. A "ri" is calculated to be 2·442268 English miles, so that during our journey we rode from 280 to 290 miles.

Owing to the practical knowledge of my companions, and to their acquaintance with Japanese merchants at each of the principal silk depôts, we experienced little delay in obtaining the information we desired, and we were thus enabled to cover a large extent of ground in the fortnight.

Before proceeding farther, I wish to state that I am indebted in a very great measure for the substance of this Report to my three companions, Messrs. Davison, Piquet, and Brunat, they having kindly placed at my disposal the copious and valuable notes which they had collected. Mr. Wilkinson acted as our interpreter, and I am sure that I am expressing the sentiments of the rest of the party by testifying to the ability and willingness with which he discharged his task.

The silk districts of Japan are confined to the principal island, and may be divided into three groups: the Northern, designated under the general name of Oshiu; the South-Western, including those of Echizen, Sodai, Mashita, &c.; and the Central (the object of our journey), which produces the Mayebashi, Shinshiu, and other varieties of hank silks, as well as the silks of Kôshiu and Hachôji.

We found the worms in general in the chrysalis state, and saw numbers of trays of cocoons baking in the sunny streets. Still, near the borders of Musashi and Jôshiu, and on the 30th of June at Kaminosuwa, in Shinshiu, we observed some late worms in the stage between the third and fourth casting of the skin. At Annaka, in Jôshiu (26th June), many were just ready to spin. At Uyeoa (28th and 29th June), and other places in Shinshiu, and in parts of Kôshiu (first days of July), the moths were beginning to emerge from the cocoons, and to lay their eggs. Reeling was going on almost everywhere.

In Musashi, Joshiu, Shinshiu, and Sagami, is produced the greater part of the class of silk which is tied up in hanks, and sold under the name of Shinsiu and Mayebashi hanks. In Kôshiu the silk was formerly always made up in bundles; but since the decided preference shown by foreigners for the above two descriptions of hanks, much of the Kôshiu silk is made up in that form, instead of in bundles as before.

It has long been known that some regions of Japan are more favourable than others for the production of eggs. Mountainous districts, at a distance from the sea, appear to be the most propitious; and the Japanese rearers of silkworms, whom we questioned on the subject, invariably informed us that their seed came mostly from Shinshiu. None but the poorer class of peasants, as for example those in Koshiu, rear silkworms hatched from their own eggs; so that in general the silk of the five provinces in question may be said to have a common origin, and the seed to be renewed year after year from Shinshiu. The difference in the quality manifestly results from the difference in climate and soil, and in the culture of the mulberry, the rearing of the worm, and the reeling of the silk.

Our route to Mayebashi lay through an extensive and well-cultivated plain, among the products of which are rice, both paddy and upland, grain, buck-wheat, hemp, rape, and a great variety of beans and other vegetables. We first observed the mulberry some twelve ri from Yeddo, in the neighbourhood of Konosu; and we subsequently met with it ulmost universally, except upon certain high levels, where the Japanese had doubtless found by experience that the cultivation of its leaf, and the rearing of the worm, were rendered too uncertain by the frequent variations in the temperature.

Near the borders of Musashi and Jôshiu, the soil became more sandy and stony, and the country is traversed by a number of streams, mostly of little depth. We crossed the broad River Tone, the largest in the Kwantô, and then visited Mayebashi and Takasaki, the head-quarters of the Jôshiu silk district. The former town is the seat of the Daimio Matsudaira Yamato no Kami, from whose retainers we experienced marked civility.

At Mayebashi we were conducted to a house where an office (Aratami Sho) has been recently established for the inspection of the silk of this Daimio's territory. We were told that there were fifteen merchants in the town, and seventeen in the country round about; that they formed a species of guild; and that they bought all the silk which was reeled in the territory. This silk, we were informed, was henceforward to be inspected at the office, where all foul hanks would be rejected,

and a distinguishing mark put upon the remainder, which would then be dispatched to Yokohama to a newly appointed Agent of the name of Hikishimaya.

After my return, when in Yokohama, I met this agent and ascertained that he had already established himself there for the purpose above mentioned.

One of the Kerais of the Daimio paid me a visit, and I took an opportunity of asking him whether he had seen the paper published last year and circulated by the Yokohama General Chamber of Commerce, embodying certain complaints made by the foreign silk merchants with respect to Japanese silk.

The Kerai answered that it was owing to his Prince having read this very document that he had established the office, and that it was hoped by this means to send better silk to the Yokohama market, and thus restore the former reputation of the Mayebashi hanks.

I impressed upon the Kerai the advantage which would accrue to the native as well as to the foreign merchants if greater pains were taken with the winding of the hanks, thereby preventing the prevalence of the foul and tangled places which at present tend to deteriorate the value of the silk, and also if all the paper ties were made of one uniform size and weight.

After visiting Takasaki we left the plain and entered a mountainous region which we did not finally quit till we approached Hachôji ou the 5th of July.

As we rode up the valley to the Usui Tôge we observed a much larger quantity of the mulberry; the trees bordered many of the fields, and occupied the whole of some. They were larger than most of those which we had already seen, varying from 3 to 6 feet high, some being even considerably taller. The aspect of the country, with its sandy, stony soil, and its hilly character, reminded my French companions of that in which silkworms are reared in France.

After crossing the Usui Tôge, a high pass which divides Jôshiu from Shinshiu, we proceeded down a valley to Uyeda, one of the centres of the renowned silk district of Shinshiu. The town is situated in a large basin, which is bounded by hills of considerable height, some snowy summits appearing in the distance. The River Chikuma flows past it and falls into the Aka, one of the largest rivers in Japan, which runs into the sea at Neegata. The air in the whole of this high level was clear and bracing, and there was a healthier look about the inhabitants. Large tracts of land are devoted to the culture of the mulberry in the immediate neighbourhood of Uyeda.

In the little village of Nagase, which we passed soon after leaving Uyeda, all the silkworm cards are fabricated during the spring. The season was over for this year. Our route to Kôfu, the capital of Kôshiu, was by rough, stony roads, across the Wada Tôge to Kaminosuwa, where we received much attention from the retainers of Suwa Inaba no Kami, the Daimio of Takashima. Thence we continued through poorly-cultivated valleys, which abounded in huge boulders, and where the broad, rocky beds of the streams, and strong stone breakwaters running out from the banks, testified to the violence of the torrents in rainy seasons.

Kôfu, the centre of the Kôshiu silk district, is situated in a large plain, surrounded by mountains. It is a town of some extent, and possesses one of the castles lately belonging to the Shôgun, but now held in trust for the Mikado by the Daimio Akidzuke Ukiô no Ske, President of the House of Representatives sitting in Yeddo. The plain is full of paddy; and when we were leaving it, and began to ascend again, we came upon a quantity of vines, trained on horizontal trellis frames, which rested on poles at a height of 7 or 8 feet from the ground. Crystals are found in some of the surrounding hills.

The quality of Kôshiu silk has been found to vary considerably in different years, and even that of a single year is often of several qualities. The cause of this is manifestly to be sought in the climate. Mist covered the tops of the mountains during all the time we spent in this province; a contrast to the clear weather we had enjoyed in Shinshiu. Such a misty atmosphere in April and May, combined with the sudden returns of cold so common in this country, cannot but be prejudicial both to the culture of the mulberry, and the rearing of the worm. The cocoons which we examined in Kôshiu were often of an inferior description; the villages are poorer, and the inhabitants have a less healthy appearance than those of the more favoured Shinshiu.

We continued our journey through hilly country, and over two passes, till on 5th July, we dropped down into the plain, and arrived at the well-known town of Hachôji, within the Treaty limits.

On the 6th July I returned to Yeddo, and my companions to Yokohama.

I will now proceed to record the result of our observations under the following heads :—

The Mulberry Tree.
The Silkworm.
The "Uji."
"Grainage."
Silk Reeling.
Re-reeling.
Bivoltini.

The Mulberry Tree.—The increasing demand for silk since Japan has been open to foreign trade has stimulated the production of the mulberry tree, and we were able to satisfy ourselves at different points of our journey that its cultivation is decidedly on the increase.

In general, the trees are planted along the borders of the fields; sometimes they appear in rows across them, at such intervals from each other as not to interfere with the other crops. At Uyeda, in Shinshiu, however, large fields are entirely devoted to the cultivation of the mulberry, the dwarf trees being planted on ridges, in lines at a distance over 2 feet from each other, the ridges being more than 3 feet apart. But this was a solitary instance, as far as our observation was concerned.

As a rule, the tree is kept in a dwarf state, the stumps not being allowed to grow more than from 10 to 18 inches above the ground. Sometimes they are permitted to attain a height of 4 or 5 feet, especially when they are grown in the middle of the field. The few full grown trees which we observed were generally in the vicinity of dwellings.

The reason alleged by the Japanese for preferring the dwarf to the full-grown mulberry is, that the leaves of the former are softer and better adapted for feeding the worms.

Several kinds of mulberry trees are cultivated in Japan; of these, as we were told, the most common are—

The Yotsume, the Nedzumigaishi, the Oha, the Kikuha.

These species are all known in Europe. The yotsume has a narrow, irregular, and deeply indented leaf, and is the earliest of the several kinds; its buds and tender leaves are given to the worms during the first few days after their birth. The other three kinds bear the ordinary oval leaf, with regular serrated edges.

Three modes of reproducing the mulberry were described to us; from seed, from cuttings, and from layers. The latter is the favourite mode, and was stated to be as follows:—

At the end of June, the branches of a good healthy tree are bent to the ground, the middle portion being hidden in the earth, and the ends pointing upwards. By degrees the portion in the earth takes root, and in the following month of April the ends are divided from the parent branch, and are then removed to a ground which has been carefully prepared as a nursery.

After twelve months, the shoots or young trees are transplanted from the nursery to the field where they are intended to remain permanently, and it is only after another twelvemonths, making a total of three years from the period of layering, that the branches are fit to be cut for the purpose of feeding the worms.

The plantations are manured three times a-year; in January, April, and July. Night soil, the lees of saké (a liquor fermented from rice), the lees of rape-seed after the oil has been pressed out of it, the excrements of the silkworms, carefully dried and preserved, decayed vegetable matter, &c., are used for that purpose. In July, straw mixed with manure is sometimes buried at the foot of each tree.

In Shinshiu, where the greatest care is taken in the cultivation of the mulberry, manure is applied to the soil a fourth time, in October. The finest nurseries are situated in the valley of Uyeda, where the dry sandy soil near the banks of the river is justly considered by the Japanese as the most favourable spot for rearing the mulberry.

Pruning is practised once a-year, between April and July, at which period the branches are cut, and carried away for the feeding of the worms as hereafter described. A certain number of trees are, however, left untouched in almost every plantation for the second rearing of the "bivoltini" worms. This takes place immediately after the first rearing, viz., in July or August, according to the season. The full-grown hard leaves of the unpruned mulberry are given to these summer

worms after the second casting of the skin, up to which period they are fed on the tender new sprouts which have been plucked by hand off the pruned trees.

The autumn leaves are allowed to fall, and are used as manure.

After a period of from forty to fifty years the trees are considered to be exhausted. They are then taken up by the roots, and replaced by new ones.

The Silkworm.—The trade in silk and silkworms' eggs has evidently been a source of increased prosperity to the population of the provinces which we visited; for instance, both on our road from Menuma to Mayebashi, and in Uyeda, we noticed a number of newly-built houses for the rearing of silkworms.

These buildings, called in French "magnaneries," are generally situated in an isolated and well-ventilated spot; they are constructed much after the fashion of most Japanese houses, and a description may be interesting to those who have not been in this country.

They consist of a solid framework of wood, the corner posts resting on stone foundations, and the intervals between the posts being made of trellised bamboo, covered with an inner and outer coating of dried mud; they are two-storied, floored with planks, and communicate with each other by means of a sort of ladder, which can hardly be dignified by the name of stairs. There is no ceiling between the second story and the roof, which is made of tiles, thatch, or shingle spread over with heavy stones as a defence against the high winds and hurricanes. On three, if not four sides of the building, there are the usual outside sliding doors or shutters of wood, working in grooves; and these are only closed at night or in bad weather. There is a verandah between them and the paper slides, which serve instead of windows, and provide light and air as required. These slides consist of light wooden frames of trellis work, covered with paper. Sometimes a well-protected aperture is seen in the roof, thus completing the system of ventilation. A thermometer is generally not wanting. In one of these buildings which we entered they told us that the room had to be kept up to 70° Fahrenheit, and that if the temperature fell below that point a charcoal brazier was immediately lighted. In the largest "magnaneries" there is sufficient space to rear the produce of ten cards; but there are as yet few of these establishments in Japan. As a rule, the peasants rear their worms in the upper story of their own dwellings, the family living on the ground floor; but when the upper story is not large enough, every available corner in the house is used to accommodate the silkworms.

The time for hatching varies from the 20th April to the 5th May, according to the altitude and the season. As soon as the temperature is favourable, and the early leaves of the mulberry begin to sprout, the cards are taken from the paper bags in which they have been hanging from the ceiling, and are suspended in the open air in a shady spot. Sometimes the first few worms which are hatched are thrown away, because they are looked upon as weakly, or because it would be troublesome to rear them apart; sometimes they are kept without food until more come out. The hatchings of two days are then deposited on small wooden frames covered with paper. This operation is performed either by shaking the card over the frames, or brushing off the insects gently with a feather.

For the first two or three days the worms, as already mentioned, are fed with the young buds of the yotsume mulberry. These buds are cut fine, and spread amongst the worms. Some give the worms no food at all during this period; others feed those which are first hatched sparingly, and give the later hatch plenty of food, in order thereby to equalize as much as possible the development of the worms. Others, again, as we were told, prefer that the hatching should extend over a longer period, so that the worms may not reach the last stages all at once, and thereby cause too great a pressure of work at the same moment.

The worms are speedily removed from the frames on which they are laid after hatching, to mats 6 feet long by 3 wide. These mats are covered with a layer of rice husk, and placed on the floor, but as the worms increase in size, and a greater number of mats are required, the latter are deposited on wooden boards or tables of the same dimensions as the mats. These tables stand upon four feet, the feet being 6 inches high, and they are placed upon one another in order to economize room. There the worms sometimes remain till they are ready to spin their cocoons, but more frequently they are removed after the second or third casting of the skin to bamboo trays of trellis work, of the same dimensions as the mats, and surrounded by a low rim, to prevent the worms from straying off them.

These trays are usually placed upon shelves fixed along the wall in rows one above the other, at a distance of 6 inches, the uppermost shelf being about

6 feet above the floor. The trays can be easily moved on and off the shelves. There should be a good space between the uppermost shelf and the roof, in order that all noxious effluvia may ascend and not injure the health of the worms; but the want of room often prevents this being done, and the health of the worms must suffer accordingly.

During the period of feeding, the mulberry leaves are not plucked from the branches, but the branches themselves are cut and brought home in bundles. The leaves are then cut off, and in the earlier stages are chopped very fine, and given frequently, but sparingly, to the worms. As the latter increase in size, the leaves are divided into larger portions for their food; and when they have cast their skin for the third time, not only the whole leaf, but even small twigs are given to them, and they are fed copiously at longer intervals. After they have cast their skin for the fourth time, whole branches are strewn over the trays, whereby the worms have more space to move about, and the litter is healthier.

The leaves should be eaten by the worms in a dry state; and if it is impossible to avoid cutting them when moist, through rain or dew, they should be carefully dried at home. This precaution, however, is neglected by some breeders, so that their worms are often fed upon moist leaves. In some instances water, with a slight mixture of saké, is sprinkled over the leaves, in order to stimulate the appetites of the worms, when the peculiar state of the atmosphere renders them dull and heavy.

The litter formed by the refuse of the leaf should be regularly and constantly removed, though many breeders only take it away once between the different stages. This operation is generally effected by taking up the worms with chop-sticks, and then removing the last layer of waste leaves with the hand; but in well-conducted magnaneries, nets stretched on very light frames of the same dimensions as the trays are laid over the worms, and fresh leaves are spread upon the nets; the worms, allured by the fresh leaves, climb up to the nets, and they are then transferred to another set of trays.

The double operation of feeding the worms and removing the litter is greatly facilitated by the lightness of the bamboo trays, and by their being placed on the shelves, as above mentioned. One man, or two young girls, can easily draw a tray from the shelf, lay it on the floor or upon a pair of stools, and when the work is finished restore it to the shelf.

Still, there can be no doubt that the worms are often dealt with very roughly. Those that are casting their skins are sometimes mixed in the same tray with those which have, and others which have not, undergone this operation. Those whose time for rest has arrived would naturally be disturbed by the feeding of the remainder.

When the time for spinning the cocoon approaches, two or three flexible rods or split bamboos are placed lengthways on the trays with their extremities resting against the borders, so as to form a slightly curved arch over the surface of the trays. Dry twigs, generally of rape, but sometimes of pine or rice straw, are loosely spread over the arches, and form a thick airy bed called "mabushi," upon which the worms spin their cocoons.

In well-conducted magnaneries the transfer of the worm to the mabushi is effected with the utmost care; but in most other cases this operation is left to young girls, who take up by handfuls all the worms which are apparently ready to spin, and transfer them roughly to the mabushi. The fact that the worm deserts the leaf and rambles along the borders of the tray is a sure indication that it is ready to spin, and all such are generally removed by the girls; but there are others which, though ready for the mabushi, remain quiet in the tray, and are only to be detected by the pale transparent colour of their skin; the girls, whilst looking for these, sometimes through carelessness, or want of proper light, gather up some that are still feeding, and hence worms are often to be seen on the mabushi vainly seeking for food, and these finally spin cocoons of a very inferior quality.

The structure of the mabushi is not always as good as it should be, and the worms are sometimes too closely heaped upon it, so that two or three worms will often join together in spinning one cocoon, and there will be an undue proportion of double cocoons in the crop.

As soon as the worms have commenced spinning, the mabushi is covered with a thin mat, and placed upon a shelf, the space between the tray and the bed of twigs being sufficiently wide to allow a free circulation of air. In eight or ten days the twigs are found to be so firmly connected by the silk-web spun by the

worms, that the whole bed can be removed from the tray, and, if room is required, it can be gently doubled up and hung from the ceiling until the household have leisure to remove the cocoons from the twigs.

The Uji.—Our inquiries amongst the Japanese did not lead to the discovery of any disease of an endemic or epidemic character. During the feeding season the worms appear to suffer chiefly from the sudden changes in the temperature, and the heavy rains which fall so frequently between April and August. A hoar frost in April or May will injure the young leaf intended for the newly hatched worms; a storm or damp cloudy weather will all at once deprive the worm of energy, leave it without any appetite, or prevent it from spinning its cocoon; again, a sudden cold will arrest its progress. Sometimes a mortality will all at once prevail among the worms shortly after the fourth casting of the skin. The Japanese attribute all such disasters to the weather, and could tell us of no other cause.

Several diseases are known to affect the worm and the chrysalides, but I will here confine my remarks to certain details respecting the disease which is caused by the presence in the chrysalis of a parasite called "uji."

The word "uji" signifies a maggot.

The Chinese character given for it in Dr. Hepburn's dictionary is "chü" ("tseu," according to the spelling of Morrison, who defines the word as "worms, vermin amongst putrid flesh"). In the book entitled "Yô san hiroku" (Record of the Secrets of the Culture of Silkworms), it is stated that there is a maggot which preys upon the silkworm chrysalis, and is called "uji" in the eastern provinces of Japan, and "koro" in the eight central provinces, and that it is also called "bô."

The uji is annulated, without feet, and when of full size is sometimes nearly as large as the chrysalis itself. During the period which follows the formation of the cocoons, this maggot kills the chrysalis, on the substance of which it has been feeding, and, having attained its full development, it pierces the cocoon, and renders it useless for anything but floss-silk.

There is fortunately a sure indication of the presence of the uji. If a cocoon be opened, and one or more dark spots are observed upon the chrysalis, one or more uji are certain to be found in its intestines. Breeders are, therefore, in the habit of opening a certain number of cocoons, and when they discover a large proportion of uji, they lose no time in baking the cocoons in the sun with a view of reserving them for reeling, or, if they desire to raise eggs, they can compute the probable loss in chrysalides.

The numerous experiments which we made during our journey enable us to state that, in the most-favoured district of Shinshiu, the proportion of uji was from 30 to 40 per cent.; in another part of Shinshiu, not far from the confines of Kôshiu, an experiment gave 56 per cent., besides 10 per cent. of dead chrysalides; in Musashi, Jôshiu, and Kôshiu, the general proportion was from 60 to 70 per cent.; and in one district of Kôshiu it even reached 84 per cent. Last year the average is said to have been only from 10 to 25 per cent.

We were told that the uji were more numerous than usual this year, and if this is the case, which appears probable, more silk and fewer cards are to be expected in the Yokohama market.

According to our information the spring chrysalides alone are effected b
Uji, whilst those of the summer worm contain no such maggot.

The uji are sometimes found in cocoons of such good quality that they could only have been produced by the healthiest worms. Hence it seems probable that this maggot exists in germ in the caterpillar, and does not affect its health till after it has turned into a chrysalis.

One theory, which appears to be the true one, and has been held by several foreigners, is, that during the spring a species of fly deposits its eggs on the mulberry leaf, and that these eggs being introduced with the leaf into the silkworm's intestines, turn into uji after the worms have arrived at the chrysalis state. The very meaning of the word uji favours this theory.

After the uji has left the cocoon its colour changes from pale yellow to reddish brown, gradually becoming darker and darker, and it shrinks up to a third of its size. After three or four days it becomes quite hard and nearly black.

The origin of the uji seems to be utterly unknown to the Japanese. They say that the dry uplands of the interior are less infected by it than the low damp localities, or the districts bordering on the sea.

The Period during which the Moth lays its Eggs (*Grainage*).—The time which elapses between the hatching of the eggs and the commencement of the formation of the

cocoons is about forty days. Six or seven days after the latter period the cocoons are removed from the mabushi, and the owner then decides whether they are to be kept for reeling or for eggs.

When they are intended for the latter they are placed in a single layer, so as not to overlap each other, upon the same trays that have been already used during the feeding period, and they are covered with sheets of paper pierced with holes at regular intervals of two or three inches.

In fourteen or fifteen days more the moths begin to emerge from the cocoons; as is the case in other countries they generally come out at dawn, and the operation lasts for several days in succession. As the moths instinctively seek air and light, they soon pass through the holes of the paper, and shortly afterwards begin coupling upon its surface. The couples are then removed and placed upon other sheets of paper in some dark place where they are left undisturbed till the afternoon.

If the male moths come out in greater numbers than the female they are placed apart in a basket, in case they may be required the next day. When there is a greater proportion of females the Japanese have no scruple in making the males serve for two successive couplings.

At 3 or 4 o'clock P.M., those couples that have not yet separated are severed, and the females, having been purged, are placed upon cards, where they lay their eggs till the following morning. At Kôfu we saw a large number of females which had laid their eggs on the previous day, and had been removed to another card upon which they were all huddled together. The object of the removal of this card was to avoid losing the few stray eggs which these moths might lay on the second day. This appears to be the general practice.

The number of females required to cover a card was estimated very differently by our informants. At Uyeda we were told that fifty or sixty were sufficient, but that in consequence of foreigners having a preference for thickly covered cards, as many as from 100 to 130 moths were used. At Kôfu we were informed that no less that 250 were required, but this was accounted for by the fact, which we ourselves observed, of many females dying without being able to lay the whole of their eggs. These moths were evidently in very bad condition, some of them being stained with dark spots, and quite devoid of energy.

In Shinshiu we found, generally speaking, cocoons of good quality, and clean and healthy moths. It was only amongst the double cocoons that we noticed a few moths which had not strength to make their way out. The eggs were laid with regularity, and the appearance of the cards was favourable.

At the little village of Komaki, on the left bank of the river, near Uyeda, we went into a house where a quantity of healthy moths had just emerged from the cocoons. The owner stated that his moths were always the earliest in that district, and that his cocoons were peculiarily free from uji, which he attributed, without assigning any better reason, to the proximity of his dwelling to the river. He said that he placed about 120 females upon each card.

This man showed us the wooden frames in which the cards are fixed when the females are going to lay their eggs on the latter. These frames are of the same size as the cards, their rims being varnished in order to prevent the moths, who dislike varnish, from laying their eggs elsewhere than on the cards.

In other places the frames are made large enough to admit of from nine to twelve cards being laid side by side. At Kôfu the frames that we saw were made for nine cards. By this arrangement the females have a large even space to wander over, until they have fixed upon a spot for laying their eggs; the rims were not varnished.

When the cards are quite filled they are hung in the shade in some dry well-ventilated place, till the eggs, which are yellow at first, gradually assume the grey or green hue peculiar to the Japanese produce.

Care should be taken not to move the eggs until they have become hard, after which time they can be safely transported to any distance.

Silk Reeling.—When the cocoon is intended to be kept some time before being reeled, the chrysalis must be killed in order to prevent its egress as a moth, and the consequent deterioration of the cocoon. This is effected in Japan by exposing it to the heat of the sun. When the rearer has removed his cocoons from the mabushi, and taken off the thin web which surrounds them, he divides them into good, bad, and double cocoons, and placing them in single layers on the trays, exposes them to the sun. This system, however, is a very unsatisfactory one. It requires a strong sun

during several days in succession to kill the chrysalis, and this operation unfortunately coincides with the rainy season, so that it is frequently interrupted before its completion, and the uji, sometimes the moth itself, will come out, thereby destroying the cocoons for reeling purposes. We ourselves often saw uji crawling about on the trays which were placed in the open air.

When a protracted absence of sunshine leaves no other alternative, the cocoons are subjected to the action of a charcoal fire; but this is a very slow and expensive process; and this system being only adopted in the last extremity, the work is done in haste, and the cocoons are often damaged in the baskets when they are placed over the charcoal braziers.

After the chrysalis has been suffocated, the inferior and stained cocoons are generally reeled at once; and it being intended to keep the good ones for some time, the latter are carefully dried and stored in proper bags. Occasionally, on a dry sunny day, they are taken out and dried to prevent mildew.

A great number of the peasants and villagers reel their own cocoons, but there are in the silk districts regular markets where those who desire can sell their crops.

The mode of reeling the silk is very similar in all the districts we visited. This delicate operation is left to the care of young women, and is carried on in the following manner:—

The reeler sits squatting before a cast iron basin placed upon a portable stove, and filled with pure water. It is not the custom to mixed the water with the juice of the chrysalides or any other substance. Within easy reach of the woman's left hand are two small four-armed winders about 2 feet in circumference. These both work upon the same axle, and are put in motion with the left hand by means of a cog-wheel. The reeler will use both winders, or only one, according to her degree of proficiency. Skilful girls will real two threads at the same time, and thus make two separate skeins, one upon each winder.

A horizontal shaft is placed under the winders; a slight motion from right to left is communicated to this shaft by means of a small cog-wheel working in the one already mentioned. Two bamboo rods are fixed in the shaft at right angles; their other extremities are slightly notched; the silk thread has to pass through the notch before reaching the winder, and the object of this contrivance is to cause the thread to cover the winder in a zigzag manner. Otherwise the skein could not be re-reeled.

Precisely under the bamboos, two rings, each made of a lock of hair, are fixed at a few inches from the edge of the basin: their use will be explained presently.

Within reach of the reeler's right hand a single winder is placed, which is also turned by hand, without a cog-wheel.

The first operation in reeling consist of taking off the outer covering of the cocoon, which is not pure silk, and produces a thread called noshi. A certain number of cocoons are thrown into the basin containing hot water, and heated to the proper temperature. The reeler then agitates the cocoons with two willow sticks; when she has collected the threads (called "bouts" in French) of all the cocoons at the extremity of the sticks, she takes them together in one hand, and tears them away from the sticks; then she rolls them into one thread between her fingers, and throws the thread thus formed upon the winder placed on her right side; she now proceeds to turn the winder slowly till all the noshi is exhausted, and the pure silk begins to appear.

By this method a coarse thread (noshi ito) is produced, which is used in the manufacture of certain common silk stuffs, but we noticed that the process involved considerable loss of pure silk.

The reeler then cuts the noshi thread and ties together the ends of the now pure silk to a small hook which is fixed to the right on the edge of the basin. Sometimes, however, she takes the cocoons out of the basin by means of a small bamboo basket, and plunges them into another basin filled with cold water, where they are left till the noshi has been taken off a large number of cocoons, and then she can reel the pure silk continuously off the whole number.

When the woman proceeds to reel the pure silk, she detaches from the cluster of threads on the hook, four, five, or more, according to the thickness which she intends to make the silk; she passes these combined threads through one of the hairs which compose one of the rings of hair above-mentioned, and thence through

the notch of the corresponding bamboo rod to the winder, where they are tied, and the apparatus is then set in motion.

The combined threads have already been subjected to a certain friction as they glide over the smooth surface of a thin round rod placed across the basin; as they go through the hair ring, the tension and friction increase, and they agglomerate, thus forming "the silk thread." This simple process produces, to a certain extent, the same result which is obtained in Europe by more elaborate contrivances.

When one or more of the original threads (bouts) break, the reeler throws in fresh ones just below the round rod; this operation, which requires great delicacy, is often carelessly done; the fresh threads are drawn in among the others by the rapidity of the motion; but they may have been seized at some distance from the extremity; and when this happens, the ends, being free, become twisted, and form knots and irregularities on the surface of the skein. Sometimes a careless reeler will allow several of the original threads (bouts) to break without replacing them at once; and then, after an interval, during which the winder has been kept going at full speed, she will throw in at the same moment a number of fresh ones. This want of proper attention on the part of the reelers causes the irregularity in the size of the thread which is observable in most Japanese silks.

We noticed that the basins were seldom kept in proper order; the cocoons which had fallen to the bottom were left there in great numbers and were damaged by remaining too near the fire. Neither were the cocoons which were being reeled kept clear of the reserve, and the reeler often got confused in her work.

The water in the basins was hot enough, but the women had no bowls of cold water at hand to dip their fingers in. Notwithstanding this, their fingers were free from ulcerations, which is not always the case with the reelers in European establishments. Hence it would seem to follow that the water is not made so hot as in Europe, and my companions were able to confirm this by testing its temperature on several occasions.

In the reeling apparatus which we have described, the distance from the surface of the basin to the top of the winder does not exceed two feet. The chances of the thread breaking are thus diminished to a minimum, and it does not dry up before it reaches the winder. The latter being in such close proximity to the basin, the skein of silk is kept in a continual state of moisture by the steam. When the weather is very dry, the reeler sprinkles the skein with hot water. This practice causes the original threads to agglomerate more closely, and the gum which covers the surface of the silk thread to dry more evenly.

The Japanese peasant who does not sell his cocoons has them reeled at home. In most of the villages through which we passed, two or three girls were to be seen at work in many of the houses. Six and occasionally twelve were employed in the larger establishments of Mayebashi and Kôfu. At Mayebashi we noticed that the boiling of the cocoons was entrusted to one girl, who afterwards distributed them among the reelers.

In Kôfu we had an opportunity of visiting an establishment where twelve winders were worked on a common axle; the reelers sat squatting in front of the winders, and there was a boy or a girl, whose especial function it was to keep the apparatus in motion.

In the neighbourhood of Hachôji we saw some reeling machines, the winders of which were turned without any cog-wheel. There being no special contrivance for reeling the silk in the proper zigzag manner, this operation is roughly performed by working the thread between the fingers. Such rude appliances are, however, now but seldom seen, and the apparatus which we have described is in general use.

The girls employed in reeling are generally industrious and clever; but doing much work seemed rather to be their object than taking great pains and doing it well.

With regard to the weight of waste silk, and silk reeled from a given weight of cocoons, and to the quantity of work done by the reelers in a given time, the answers which we elicited were so conflicting that it was impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion.

Re-reeling the Silk.—The two winders on which the silk is reeled being generally turned by the hand of the reeler herself are necessarily small and light, so that the circumference of the skein is only 2 feet. The silk has therefore to be re-reeled into a larger skein before it is made up into hanks or bundles, and offered for sale.

The re-reeling machine is composed of a long horizontal winder about 4¼ feet in circumference, the axle of which is supported on two perpendicular shafts, at a distance of 5 feet from the floor.

Half-way between the floor and the re-reeling winder, and in a line parallel with it, a flat rectangular piece of wood is fixed between the two supports. To this piece of wood are attached ten or twelve semi-circular rings made of wire, at equal distances from one another, a small winder being placed endwise on the floor exactly under each one of the semi-circular rings.

The silk threads being passed through the rings are tied to the re-reeling winder. On the latter being put in motion, the threads leave the lower winders with a circular motion, which becomes so modified by passing through the semi-circular rings, that each thread does not spread over the surface of the larger winder more than 3 or 4 inches.

When the silk on the small winder is found to have become dry, it is moistened with water, to prevent it breaking when re-reeled: it does, however, break sometimes; and when this happens, the end is often carelessly tied, or the loose end is simply thrown upon the large winder without being tied at all.

The uniformity of the spreading of the silk on the re-reeling winder depends upon a certain relation between the shape, the dimension of the semi-circular rings, and the rapidity of the ascent of the thread from the small winders to the larger one. Unfortunately this uniformity is by no means always kept up. Hence arises that irregularity of interlacing which has been so much complained of by European buyers of Japan silk, and which sometimes produces such a tangled hank that it can only be sold as waste silk.

It is also during the operation of re-reeling that silks of different thicknesses and quality are often mixed up together, that of the best quality being of course placed upon the surface of the skeins. This fraud, which often deceives the buyer, is one of the defects mentioned by the Chamber of Commerce in the paper circulated by them last year.

Bivoltini.—The Bivoltini worms yield, as is well known, two crops a-year.

In the spring they hatch at the same time as the annual worms. They also cast their skin four times, but the intervals between the stages are shorter than in the case of the annual worms, and they are reared separately.

The eggs of the first crop hatch in June or July, according to the season, and the second or summer rearing ends during the month of August.

The eggs produced by the second crop are called Natsugo, or children of summer; they do not hatch till the following spring.

The eggs of the annual variety are called Harugo, or children of spring.

We did not hear of any Bivoltini being bred in the central provinces.

The Bivoltini cocoons produce much less silk that the annual, and, as has already been mentioned, the summer crop does not seem to be attacked by the uji. At least, the Japanese were very positive upon this latter point.

I have added to the Report the translation of a paper furnished to me by a Japanese in my employ, who accompanied us on our expedition. It treats, as will be seen, of the culture of the mulberry and of the rearing of silkworms, solely with a view to obtain eggs. I have thought that a paper upon these subjects from a native point of view would not be uninteresting. The writer informs me that he obtained most of his information at Mayebashi.

I am indebted to Mr. Mitford for the translation of this document.

Setting aside the unusually large export of silk in 1862-63, which was caused by the influx into the foreign market of long accumulated stores, the statistics of the silk trade of Japan since 1860, as given in the annexed Table, show that, notwithstanding a steady demand on the part of foreigners, and a no less steady increase in the price of silk, there has been no corresponding increase in the export of that staple.

Now, the repeated inquiries which we made during our journey led us to the conclusion that, though in some districts the cultivation of the mulberry has remained stationary, it has increased considerably in other districts during the last three or four years. The number of new plants which we saw on our road through Musashi, Jôshiu, and Shinshiu, also lead us to the same conclusion.

How, then, is the apparent contradiction to be reconciled, that whilst

the cultivation of the mulberry has increased, the export trade has remained stationary?

The following considerations seem sufficiently to answer this question:—

1. The trees planted during the last few years are still far from being in full bearing.

2. The benefit derived from the abundance of leaf is often greatly neutralized by a number of circumstances unfavourable to the rearing of the worms, which we are as yet unable fully to appreciate.

3. The great increase since 1865 in the production of silkworms' eggs has diverted from the production of silk an enormous quantity of cocoons. Indeed, that quantity would seem incredible, if computed by the rule of proportion between cocoons and eggs, as estimated by silk-growers in Europe. It is, however, accounted for by the ravages of the uji in the cocoons, destined for the production of eggs.

4. The proportion of silk kept in Japan for home consumption, cannot be accurately estimated.

The establishment of a special office at Mayebashi for the inspection of the silk of that district has been mentioned. This is as yet apparently but an isolated fact; still, if the experiment results in an improvement in the quality of Mayebashi silk, it would seem probable that the example of Matsudaira Yamato no Kami will be followed by other Daimios.

What, however, Japan especially requires, is the introduction of European machinery, and of the system of silk-reeling, which has been brought to such perfection in Europe. There are indications of the Japanese being aware of the great importance of such an innovation; but in order to buy modern machinery, and bring it to this country, and in order to create large establishments on the model of those existing in Europe, capital is required; and, looking to the existing state of affairs in Japan, capital is not likely to be forthcoming at the present moment, at least not from native sources.

The first great requisite of a reeling establishment is, to lay in such a store of cocoons as will allow of work being carried on without interruption during the greater part of the year. There is no reason why this should not be done in Japan, inasmuch as the climate in such large centres of production as Jôshiu and Shinshiu permits of the cocoons being kept without injury for a long period.

Of all the districts that we visited, we saw the finest cocoons, and the healthiest moths, at Uyeda. There, the production of eggs has largely increased. Shinshiu, as before remarked, supplies the adjoining provinces with seed, and the demand for eggs by foreigners has stimulated the supply. In some parts of Kôshiu the cocoons and the moths were very poor.

To recapitulate, the unfavourable symptoms which we observed were:—

A prevalence of the uji to a greater extent probably than has been known for years: hence the likelihood of more silk and fewer cards this season;

Much carelessness in the handling of the worms and the reeling of the silk European machinery and system are therefore greatly required;

The bad method of suffocating the chrysalides in the sun or over hot charcoal instead of by steam.

On the other hand, the hopeful signs may be said to be:—

An increase in the cultivation of the mulberry;

The establishment in more than one district of new buildings for the sole purpose of rearing silkworms;

The establishment of the Inspection Office at Mayebashi.

In conclusion, the Japanese state that the crop of cocoons this year is abou equal to that of last year, notwithstanding the unusual ravages of the uji. The damage which this parasite has caused during the present year is probably exceptional, and the cultivation of the mulberry is on the increase. Inasmuch, therefore, as the export of silk and eggs in the season of 1868-69 shows a decided advance on the previous season, it seems fair to conclude that there will henceforward be a gradual increase in the silk trade of Japan.

(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

Map of
SILK DISTRICT
To accompany
Mr. ADAMS'S REPORT.
ECHIGO
OSHIU
YASHIU
HITACHI
JOSHIU
SHINSHIU
SHIMOSA
MUSASHI
YEDO
KOSHIU
KADZUSA
SAGAMI
SURUGA
AWA
ENSHIU
ILZU
Indicates a Daimio's residence.
Marks the boundary of a Province.
Red line shows Mr. Adam's route.
Part of the Nakasendō, one of the high roads from Yedo to Kyōto.
Tōge means a Pass, as the Wada Tōge.

Inclosure 2.

Map of Silk District.

Inclosure 3.

TABLE of Route.

			Ri	chô.
Nakasendô—				
June 22	Yeddo to Warabi		4	8
23.	Warabi to Kônosu		6	22
24.	Kônosu to Kumagaye		4	8
Cross road—				
June 25.	Kumagaye to Sakaimachi		7	0
25.	Sakaimachi to Mayebashi		6	18
Nakasendô—				
June 26.	Mayebashi to Takasaki		3	0
26.	Takasaki to Annaka		2	24
27.	Annaka to Oiwake		9	24
Echigo road—				
June 28.	Oiawake to Uyeda		8	0
29.	Uyeda to Oya		1	18
Cross road—				
June 29.	Oya to Nagakubo		3	18
Nakasendô—				
June 29.	Nagakubo to Wada		2	0
30.	Wada to Shimonosuwa		5	8
30.	Shimonosuwa to Kaminosuwa (Takashima)		1	18
Kôshiukaidô—				
July 1.	Kaminosuwa to Daigahara		8	28
2.	Daigahara to Kôfu		7	8
3.	Kôfu to Hanasaki		10	6
4.	Hanasaki to Yose		8	23
5.	Yose to Hachôji		4	17
Cross road—				
July 6.	Hachôji to Haramachida		5	0
6.	Haramachida to Yeddo		8	0
			117	32

Inclosure 4.

Extract from the Half-Yearly Report of the Yokohama General Chamber of Commerce, July 1868.

(Translation.)

THE Chamber of Commerce of Yokohama has been requested by the silk merchants of Europe and America to communicate to the silkmen of Japan several complaints regarding the silk exported from this country. Their complaints are as follows:—

1. The quality of the Japan silk is getting worse every year.

2. Large quantities of silk produced in Oshiu, Koshiu, and other countries are made up in hanks so as to be sold as Mayebashi and Shinshiu silks.

3. A great quantity of hank silks wind badly, thereby causing great loss to the buyer.

4. The paper ties of the hank silks are too heavy.

(*a.*) There is a great variety of cocoons in Japan; they are not all of them fit to be reeled into fine silk, and the silks produced in different countries of Japan are applied by the manufacturers of Europe to different purposes.

(*b.*) Formerly the silk of each country was made up in a particular manner, so that each foreign manufacturer was able to choose the quality which suited his requirement; but now he is frequently deceived, because a great variety of silks are made up in hanks. Formerly a great many Japan silks were firm, clean, and strong, some of them were very fine and regular in size; but now it appears that the Japanese reelers mix the bad and good colours together, and reel them without the proper care. The result is that the silk is foul, irregular in size, and that the colour of it is bad.

(*c.*) Formerly the Japan silks, and particularly the hank silks, used to wind very well, so that the loss in weight to the throwster was very small. Now it

frequently happens that certain hank silks lose as much as 20 and even 50 per cent. on account of bad winding.

In some cases the threads are so interlaced that the silk cannot be wound at all, and must be sold as waste silk. Some musters of these bad hanks have been returned from Europe to Yokohama. They are exhibited in the room of the Chamber of Commerce, and all Japanese silkmen are invited to look at them.

Last year the Chamber of Commerce complained of the heaviness and irregularity of the paper ties of the hank silks.

Since then some improvement in this respect has been noticeable. Still, the ties are occasionally found to weigh as much as 20 per cent., and even 40 per cent., whilst they should not exceed 2 or 3 per cent. It is true the ties may be weighed and deducted, but this takes a great deal of time and creates great difficulties.

It is true also that the disease of the silkworms has diminished the silk crops of some countries of Europe. For this reason foreigners have paid for the Japan silks high prices as long as they were good; but now they are neglected by the manufacturers on account of their inferiority.

The disease of the silkworms cannot last for ever; when it is cured, can foreigners be expected to buy bad silk in Japan whilst they produce good silk in their own countries?

(*d.*) The Chinese produce large quantities of good silk. They have formerly been accustomed to reel it coarse, but now they reel some quantities very fine, and imitate the hank silks of Japan. Is it to the interest of the Japanese to deteriorate their silks whilst the Chinese are improving their own?

Is it certain that Japan silk is gradually losing the reputation which it had acquired at first; therefore, the Chamber of Commerce of Yokohama urges upon the Japanese silkmen to take the above remarks into serious consideration.

Inclosure 5.

Paper by Obi Kôtarô upon the Cultivation of the Mulberry Tree and the Rearing of Silkworms.

(Translation.)

THE first matter of importance in the rearing of silkworms is the proper cultivation of the mulberry tree; for on the quality of the mulberry tree depends the quality of the silkworms. Accordingly, we will, in the first place, treat of the mulberry tree and afterwards of the silkworms.

There are three modes of raising the mulberry tree; the first is by suckers from the roots, the second is by layers from the branches, and the third is by sowing seed.

The first two methods are the best, the third is not so good. The process of raising by suckers from the roots is as follows:—

An old mulberry tree is pollarded at a height of from five to eight inches from the ground in such a manner that, no great quantity of shoots issuing from the trunk, the tree throws out suckers from the roots, and from one parent tree some fifty or sixty shoots spring up. Each one of these shoots being separated with its portion of root, is planted by itself, and becomes a mulberry tree.

The process of raising layers from the branches is as follows:—

At the end of spring and the beginning of summer the leaves and branches of the mulberry tree have been almost all cut away, so that there only remain some two or three branches on each tree; but by the end of the summer the tree again puts forth buds which, by degrees, grow and flourish.

The two or three branches which were originally left upon the tree are then bent downwards, and the middle of each branch is laid in the earth and well covered with soil, the points being turned upwards. By degrees the middle of the branch which is buried in the earth is invigorated by the soil, and puts forth roots. When these roots have become sufficiently strong the middle of the buried branch should be carefully cut at the point where it enters the earth, and separated from the parent tree. After a while the point of the shoot thus separated becomes a trunk itself, of which what was the centre now becomes the root, and at last it grows into a mulberry tree.

The reason for preferring the two methods of raising the mulberry by suckers and by layers to that of raising it by seed is, that trees raised by the two former

methods yield little fruit, but large leaves; while trees raised from seed yield plenty of fruit, but small leaves. The mulberry is esteemed in proportion to the quality of its leaves; the fruit which it bears is of no consequence.

The manure which is most esteemed throughout the country for fertilizing the mulberry tree is a mixture of a species of bean (daidzu*) mashed up in lees of saké.† Poor people, however, on account of the high price of saké lees and daidzu substitute a mixture of rice bran and night soil. The mulberry flourishes well with this manure although it is not to be compared with the mixture of saké lees and daidzu.

The manure is applied thrice in the course of the year: once in the spring before the trees put forth their buds, once in the summer after the cutting of the branches, and once in the extreme cold of winter.

The quantity applied depends upon the size of the tree, and upon the quality of the soil. In the case of trees which have been pollarded for the purpose of propagation by layers from the roots, care must be taken, after the removal of the branches, to loosen the earth about the roots, and not to let them be covered by too much soil. If manure is applied to them without loosening the earth about the roots, the soil will harden of itself and tighten round the roots, thus preventing them from putting forth suckers in abundance. Manure, then, must not be applied until the earth has been thoroughly loosened, at a period varying from fifty to a hundred days, according to the temperature of the soil. After the application of the manure, loose earth should be again laid on; and this is said to cause an abundant issue of shoots.

There are cases where the mulberry is pollarded at a height of from 3 feet to 6 feet from the ground, the branches being allowed to grow plentifully at the tops, but being carefully lopped at the middle and bottom of the trunk. This practice should be limited to places where the soil is bad. Good soil, being thick and viscous, does not fly up before the wind. Hence, even if the trunk be short, the earth does not stick to the leaves. But bad soil is like sand, and has no viscous properties, so that it flies up before the wind, and bespatters the branches and leaves, which is a bad thing. For this reason the tree is allowed to grow high, so that it may not be injured by the dirt.

Silkworms.—The rearing of silkworms is very difficult. It depends upon the temperature, upon the quality of the mulberry tree, and upon the skill exhibited in the management of the worms. Unless these three requisites are all propitious, the silkworms cannot be reared.

The first matter of importance is the selection of proper cards. The best cards are those which have been produced under the following circumstances:—Good spring worms are selected, and fed upon the leaves of mulberry trees that have been manured with lees of saké. When the worms have emerged as moths from the chrysalis state, and are about to lay their eggs, care should be taken to prevent them from laying any great number on the same card. They should not be allowed to lay more than from fifteen to twenty eggs, after which the moths should be placed upon another card to lay the remainder of their eggs. In cards on which only the first eggs have been collected in this manner, the eggs are all of an equal size and strong. These are to be considered the best cards.

If a single moth has been allowed to lay all her eggs from beginning to end upon the same card, or if the moth of the summer worm be allowed to lay her eggs on the same card, or if the process is spoiled by various methods of securing the eggs,—then the card is of bad quality.

The first eggs laid by a single moth are big and strong; the next are of middling size and strength, while the last are small and weak.

The cards upon which the first eggs have been collected as described above are placed in paper bags and hung from the ceiling. The wind is allowed to play about them, and they are protected from foul smells. Care must be taken not to place a lighted brazier underneath them.

In the dead of the winter the cards are steeped for one night in cold water, and on the following morning they are taken out and dried. After this they must be replaced in the paper bags as before, and hung up. This process is called sarashi, or the bleaching process. In this bleaching process the eggs of bad quality perish and do not become worms, while the good ones resist it and live. The object of it is to separate the worms that should die from the worms that should live—the

* Daidzu (large bean) is a small round bean, called by Dr. Hepburn in his dictionary *Soja hispida*. It is denominated large in contradistinction to the Adzuki (Shodzu), a smaller variety.

† A liquor fermented from rice.

good from the bad. It is said of cards which have been collected from the first-laid eggs of good moths in the way described above that not a single egg perishes during the process of steeping in cold water.

In the spring, about eighty-eight days after the passing of the old lunar year into the new, the seed becomes of a darker colour, and a tiny insect emerges during the night from the eggs. This is the birth of the silkworm. If the seed be good, although there may be 10,000 eggs on the same card, still, the insects should all come out together. If the seed be bad, some of the worms will come out to-day and others to-morrow, until sometimes their birth extends over as much as seven days. The size and strength of good seed being well matched, it seems natural that the worms should be born at one and the same time, whereas bad seed, being made up of big and small, strong and weak, the big and strong worms would make their appearance first, while the small and weak would come forth later.

The little insects are brushed off the paper on to a wooden vessel with a feather brush, and the empty shells are thrown away. The wood of the *Cryptomeria Japonica* is the proper wood to use for the vessel which is to receive the insects.

In the early spring when the mulberry leaves are not yet plentiful, the buds of the tree are plucked and chopped fine and given to the worms to eat. The worms, however, being very small, bran is sprinkled over them, passed through a fine silk sieve, and the mulberry buds are scattered on the top of this fine bran. The reason of this is, that the insects, being as slender as silken threads, would roll themselves up together into hard balls if the buds were given to them alone; but the bran being sprinkled over them, causes them to separate and keep apart.

It also happens that if the worms make their appearance in the very early spring, the flowers of the mulberry are gathered and scattered over them. In this very small state the worms can neither eat the buds nor the flowers; but they probably only suck the juice of the buds and flowers.

From the time when the worms leave the eggs to the time when they form the cocoon is from forty days at the quickest, to fifty days at the slowest.

During these forty or fifty days the worms rest four times, that is to say, four times they leave off feeding. Each of these rests, during which they eat nothing, lasts from four to seven days. The first rest is called the "lion's rest;" the second, the "falcon's rest;" the third, the "boat's rest;" and the fourth, the "garden rest." The people of the silk districts are utterly ignorant as to the origin of these names. The worms from the period of the lion's rest to that of the falcon's rest eat but little of their mulberry leaves; but after the period of the falcon's rest they begin to feed freely. Before the garden rest they feed the most, and it is then of vital importance to furnish them with plenty of mulberry leaves. If there is any failing in the provision of leaves at this period, it is said that when they form their cocoons the grub will be very light.

The mulberry leaves by degrees become twice or thrice as coarse as they were at the beginning. Before the fourth period of rest food should be given to the worm uncut, in the form of branches. After the fourth, or garden rest, the worms cease feeding: at this time the worms shed their skin, this is called the stripping-off of the silk; four or five days after the stripping of the silk the worm begins to form the cocoon.

Straws are broken into triangles and placed in rows in a mat made of straw, and the worms are laid inside these triangles, where they form their chrysalids. Twigs are also in some cases substituted for the straw triangles.

Whilst the worms are forming their chrysalids inside the mat, the good cocoons should be separated from the bad. The bad cocoons should be placed in rows in the mats and baked in the sun. The good cocoons should not be baked; but their moths should be allowed to come out.

If the bad cocoons are not baked in the sun, they will not produce moths, but a white coloured maggot (uji), to kill which is the object of baking the cocoons.

When the worm leaves the cocoon in the shape of a moth, the males should be carefully distinguished from the females, and the couples caused to pair together. Having allowed them to remain together from 6 A.M. until 2 P.M. they should be separated; the male is then thrown away, and the female is placed on a sheet of paper, and allowed to void her urine, and after this transferred to the card, where she is made to lay her eggs in the manner described in the beginning of this paper.

With regard to the time when the moth comes out of the chrysalis, in fine warm weather it makes its appearance early in the morning towards 6 o'clock. In

bad chilly weather it does not leave its shell until later, at about 7 o'clock. The male moth immediately flutters its wings and flits about upon the paper, the female holds down her head and remains still. These phenomena render the distinction of the male from the female an easy matter.

Inclosure 6.

STATEMENT of Export and Value of Silk, and Export of Cards.

Season.	Bales of 80 catties.	Piculs.	Average Value.	Amount in Dollars.	Average Sterling Exchange.	Sterling.	Cards of Silkworms' Eggs.
			Dollars.		s. d.	£	
1860-61 ..	11,318	9,055	372	3,369,864	5 2	870,548	..
1861-62 ..	11,915	9,532	403	3,844,023	5 1	977,022	..
1862-63 ..	25,891	20,712	459	9,493,400	5 1	2,412,905	..
1863-64 ..	15,931	12,744	500	6,374,685	5 0½	1,613,072	..
1864-65 ..	16,523	13,218	617	8,153,031	4 10	1,948,321	..
1865-66 ..	11,619	9,296	744	6,916,559	4 7¾	1,605,908	2,000,000
1866-67 ..	13,564	10,852	765	8,304,969	4 7	1,904,468	950,000
1867-68 ..	12,306	9,845	741	7,295,044	4 5¾	1,630,591	850,000
1868-69 ..	15,500	12,400	800	9,920,000	4 6½	2,252,666	2,500,000

JAPAN. No. 1 (1870).

REPORT by Mr. Adams, Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation in Japan, on the Central Silk Districts of Japan.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1870.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

HER MAJESTY'S MINISTER

IN

JAPAN

RESPECTING

BRITISH TROOPS IN THAT COUNTRY.

(In continuation of Paper No. 35 of Correspondence relative to the Affairs of Japan, presented to Parliament in 1865, page 43.)

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1867.

LONDON:
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Correspondence with Her Majesty's Minister in Japan respecting British Troops in that Country (in continuation of Paper No. 35 of Correspondence relative to the Affairs of Japan, presented to Parliament in 1865, page 43).

No. 1.

Sir R. Alcock to Earl Russell.—(*Received August* 15.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, June* 11, 1864.

SINCE the departure of the last mail there has been little change in the aspect of Japanese affairs. The arrival of the "Conqueror" on the 28th ultimo, with a battalion of marines, seemed to make a considerable impression; the more so, perhaps, that some newspaper reports of their recall had found circulation among the Japanese officials, and a too ready credence.

It had been already arranged that the whole of the troops expected should be located on commanding positions at the southern extremity of the settlement, and the Japanese Government had consented to hut them as soon as the work could possibly be done. The marines in the meantime have been put under canvas on the bluff in a fine salubrious location expressly cleared for them, where during the present genial time of the year they can take no harm.

The most remarkable thing in all these arrangements, is the sudden energy and hearty goodwill which the Japanese Government have manifested in giving effect to a plan for landing and hutting 1,500 foreign troops. To say nothing of the large expense it will entail, there were so many obvious reasons for their remonstrating against troops being landed, and plausible pretexts for innumerable difficulties in the way of their being put up, that the rapid disappearance of every obstacle has, I confess, taken me somewhat by surprise. I have rarely seen them employ such energy even in carrying out their own objects. Once relieved of the fear of being in some way compelled to give up large, and nearly empty barracks at the other end of the town, they seem to have seen no difficulty in anything. More than a thousand workmen and coolies were got together in forty-eight hours. Carpenters in large gangs were organized and paid double wages. All the approaches to the bluff presented a scene of wondrous activity, many hundreds of coolies dragging up in carts, or on their shoulders, masses of timber and planking. In three days a fine road was cut, at my request, and under the direction of Major Wray, along the face of the cliff, to open a communication between the naval lot on the sea beach and the location preparing for the 20th. Not even rain, to which the Japanese object strongly, could cool their ardour. It was a novel sight for Japan, men being induced to work under umbrellas. Well-constructed and extensive huts for 800 men, which only the week before I had been informed by the Governor could not be put up under 150 days, are now promised, and with every probability of fulfilment, in 25 days.

No. 2.

Earl Russell to Sir R. Alcock.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, August* 15, 1864.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 14th of May,* I have to convey to you the approval, by Her Majesty's Government, of your having sent to Hong Kong for

* See Papers presented to Parliament in 1865, No. 35, page 43.

the remaining wing of the 20th Regiment. When all danger of an attack on Yok has entirely ceased, that wing may be sent back to Hong Kong.

No. 3.

Sir R. Alcock to Earl Russell.—(*Received December* 13.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, October* 14, 1864.

AS soon as the result of the operations at Shimonosaki were known, I took measures to reduce the military force which had been collected here for the security of Yokohama pending the absence of the squadron and battalion of marines.

It would be hardly expedient for the present, I think, notwithstanding the wide spread and beneficial effects of the success which attended our arms in the Straits, to denude Yokohama entirely of troops. More, especially, would any step of this kind be impolitic and inexpedient, as in China, I understand, no additional force is required, and the troops can be kept in better health and more economically here than in China.

The General commanding, however, has been informed that he can remove, whenever convenient, the detachments of the 67th and Belooch Regiments, and I should have said the Artillery also had not Colonel Brown objected.

I cannot, however, concur with him in his view of the necessity of replacing these detachments by others from China, and I have, accordingly, informed him that I saw objections to any such requisitions being made.

I have the honour to inclose the correspondence on the subject with the Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure in 1 No. 3.

Sir R. Alcock to Lieutenant-Colonel Browne.

Sir, *Yokohama, October* 3, 1864.

THE operations for which I deemed it necessary to collect troops here from China having now successfully terminated, and all the results of restored security and freedom from any pressing danger obtained, there is no longer the same necessity for retaining them. No further military operations are contemplated, and I propose, therefore, to inform the General commanding in China that there is no further need of the detachments of the Belooch and 67th Regiments. As to the detachments of artillery, I should be glad to know whether you consider it advisable to let them go also, leaving your own regiment and the battalion of Marines to meet any remote contingencies of attack on this settlement?

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 2 in No. 3.

Lieutenant-Colonel Browne to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *Garrison Office, Yokohama, October* 4, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 3rd instant, informing me that the object for which you collected troops at this station has been attained, and that you propose the withdrawal of the detachments 67th and Belooch Regiments from Japan; and your Excellency is further pleased to inquire if, in addition to the above-mentioned troops, the detachment and guns of the Royal Artillery may also be withdrawn, having due regard to future contingencies, and considering the presence of Her Majesty's 2nd battalion 20th Regiment, and a battalion of Royal Marines. As the officer entrusted with the command of Her Majesty's land forces in Japan, it is my duty to represent to your Excellency the military considerations arising on your despatch of yesterday.

1. Assuming the correctness of your Excellency's position, "that the local success at Shimonosaki has restored security at Yokohama," I am of opinion that the detachment

67th and Belooch Regiments may be safely removed; but I cannot concur in the withdrawal of the guns and detachment of Royal Artillery.

2. Assuming, as stated by your Excellency, that no further military operations are contemplated, it remains only to be considered with what force security and the regular performance of the public duties can be maintained.

I place it, after careful consideration, at 1,000 men, and am of opinion that as the battalion of Royal Marines cannot be considered as a permanent or even as a reliable portion of the land forces, it will be prudent to request the Major-General commanding in China (whose arrangements, as I am aware, render the return of the detachments 67th and Belooch Regiments to China desirable) to replace the six companies contained in those detachments, and proposed by your Excellency to be withdrawn, by two companies of another corps, effecting thereby a reduction of upwards of 300 men at this station.

3. Your Excellency must be pleased to remember that Yokohama now contains "Public Military Departments, and considerable public stores which require protection; that guards and patrols are required for general security, and that numerous incidental services have to be provided for; therefore a less reliable force than 1,000 men will be inadequate to the duties of the place.

4. It is right that I should remind your Excellency that contingencies, however remote, "or apparently so," may arise, not only here but at other ports, and that a surplus of troops ought to be available to meet any future desire on the part of your Excellency to afford aid or protection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BROWNE.

No. 4.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(*Received October* 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, August* 10, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival at Yokohama, on the 7th instant, of Vice-Admiral King, who has relieved Sir Augustus Kuper as Commander-in-chief in China and Japan.

The question of the return to England of the battalion of Royal Marines has been considered to be dependent upon his arrival, and, as I informed him on being consulted on the subject, that, in the present satisfactory condition of affairs, I could offer no objection to their departure; it is his intention, I believe, to embark that corps in Her Majesty's ship "Conqueror," which may be ready to sail in the course of a fortnight.

The place of the Marine battalion will be partially supplied by two companies of Her Majesty's 11th Regiment, which are already under orders to come here from Hong Kong.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 5.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(*Received October* 28.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, August* 24, 1865.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 10th instant, reporting the intended departure for England of the battalion of Royal Marines hitherto stationed at Yokohama, I have now the honour to inform your Lordship that Her Majesty's ship "Conqueror" embarked this battalion on the 22nd instant, and sailed with them this morning for Hong Kong.

I have given notice of this circumstance in the inclosed note to the Ministers of the Gorogio, who will probably infer that the departure of the battalion does not involve a reduction of Her Majesty's forces on this station. The contrary belief would, indeed, be a mistaken one, when the arrival of the "Princess Royal," with a crew of nearly 800 men, is taken into account; nor is it desirable that it should be entertained while the present uncertainty as to the struggle of the Tycoon with the Prince of Choshiu continues.

Your Lordship will understand the gratification with which I add that the conduct of the Marine battalion has attracted universal admiration at Yokohama, and that the regret

felt on their departure is not limited to the foreign community, but is also shared by the Japanese population.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 5.

Sir H. Parkes to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, August 24, 1865.

THE Undersigned has to inform their Excellencies of the departure for England this morning of Her Majesty's line-of-battle ship, the "Conqueror," having on board the battalion of Royal Marines that arrived in Japan in the spring of 1864. He should add, however, that a large number of these marines have been distributed through the ships of the fleet, which has also been considerably reinforced by the recent arrival of the noble ship of the line "Princess Royal" (as already reported by the Undersigned to their Excellencies), carrying the flag of Vice-Admiral King, the Naval Commander-in-chief.

The Undersigned should take this opportunity of informing their Excellencies that a portion of Her Majesty's 11th Regiment, now at Hong Kong, and the families of Her Majesty's 20th Regiment will shortly arrive in Yokohama, and will occupy the camp just vacated by the Royal Marines.

With respect, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 6.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(*Received* November 28.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, September* 29, 1865.

THE departure of the Marine battalion, and the expected arrival of a detachment of Her Majesty's 11th Regiment as its relief, which I communicated to the Gorogio, on the 24th August, and reported to your Lordship in my despatch of 24th ultimo, has led their Excellencies to address me the accompanying letter, asking for a further explanation as to the object of this change in the corps composing the force now stationed at Yokohama.

In my reply, which I beg to inclose, I have pointed out to their Excellencies, that under the arrangements made with them by Sir Rutherford Alcock, in June, 1864, the camp was formed for the accommodation of a force of 1,500 men, and not for the use of any particular corps, the presence of such a force being unfortunately necessary to protect British subjects against the insecurity which prevailed consequent upon the avowed hostility of certain Daimios, and the determination, attributed to the Mikado, of expelling foreigners from this port. I pointed out that as the maintenance of this force depended upon the cessation of the insecurity and hostility that had led to its despatch, their Excellencies could arrive at a better opinion than it was in my power to form as to the probable duration of this occupation, and I took advantage of the opportunity to remind them that no information had been furnished by them to the Legations relative to the progress made by the Government of the Tycoon, in obtaining from the Mikado, the ratification of the Treaties, which after the affair of Shimonosaki, they had admitted to be essential to the restoration of safe and friendly relations.

I have visited Yeddo, and have had two interviews with the Gorogio since I forwarded to them this letter, but as they did not refer to the subject on either of these occasions, and have not done so since, I conclude that they see in my reply a sufficient explanation.

I look upon the inquiry which the Ministers of the Tycoon have thought it necessary to put on record on the occasion of the departure of the marines simply as a precautionary step, made with the view of preserving the rights of their Government in respect to the camp by the re-assertion of its temporary character. I do not consider that it denotes an objection on their part to the presence of the force, or a desire for its removal. The Gorogio have lately shown readiness to entertain an application I am now making to them on the part of General Guy for the construction of a military store, which it is proposed they should build, and that we should rent from them.

I may mention that the detachment of Her Majesty's 11th Regiment referred to in this correspondence arrived here on the 17th instant. It consists of only two companies, of about 150 men, and the health of nearly all of them is sadly shattered by the sickly season with which Hong Kong has this year been visited. General Guy informs me that he has authority from the War Office to station the whole regiment at Yokohama; but, as the duties of the garrison at Hong Kong will not admit a diminution of its strength to this extent, the detachment in question is all that he at first proposed to bring up. He now, however, thinks it desirable, on sanitary considerations, to increase this detachment by sixty or seventy invalids of the same regiment; and I should mention to your Lordship that I have unhesitatingly concurred in the General's view, for I venture to think that, so long as the maintenance of a force in Japan is entailed on Her Majesty's Government, it is desirable that any concurrent advantages that are legitimately derivable from this circumstance should be turned to the best account.

Inclosure 1 in No. 6.

Midzuno Idsumi no Kami to Sir H. Parkes.

I HAVE received your despatch, dated 24th August, and have understood that the line-of-battle-ship "Conqueror," having on board the Royal Marines, has left Yokohama; and that the British army (?) now at Hong Kong will shortly arrive at Yokohama and occupy the camp vacated by the Marines.

As regards the said detachments of your army, several men-of-war of Great Britain arrived last year in the Bay of Yokohama, having been fitted out by your Government for the purpose of sending to our Province of Nagato, but the Japanese Government having requested that the plan might be given up of sending the said men-of-war thither, your predecessor, Sir Rutherford Alcock, said he regretted he had no place where to put up the soldiers during their stay at Yokohama, thus my predecessors had the camp temporarily got ready and those soldiers lived there, my said predecessors at the same time informing your predecessor in their despatches of the 18th of the 5th month (June 21st, 1864), and of the 21st of the 6th month (July 24th, 1864) of last year, that the said camp would be broken up when the said soldiers left it.

When (if) the said Marines have returned to their native country, it is my opinion it would only be just for the said camp to be returned to us, and yet you have informed me that (detachments of) the British army will occupy the said camp, being shortly expected from Hong Kong; but as there is no reason why British troops should be sent to our Empire, I do not understand why the said detachments should be sent hither: therefore I will let you know whether it can be allowed or not after I have received more minute information from you on the subject; therefore I request you to write to me again.

With respect and consideration.

12th of 7th month of 1st year of Kai-ô (September 1st, 1865).

With respect, &c.

(Signed) MIDZUNO IDSUMI NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 6.

Sir H. Parkes to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

THE Undersigned has received the letter of their Excellencies of the 1st instant, acknowledging the notice communicated to them by the Undersigned of the removal of the Marine battalion, and asking for further information respecting the detachment of Her Majesty's 11th Regiment which will occupy the camp in their place.

The Undersigned has examined the earlier letters of the Gorogio of the 21st June and 24th of July, 1864, to which their Excellencies refer him, and is aware from these letters, and also from Sir R. Alcock's reply of the 25th July, 1864, that the camp then formed at Yokohama for the accommodation of the troops sent to Japan by Her Majesty's Government was regarded from the first as a temporary measure. The object for which these troops were sent was clearly explained to Takemoto Kai no Kami by Sir R. Alcock to be the protection of British interests consequent on the disturbed state of the country and the threats made, in violation of Treaties, for the expulsion of foreigners from Yokohama. These reasons are also recorded in Sir R. Alcock's letter to the Gorogio of the

28th September, which mentions that the Tycoon's Government had agreed to construct huts to the number required for the accommodation of 1,500 men.

The Undersigned also finds that, at the interview held at Yeddo between the foreign Representatives and the Gorogio, on the 7th of October, 1864, the attention of the latter was strongly urged to the measures held to be essential to the removal of the insecurity to which foreigners are unfortunately exposed in Japan, namely, the ratification of the Treaties by His Majesty the Mikado, and the participation of the Daimios in the advantages of Foreign trade. The Gorogio admitted the needful character of these measures, and declared to the Representatives that they would use their best efforts to effect these desirable arrangements. To assist them in doing so they begged the Representatives to agree to the immediate recall of the ships of war from Shimonasaki. The ships were recalled in compliance with this request; but, although nearly a year has since elapsed, it does not appear that the Government of the Tycoon has yet secured the ratification of the Treaties by His Majesty the Mikado, nor has any intimation been given as to the removal of the restrictions on the trade of the Daimios at the Treaty ports.

Indeed, the Undersigned regrets to add that the Tycoon's Government still delays the abolition of certain other restrictions which, though known to be removable at its own will, continue in opposition to the Treaty to be imposed upon foreign trade at the open ports.

While the Treaty remains unratified, and no proofs afforded to the Governments of the Treaty Powers of the entire cessation of the unreasonable enmity hitherto professed by certain Daimios against foreigners, it is difficult for the Undersigned to conjecture when the insecurity that obliged Her Majesty's Government to send troops to Japan will cease. The Marines have simply been relieved in the course of service by another corps; but the change involves no augmentation in the strength of the force for which the Japanese Government agreed to provide accommodation.

The Undersigned observes that for some time past their Excellencies have furnished no information to this Legation on the subjects above referred to. He begs therefore to remind them that it is the duty of a friendly Government to communicate freely with the foreign Ministers accredited to it on all public matters which affect the interests of the nations they represent, and he accordingly trusts that their Excellencies will be so good as to inform him what progress has been made towards obtaining the ratification of the Treaties by His Majesty the Mikado, and towards removing ill-will on the part of the Daimios, by admitting them to a just share in the advantages of foreign trade.

With respect, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

September 16, 1864.

No. 7.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received July* 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, May* 16, 1866.

HER Majesty's 2nd battalion 20th Regiment have been relieved by Her Majesty's 2nd battalion 9th Regiment from Hong Kong, and the wing of the 9th Regiment, which arrived here in September last, has also been withdrawn. The change between the two regiments first named will be completed to-morrow, when the right wing of the 2nd battalion 20th Regiment embarks for Hong Kong in Her Majesty's ship "Adventure."

I have thought it due to Colonel Browne, who has been in command of this garrison since the arrival of his regiment in June 1864, to express in the inclosed letter my opinion of the excellent services rendered by himself and the force under his orders throughout this important period.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 7.

Sir H. Parkes to Lieutenant-Colonel Browne.

Sir, *Yokohama, May* 16, 1866.

ON the occasion of the departure of Her Majesty's 2nd battalion 20th Regiment from Japan, I cannot omit to contribute my testimony to the excellent services performed

by that corps during the time it has been stationed here, or to express the high estimation I have formed of the very able manner in which, throughout a period of nearly two years, you have fulfilled the duties of this peculiar and responsible command.

My predecessor has recorded a well merited opinion of the importance of those services in the maintenance of peaceful relations with this country, and the preservation of our national dignity at the earliest and most critical period of your command; and it is now my pleasing duty to show that the good effect then produced has continued until the present date, and that as our intercourse with the Japanese authorities and people becomes more intimate, there is plainly discernible, on the part of the former, an increasing willingness to adhere to Treaty obligations, and a ready disposition on the part of the latter to turn to the best account the new opportunities afforded them of adding to their sources of wealth and intelligence.

A very friendly feeling now exists between the Japanese and foreign communities of Yokohama, and between the foreign and native troops by which it is jointly garrisoned, and I feel that you have greatly contributed to this improvement by the excellent order maintained in your own camp, and by allowing the Japanese officers to benefit freely by observation and instruction, either on your parade ground or by taking part in those field displays in which they have shown themselves so ready to brigade their troops with our own.

I should also refer to the confidence I lately felt in knowing that the protection of Yokohama devolved upon yourself and the garrison on the occasion of the recent visit to the Bay of Osaka of the Representatives of the four allied Powers. Though necessarily then accompanied by almost the whole of the naval forces, nothing occurred during their absence to interrupt the tranquillity of the port, and I see in this circumstance a conclusive proof both of the improvement in our relations and also of the efficiency of your arrangements.

The peaceful character of the laurels won by your regiment in this country should form, I think, a subject of sincere congratulation, and should add to the value in which they are regarded, and I feel that I cannot wish for yourself, your officers, and men, a more useful and honourable career than that which would be afforded by a continuance of such services as those which you have so faithfully discharged in Japan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 8.

Sir H. Parkes to Lord Stanley.—(Received December 27.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, October* 31, 1866.

I HAVE lately had occasion to call upon the Japanese Government to repair the huts occupied as barracks by our troops at Yokohama, and to reconstruct the hospital of the force. The former work was undertaken upon the application of Major-General Guy, and the latter has been rendered necessary by the demand of the American authorities for the land upon which the present hospital stands, and which had only been temporarily lent us in 1864.

I inclose copies of the letters that have passed between General Guy and myself on this subject, and also of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul, forwarding the application of the United States' Consul for the return of the hospital ground, together with the reply which I directed Mr. Myburgh to return to this communication.

The huts are wooden constructions, roofed with shingles, and plastered with chunam. Such buildings are naturally liable to rapid deterioration, and require, after two years of occupation, considerable repairs. A plan which would have rendered them durable for ten years was proposed by Lieutenant-Colonel Lovell, commanding the Royal Engineers, but was objected to by the Japanese Government on account of the permanent character that the camp would then assume. The mention of this plan, however, rendered them probably less indisposed to adopt the alternative of putting the huts into a thorough state of repair without departing from their original form, and the military authorities will, I conclude, be satisfied with the same accommodation as that which was provided when the huts were first constructed under their supervision.

I considered myself authorized to call upon the Japanese authorities to make these repairs, and to remove the hospital, the total cost of which will probably not be less than 20,000 dollars. No requirement had previously been made by Sir Rutherford Alcock relative to the repair of these huts, probably because the duration of the camp

would not be foreseen at the time of its construction. I held, however, in my interviews with the Japanese Commissioners, with whom I arranged the business, that the obligation to maintain the camp in repair was as incumbent upon their Government as that of building it in the first instance; and I watched with attention the manner in which they entertained the demand, as it was natural to to suppose that they would not have slow to oppose an expenditure of this nature if they considered it to be unnecessarily incurred. I noticed that they raised no objections to the principle of the claim, but only sought to confine the outlay within moderate limits, and the manner in which they treated the subject justifies the conclusion that in the opinion of the Tycoon's Government it is not desirable that Her Majesty's troops should at present be withdrawn from Japan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 8.

Major-General Guy to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Head-Quarters, Yokohama, October* 10, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your information, a copy of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Lovell, commanding Royal Engineers, on the subject of the repairs of the huts in this camp, and to request that you will be pleased to arrange with the Japanese Government for their efficient and thorough repair, so as to enable the Commanding Royal Engineer to report that they are in all respects proof against wind and weather as when first erected.

It would be very desirable (if practicable) to erect two huts for the General Officer commanding and his Staff, when visiting Yokohama on duty. The most convenient site would appear to be a piece of ground immediately adjoining the North Camp, and to the south-east of it. At present the only accommodation for the General and his Staff is the old mess-house, and two adjoining huts, formerly occupied by the Officers Royal Marines; but these are required for the accommodation of married officers, who have to vacate them on the arrival of the Major-General. Should the proposed arrangement be found impracticable some alterations would be necessary in the huts now occupied by the Staff.

I beg further to report, for your information, that the military store and Commissariat buildings, which you were so kind as to induce the Japanese Government to build for the use of Her Majesty's troops, on the payment of a certain rent, as agreed on between Her Majesty's Consul and the Japanese Government, have been handed over by the latter to Lieutenant Bond, R.E., for occupation.

It would, perhaps, have been a more regular course if the transfer of the buildings had taken place through Her Majesty's Consul, but as the transaction had been completed in the manner described before any official Report was made on the subject, it only remained to carry out the usual inspection of the premises, as laid down in War Office Circular.

I beg to add, that I have personally inspected all the buildings, and find them to be admirably adapted for the purposes intended; and I have further to express my personal thanks to yourself for obtaining these excellent and convenient stores for the military Departments in this command.

I have, &c.
(Signed) P. M. N. GUY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 8.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lovel to Major-General Guy.

Sir, *Royal Engineers' Office, Yokohama, October* 11, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Major-General commanding, that when the improvements to one of the huts in the camp, as suggested in my letter of the 18th September, 1866, were nearly completed, I had an interview with Sir H. Parkes, K.C.B., as to whether the Japanese Government at their own expense would remodel the whole of the huts in a similar manner.

On the following day the Vice-Governor of Kanagawa inspected the improved hut, and said that he did not think it was likely that his Government would effect such perma-

nent repairs, partly on account of the expense, and partly because it would give the huts a character opposed to the conditions upon which they were erected, viz., that they should be of a temporary description.

The Vice-Governor, however, stated that his Government would probably at their own expense make and maintain the huts for the future as proof against wind and weather as when first built.

Should it be considered that the huts when so repaired will afford sufficient protection to the troops, I would suggest that application should be make to Sir H. Parkes to endeavour to complete the necessary arrangements with the Japanese Government.

Besides economy, this measure would ensure the repairs of the huts before the setting in of the winter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. W. LOVELL.

Inclosure 3 in No. 8.

Sir H. Parkes to Major-General Guy.

Sir, *Yokohama, October* 30, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 10th instant, requesting me to arrange with the Japanese Government for the repairs of the huts which form the camp of Her Majesty's troops now stationed in Yokohama.

In discussing this subject with the Japanese Government, I found that they objected to the plan of Lieutenant-Colonel Lovell to remodel the huts by facing them with square tiles and providing them with more substantial roofs, on the ground both of expense and of the permanent character which would thereby be given to the buildings. They were, on the other hand, willing to undertake any necessary repairs that would not alter the form of the huts but would render them proof against wind and weather.

The former plan, which, it appears, would have entailed an outlay of about 45,000 dollars and have occupied a considerable time in execution, could only, in the face of the objections of the Japanese Government, have been proceeded with—in the first instance at least—at our own charge, while the latter, the Japanese Government, are prepared to carry out themselves in a period of fifty days and at a cost which they estimate at about 16,000 dollars.

I have considered it advisable therefore, to agree to the latter arrangement, which has also received your concurrence, as it is understood that the huts, when thus repaired, will, in every respect, be as serviceable as when first constructed. The authority of the Gorogio for the expenditure was communicated to me on the 27th instant, and the fifty days allowed for the completion of the work will count from the 2nd proximo.

I may here mention that I received on the 23rd instant, a requisition from the United States' Consul at this port for the restoration of the ground temporarily lent by the American authiorities, in July 1864, for the use of Her Majesty's troops, and on which the hospital now stands. As we are bound to give up this ground upon demand, I am arranging with the Japanese Government for the removal of the huts which form the present hospital to another site, and am in communication with Colonel Knox, the Commandant, relative to the spot which it is desirable to select for this purpose.

I have thought it desirable to secure the accomplishment of these two matters which require immediate attention before I press upon the notice of the Japanese Government your wish to be provided with two additional huts for the use of the General commanding the troops and his Staff. I shall not omit, however, to secure, at a later date, the consideration of this proposal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 4 in No. 8.

Consul Myburgh to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Kanagawa, October* 23, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to you herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from the United States' Consul at this port, requesting that the American

Consular lot on the bluff, which was lent by him for the use of Her Majesty's troops in July 1864, might be returned to him as soon as convenient, as it is required by the United States' Government for the purpose of a marine hospital.

Before, however, taking any steps in the matter, I think it desirable that I should communicate with you on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. G. MYBURGH.

Inclosure 5 in No. 8.

Mr. Fisher to Consul Myburgh.

Sir, *Kanagawa, October* 22, 1866.

IN the month of July, 1864, at the request of Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., &c., and Colonel Browne, commanding Her Majesty's forces, &c., &c., made through C. A. Winchester, Esq., then Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at this port, I gave temporary occupation of the concession of ground belonging to this Consulate, or more strictly speaking to myself, for a Consular residence on the bluff, opposite the then 20th Regiment, now the 9th Regiment barracks of Her Majesty's troops for hospital purposes, the said lot to be returned to me whenever required.

As the Congress of the United States at its recent session have authorized an appropriation for the building of a marine hospital at this port, and I hope to leave very early in the ensuing year if not before, the said lot will soon be required for said marine hospital, and you will please do me the favour, as speedily as practicable, to notify the commanding officer of Her Majesty's present forces here in charge of said premises, that as soon as may be, without prejudice to Her Majesty's public service here, I would like possession of said lot again turned over to me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE S. FISHER, *United States' Consul.*

Inclosure 6 in No. 8.

Sir H. Parkes to Consul Myburgh.

Sir, *Yokohama, October* 23, 1866.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 23rd instant, giving cover to a letter from the United States' Consul at this port, applying for the return of the American Consular lot as soon as this ground, which was temporarily lent to us by the American authorities for the use of Her Majesty's troops in July, 1864, can be given up without prejudice to the interests of Her Majesty's service.

The ground in question is at present occupied by the huts which form the garrison hospital, and which, in order to admit of the return of the ground, must be taken down and re-erected on another site. You will inform the United States' Consul that their removal shall be proceeded with, and that we regard the long use we have had of this ground, and the considerate manner in which notice is now given of its being required by the American Government, as a fresh proof of the desire of the latter to unite cordially with the Government of Her Majesty and that of other Powers having Treaties with this country, in measures calculated to insure the execution of those Treaties, and the safety of the foreign community generally.

It appears that the removal and reconstruction of the present hospital is likely to require about four months, unless the workmen are pressed to use greater dispatch; and I should, therefore, wish you to ascertain from the United States' Consul whether the convenience of his Government would be fully met if the ground is returned to him at the expiration of that time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 9.

Sir H. Parkes to Lord Stanley.—(Received December 27.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, October* 31, 1866.

IN the concluding paragraphs of the letter from Major-General Guy, which I forward to your Lordship in my despatch of this date, the General mentions that the military authorities had taken over the buildings which had been constructed as military stores by the Japanese Government, and found them well suited to the purposes for which they were intended.

I should now report that these buildings were constructed by the Japanese Government, upon my application, founded on a request from General Guy, who complained of the insufficiency and dearness of the warehouse accommodation obtained on hire from the foreign residents. I therefore persuaded the Japanese Government to rent to us, on an annual lease renewable from year to year at our option, an eligible plot of ground, with water frontage, and to construct on it buildings, on plans furnished by ourselves, for which we were to pay a rental of 10 per cent. upon the outlay.

The result is, that we have maintained by this arrangement, in immediate proximity to the camp, much more commodious accommodation than that previously occupied in the centre of the town, and at about half the previous cost.

Another material advantage is, that the land and buildings thus secured may be retained for naval uses, or for any other public purpose to which Her Majesty's Government may see fit to apply them, whenever they are no longer needed by the military authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 10.

Sir H. Parkes to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 4.)

My Lord, *Yedo, December* 31, 1866.

SINCE I reported to your Lordship in my despatch of the 31st October last that I had called upon the Japanese Government to repair the huts which form the camp of Her Majesty's troops stationed in Japan, and that this demand had been promptly complied with, I had the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch of the 26th September, covering correspondence on this subject with the War Office, and directing me to follow a similar course to that which had already been adopted.

The willingness of the Japanese Government to undertake this work at their own cost convinced me, as I observed in the former despatch, that they do not entertain any wish to see Her Majesty's troops immediately removed from this country. This impression is further confirmed by the punctuality they have observed in the execution of the work, as shown by the inclosed letter to me from Colonel Knox, the Commandant, in which he reports the satisfactory completion of all the repairs within the time agreed to for the purpose.

The Japanese authorities have also proved themselves to be liberally disposed in this matter by providing some additional accommodation for servants' offices, and by reimbursing Her Majesty's 9th Regiment for an expense they had previously incurred in providing a canteen and recreation-room for the men.

I presume the huts may now be considered to be as sound as when they were first constructed under our own direction, and provided that is the case, I trust that these arrangements, which appear to give satisfaction to the military authorities on the spot, will be approved by your Lordship and the War Office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 10.

Colonel Knox to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Camp, Yokohama, December* 24, 1866.

THE Japanese authorities having now punctually performed the service of repairing the huts in this camp, I have great pleasure in reporting to your Excellency the satis-

factory and complete manner in which the work has been performed, though, owing to the long drought, I am at present unable to report that the huts are waterproof.

The native officers employed in these repairs have been most civil and accommodating, especially a young man, name unknown, who speaks English fluently.

Though many coolies and workmen have been employed about the camp, I have not heard of a single act of robbery or pilfering.

I request you will be good enough to convey to the Governor of Yokohama my best thanks for the manner in which this service has been performed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. E. KNOX.

JAPAN.

CORRESPONDNCE with Her Majesty's Minister in Japan respecting British Troops in that Country (in continuation of a Paper No. 35 of Correspondence relative to the Affairs of Japan, presented to Parliament in 1865, page 43).

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1867.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

JAPAN. No. 2. (1865.)

DESPATCH

FROM

SIR R. ALCOCK

RESPECTING THE

MURDER

OF

MAJOR BALDWIN AND LIEUTENANT BIRD,

AT

KAMAKURA, IN JAPAN.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1865.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

Despatch from Sir R. Alcock respecting the Murder of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird at Kamakura, in Japan.

Sir R. Alcock to Earl Russell.—(*Received January* 26, 1865.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, November* 29, 1864.

IT is with great regret that just on the eve of my departure from this country, I have to report another outrage to be added to the long series of barbarous murders in which foreigners have been the victims.

The covering despatches of Mr. Consul Winchester, with their several inclosures, will put your Lordship in possession of the leading circumstances attending this last painful evidence of the continued insecurity of life in Japan. The inclosed printed slip giving the proceedings of the Coroner's inquest, together with a summary, although not official, is essentially accurate, and will supply the place of the record which there is not time to copy.

Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, both officers of the 2nd Battalion 20th Regiment in garrison here, made an excursion on the 20th instant to Kamakura, a large temple within the limits of the port, but some seventeen miles from this. They were waylaid, it appears by evidence, about 2 o'clock that afternoon, close to the avenue of the temple where three roads meet, by a couple of two-sworded men, and cut down. The evidence of a little boy about eleven years old is by far the most explicit and trustworthy. He says he saw the two officers riding leisurely one after the other, the younger (Lieutenant Bird) first; and then two samurais who had already roughly warned him to go away as there was danger, draw their swords and rush upon the unsuspecting travellers. The first was instantly dismounted, when the boy in terror took fright, and saw no more.

About 1 o'clock the following morning, the Governor of Kanagawa came to Mr. Consul Winchester's house, and informed him that he had heard two foreigners, said to be English officers, had been attacked at Kamakura, one killed and the other severely wounded. He admitted that the intelligence had reached Kanagawa three or four hours before, between 9 and 10 o'clock it seems. This delay he explains by stating that his residence being some distance out of the town, and the Vice-Governor having first to be found, a considerable time had elapsed before he could himself take any steps; that he had then instantly despatched some of his own officers to the scene of the murder, and subsequently walked to the Consul's house, a distance of some two miles or more; when he also lost some time gaining admission.

This was not very satisfactory, but unfortunately it was not without many precedents. It appears to be the invariable rule, in all cases where foreigners have been murdered, in the first place to send, for instructions no doubt, to the Government at Yeddo, and despatch their own emissaries to the scene. The last step is taken, I believe, with the object principally of securing what evidence is to be had on the spot, and providing against any being given to the foreign Consuls, other than such as they, the authorities, shall deem fitting or expedient.

I mention these circumstances because in the present instance this common practice has a very painful bearing on the worst features of this deplorable case.

The evidence of all the Japanese leaves no doubt that one of the officers survived many hours, certainly if any of them are to be believed, until 10 P.M. It is further established that the survivor was Lieutenant Bird, his companion Major Baldwin having been killed on the spot, by the concurrent testimony of several eye-witnesses.

The dead and the living were removed, after an uncertain interval of an hour or two, to the vicinity of a tea-house, and there laid together on mats stretched on the ground, and a bamboo shed raised over them. The Chief or head man of the nearest village was sent for by some of the country people who first saw, or admit that they saw, the mangled foreigners, and from about 5 P.M. they must be held to have been in his custody. By his

order they appear to have been removed from the place where they fell, a Japanese doctor sent for, watches in charge set over them, and a messenger despatched to the Governor at Kanagawa with information of the deed. This doctor and others depose to have been with the survivor, to have heard him speak, move his head, drink water, or seem to drink it, and medicine. This until about 10 o'clock, when they say he died. Up to that time the doctor deposes he remained with him.

The horrible circumstance connected with these facts is the evidence of the surgeons, after careful post-mortem examination of the wounds, that one which Lieutenant Bird received across the back of the neck had divided the spine across the bodies of the second and third cervical vertebræ, completely severing the spinal cord at that point; and they declare, that after receiving such a wound he could not have survived, but must have died almost instantaneously.

The only inference upon such evidence is, that this unhappy victim of Japanese treachery received his death-wound while in the custody of his keepers, and many hours after the first onslaught. If so, by whom was this last wound given, and with what motive? Where were the men, placed in charge? Were they accomplices and present, or merely faithless to their charge and absent, or driven away and accessories after the fact? The tomb is not more silent than they are on any matter tending to throw light upon a second deed of treachery. They declare they remained by the wounded man until he died, unmolested and undisturbed by any one.

If the report of the two regimental surgeons is to be implicitly relied upon—and it is too precise in its terms and specific in its evidence on the one point essential, the severance of the spinal cord at the part indicated and by a clean cut, apparently the same which divided the bones of the vertebræ and the covering soft parts, to leave any reasonable ground of doubt—there is an end of all question as to the fact of a deed of murder with connivance of his custodians, of almost incredible atrocity. The only possible alternative, the supposition that the wound first given may have divided the fleshy parts and the bones only, and the cord thus unprotected may have been torn across in moving the body before surgical scrutiny when it arrived in Kanagawa, seems to be negatived by the very distinct nature of the evidence of the two surgeons; they state that they ascertained it had been completely severed, and by a clean cut, in the exact direction of the external wound.

But on this assumption, as many of the witnesses depose to a wound in the neck, and he had but one, we are driven to the scarcely less perplexing conclusion that many hours later a final act of butchery was perpetrated under circumstances all but incredible. The assassin must have turned over the helpless body of his victim and struck a savage blow down through the spine, so exactly in the line of the original wound as not to be distinguishable from the first, or thrust a sharp-bladed knife into the first wound dividing the cord and that only, almost with surgical precision. But this implies a degree of forethought and calculation if not of scientific knowledge as to the functions of the spine of which I do not believe Japanese "samurais" capable. It would seem much more natural, if any of the same class as the original assailants had desired to put an end to the foreigners, to conclude they would have taken the simplest and most expeditious mode, and drawn a short sword across his throat or plunged it into his body. They might make sure of the silence of any Japanese, and no foreigner had seen either victim, to count or describe the wounds first received, and so betray the fact that another had been subsequently added.

I confess the difficulty appears to me equally great whichever view be taken; that indicated by the surgeon's report, or the other suggesting the possibility of their being mistaken, not as to the severance of the cord but the mode and time when this may have taken place, before or after death.

Colonel Browne was immediately communicated with, and a party of mounted artillery at once dispatched to Kamakura, with Mr. Fletcher as interpreter, where they arrived soon after daybreak; and after examining the ground in the vicinity, and endeavouring without success to get some information, they returned with the bodies.

Sakai Hida no Kami, one of the Second Council, was sent to me from Yeddo by the Gorogio on the evening of the first day, to convey their condolences—the expression of their regret that such an event had occurred, at this moment above all others, when the relations of the Tycoon's Government with foreign Powers were daily assuming a more satisfactory character. The Vice-Minister seemed really affected, and assured me in the most earnest manner that no efforts should be spared to track the murderers, and, if possible, have them executed on the very scene of their crime before I took my departure. The inclosed official communication to the Gorogio on the subject was dispatched the same day.

I believe, as I stated therein, that the Tycoon and his Council alike deplore the perpetration of such a crime, at this time more especially. I think it is very probably the

act of those who are equally hostile to him and to foreigners. There does not seem to have been any personal motive connected either with the victims individually or their nationality. They were not in uniform, or otherwise distinguishable from other foreigners who were in the neighbourhood on the same day, visitors and residents. It seems to have been neither more nor less than one of those periodical manifestations of deadly hatred and political fanaticism of which we have had too many examples, and directed against all foreigners indiscriminately. They might have been French, Dutch, American, or of any other nation. It is extremely improbable that the assailants knew or cared to know what was their country. They were out like red Indians in their war paint on a scalping expedition; and watched their opportunity to cut to pieces the first unsuspecting strangers they fell in with.

They have been tracked, so the authorities inform me, into Yeddo, and out again on the middle tokaido leading to Kioto.* There seems to be some hope, therefore, of their arrest. All the more that their leaving Yeddo so promptly is tolerable evidence that the Government is so actively in pursuit as to have given them a sense of insecurity even in the cover which a great city affords.

But it is impossible to forget that twelve similar onslaughts have been made on foreigners, and in no one instance has justice had its due. Even in the only case where men were executed—three of those concerned in the first attack on the Legation—the Government did not venture, in exposing their heads, to declare their crime or admit that it was for an attack upon foreigners.

Long experience has shown, as a matter of fact, that every foreigner coming to Japan carries his life in his hands, and is exposed to the fatal contingency of being suddenly set upon, and without the slightest warning or provocation to be cut down in open day by ruffians of the two-sworded class.

The main source of this danger is probably to be sought in the disturbed state of the country, and the weakness of the Tycoon's Government, both combined. Feudal jurisdiction and territorial divisions are great impediments in the administration of justice and facilitate escape; and this is another cause of insecurity to life. The prevalence among the dangerous classes who are privileged to wear two swords wherever they go, of a political fanaticism, in which hatred to foreign intrusion and the innovations on old customs and privileges which come in their train, is no doubt a predominant motive of action with most of the assassins. This feeling of a national character more or less underlies, if it does not directly prompt the *guet-à-pens* in which foreigners fall. In some cases there is probably an ulterior object of a more definite kind and strictly political character. Hostile parties seek by such outrages to embroil the Tycoon with foreign Powers, hoping in the confusion that he himself might be more easily got rid of. In other cases it has seemed to be part of a system of terrorism and intimidation, by which the anti-foreign faction hope to secure either the voluntary withdrawal of foreigners from the country, or at all events their restriction to the limits of the foreign Settlement and comparative isolation.

The greatest of all sources of danger, however, in presence of all these various motives for violence, is to be traced to the assured immunity of those who perpetrate the murders. The same enmities and passions might prevail with comparative freedom from danger to the foreigner but for this certain impunity to the offender. No remedy can be effective which stops short of securing the prompt arrest and execution of the perpetrators of these murders. This alone can strike at the root of the evil.

Security to individual life (apart from the general and collective security which has, I hope, been tolerably well assured now as regards the foreign Settlements)—a security which has never existed since the first opening of the ports, will have to be sought, I am thoroughly persuaded, by other means than any yet resorted to, and with that special object in view.

In all the dismal series of butcheries and assassinations, beginning with the Russians, taking each nationality in succession and indiscriminately until this last, of which two British officers are the victims, there is no instance on record of the arrest and punishment of the offenders.

Inclosure 1.

Consul Winchester to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *Kanagawa, November* 24, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to wait upon you with the following report relative to the deaths of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, of the 2nd Battalion 20th Regiment.

* This has since been contradicted.—R. A.

A little before 1 A.M. on the 22nd instant I received a visit from the Governor of Kanagawa, who informed me that two English officers had been attacked at Kamakura, one of whom was quite dead and the other severely wounded. I asked if they were naval or military officers, but on that point the Governor could give no information. At what hour they had been attacked? and was answered, between 3 and 4 P.M. English time. By whom? By Japanese unknown, doubtless, whom every effort would be made to discover. When and how had the Governor received the information at his residence? At 9 P.M. by a written report from the Chief of the village. What steps had been taken by the Governor? A Shirabiac and party had been despatched at once to Kamakura to give assistance to the wounded survivor, if still alive; the Governor believed that the Japanese doctor of the village was giving what aid he could. Was the Governor certain that one was alive? The report said so, and the messenger who had brought it and had left Kamakura before 7 P.M. confirmed the report. The wounded man had himself said he was an English officer.

I endeavoured to obtain a description of the two officers, and in doing so was told that it was the younger of the two who survived.

Dismissing the Governor with a request to keep some mounted guides and an interpreter ready for immediate service, I at once proceeded to make to you a verbal report of the melancholy intelligence.

Arrangements were forthwith made with Colonel Browne, commanding the garrison, for the despatch of a strong party to Kamakura. This detachment consisted of Lieutenant Wood and twenty-five mounted artillerymen, and was accompanied by an assistant surgeon and Mr. Fletcher. It left at once, and returned about 1 P.M. with its melancholy convoy.

Yesterday an inquest sat for five hours, and terminated in a verdict of "Wilful murder against Japanese swordsmen unknown." The original minutes of the proceedings were at once placed in your hands.

The Japanese evidence taken separately by the Governor was rapidly translated by Mr. Fletcher, and read by him as a statement communicated from a third party. I concur with the opinion the jury have expressed of its unsatisfactory character.

Perhaps the most painful consideration remains to be told. Since the Governor left me on Tuesday morning I have had several interviews with Vice-Governors and officers, and have been uniformly assured that it was the fair-haired young man who survived till 7 P.M.; that medicine was offered to him and declined, but that he kept continually calling for water, which he swallowed, and that he was able to say he was an English officer. In taking down the evidence, the fact of Mr. Bird being the survivor was several times repeated to Mr. Fletcher.

Mr. Bird was tall and thin, with only a downy appearance of hairs on his face. Major Baldwin was several inches shorter, his countenance and figure distinctly indicating middle age, his face of a dark complexion, and covered with an abundant dark beard and moustache and whiskers. The contrast between two men of the same race could hardly have been more striking.

On viewing the body at the time the inquest commenced, the wound in Mr. Bird's neck struck me as quite incompatible with the continuance of life, or the performance of the functions of speaking and swallowing. The severance of the spinal cord between the second and third cervical vertebræ must at once put an end to respiration. This opinion was fully confirmed by Dr. Woodward in his deposition.

The other wounds received by Mr. Bird were on the extremities, and though of the frightful nature usually inflicted by Japanese assassins, would not necessarily have been immediately fatal; whereas the wounds on Major Baldwin's face and back were much more severe and deadly, and though compatible with a short continuance of life hardly with a survivorship of three hours.

The inference from these premises (if they can be depended on) is very sad, viz., that the ruffians finding the prolongation of Mr. Bird's life rendered it possible that he might live to tell his story to some passing foreigner (for besides Mr. Wirgman's party at Fusisawa, there were three or four Dutch naval officers who arrived at Kamakura or Fusisawa before dark, and remained at a tea-house about a mile distant from the spot) finished the hours of the unhappy youth by the *coup de grace* on the neck. A statement was the same evening made to these last gentlemen that two foreigners had been killed, by one of their Japanese boys, who said it came from the landlord of the tea-house; that person on being interrogated denied having said so.

My own impression is that these gentlemen were attacked as they returned from visiting the great statue, before they reached the point where the great road in front of the Hajiman divides, that the horse of one gentleman carried him on to the point on the road towards the sea where the bushes were found sprinkled with blood, and that the

body was thence removed to the spot where it was found by Lieutenant Wood and his party; where the other fell, I can form no conjecture.

Such an atrocious crime and melancholy catastrophe have created much excitement among, and cast a gloom over, the whole foreign community. The receipt of the intelligence at night, and the prompt despatch of the mounted party, took away all motive for the wild general rush which heretofore was wont to attend the occurrence of similar catastrophes.

Both Major Baldwin and Mr. Bird were remarkable for their mild and inoffensive disposition, and the former was an officer of recognized discretion and good sense.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure 2.

Consul Winchester to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *Kanagawa, November* 26, 1864.

I HAVE had the honour to place in your hands the notes of the statements made yesterday and to-day by the Japanese witnesses brought to Yokohama from Kamakura, relative to the murder of Major Baldwin and Mr. Bird, of Her Majesty's 20th Regiment.

The evidence was taken yesterday in presence of the Governor, Vice-Governor, an examining magistrate, and numerous staff of Japanese officers; the three captains of the 20th, who sat on the coroner's jury, and Messrs. Fletcher, Siebold and Satow, by whom the interpretation was conducted entirely to my satisfaction.

After each statement had been made, it was read over in Japanese from my written notes, and its correctness acknowledged by the witness; but when on conclusion of the *vivâ voce* translation of the first statement, I requested that the witness might sign it, the Governor objected to his being called on to do so before his own interpreters had an opportunity of translating it. To-day the procedure was in every respect similar, but the Governor was not present.

The general result of the evidence may be briefly stated as follows:—

The unhappy gentlemen after visiting the colossal statue of Budha, mounted to ride homewards, and were attacked on the same road at or near the little bridge where the hat and two pairs of Japanese clogs were found; that the horse of one carried him on to the point of the road leading towards the sea, about forty yards from the division of the three-fold road leading to the Hajiman; that the officer who survived until 10 o'clock P.M. was beyond all question Lieutenant Bird, and that he and the body of Major Baldwin were removed to the court-yard of Yasiyemon's house, possibly for the accommodation of the village authorities, who found it more convenient to watch them in the neighbourhood of a house; that Mr. Bird spoke, swallowed, and moved his head in a manner not compatible with the then existence of the wound in his neck, according to the description given by Dr. Woodward; that the hat was recognised by the female seller of sweetmeats, who sat at the gate of the temple, as being that of one of two samurais who passed into the great temple, and immediately left it.

I pointed out to the examining officer that, supposing the attack upon these gentlemen not to have been seen by any actual witnesses, the wounded men must have been discovered by some one person or party in the first instance, and that no one had been produced as first giving the alarm. He admitted this, and said that they had been actively trying to discover who the person or persons were.

Also that the priests or officers of the great temple ought to be in a condition to give some account of the two samurai stated by the sweetmeat seller to have gone up to the shrine to pray.

The answer to this was an admission that such inquiries had not been made, and that they would at once be set on foot.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure 3.

Consul Winchester to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *Kanagawa, November* 29, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to continue my report on the evidence taken yesterday and to-day with reference to the recent tragedy. Yesterday, the Japanese authorities brought

forward a young boy, aged 11 years, who has given the clearest and most circumstantial account as yet received of the details of the attack.

He was proceeding from his mother's house on the Muira Road, to buy oil at a shop situated about seventy or eighty yards up the road leading to Daibuts. Before reaching the shop he was accosted by two samurai, who inquired about the path to Enoshima. He then purchased his oil, and was walking homewards; when near the tea-house of the Six Stone Images the same men ran rapidly past him. As he came in front of Kichingoro's house, at the division of the roads, he found these men sitting there, and was roughly warned to leave. It would appear that the boy made off and hid behind some trees in the neighbourhood, and there witnessed the first part of what took place.

The two British officers came riding slowly one before the other, Mr. Bird being in front. He was attacked simultaneously by both Japanese, the one cutting and the other thrusting, and fell near a well on the further side of the main road. The horror of such a spectacle naturally induced the boy to take flight, and at this point his positive testimony ends.

I infer from this statement that the ruffians, satisfied that the first officer was sufficiently disabled to give no efficient assistance to his companion, at once attacked Major Baldwin as he came up, who probably fell from his horse about thirty yards down the road leading to the sea, the spot where the plentiful blood-traces spoken to at the inquest were discovered. Having finished Major Baldwin they returned to complete their work on Mr. Bird, who then may have recovered enough to fire the shot which was found vacant in the chamber of his revolver, and after doing so had his fingers cut off.

The evidence of the other two Japanese witnesses, taken on the 27th instant, simply served to trace the progress of the samurai to two stations on a bye-road leading to Yeddo, to which city, in the hope that its extent and population would afford their best means of concealment, such ruffians would naturally betake themselves.

The evidence taken to-day was confined to the two medical officers of the 20th Regiment, Drs. Woodward and Hyde, which was taken with the view of placing beyond doubt the character and extent of the wounds inflicted on the neck of Lieutenant Bird; and, in respect to their statements, I have to remark that they leave unqualified the description and painful inferences to which in my first despatch I felt it necessary to allude as resulting from the evidence of Dr. Woodward.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure 4.

Consul Winchester to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *Kanagawa, November* 29, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to forward the original notes of evidence taken to-day.

The testimony of the official of the temple simply confirmed the previous accounts of the visit paid by the two samurai, without adding any particulars to those already known.

The keeper of the tea-house near the Six Stone Images, and his wife, obstinately refused to give any information. Afraid of the betrayal of what they had previously said in confidential gossip, they obstinately denied all knowledge of the circumstances.

I did not fail to point out to the Vice-Governor the unsatisfactory character of the day's inquiry, and again pressed on him the production of such witnesses as would serve to complete the history of the murder.

The Vice-Governor replied that they would endeavour to do so; and went on to observe that the Japanese police, while admitting that the discovery of the details was a matter of real interest, considered them of much less importance now that the information which would lead to a discovery of the two samurai, of whose guilt there was no doubt. Statements of whence they came, where they were born, or whose service they had belonged to, were what they most required to give them a clue to their present movements.

One of the first acts of the Governor on receiving the report from Kamakura, before communicating with myself, had been to dispatch a courier to Yeddo, to put the different guard-houses on the approaches to the metropolis on the alert.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure 5.

Translation of Japanese Evidence.

The Rough Account of the Inquiries and Researches made by those sent in pursuit of the Criminals, communicated by them before they set out.

[The original Japanese sheets were brought to the Consulate by the Vice-Governor, who very unwillingly allowed the Consul to detain them for a day while a copy was made, from which the following translation was made by Mr. E. Satow.]

ON the evening of the 22nd instant* two strange-looking men, of the appearance of two-sworded men, came to Totsuka from Kamakura,† and rested at an eating-house called Kadoya, at the edge of the Bridge Yoshidabashi. After that they entered upon a path among the hills, and, calling at a dry-goods shop called Adsusamisé, on the road to the village of Akuwamura, asked the way to two bridges called Seyabashi and Shindenbashi. They went on towards this village, and about 8 o'clock in the evening stopped at a buck-wheat-shop, where they ate some of this food. After borrowing a lantern of the Odawara pattern and candles, they passed along the footpath leading to Tsuruma mura; then, coming to the four cross-roads at Nangatsuda mura, they entered a tea-house at 10 o'clock, and, having asked the road to Mizonguchi mura, proceeded thither. About midnight they called at the house of a peasant at Shimosakunabe mura,‡ on this side of the former place, who had a party of friends, and was, therefore, sitting up late, and, saying that they were hungry and forlorn, begged that something, no matter what, might be sold them to eat. They entered the house, and ate and drank. A little before 4 o'clock in the morning they crossed to Futanga mura§ in the ferry-boat. Although all the accounts obtained from those examined about the matter agree thus far, as yet the inquiries are still unfinished. And as it is possible these may have been the persons who murdered the foreigners, measures are being taken for pursuing them.

Evidence of Sei, aged 62, widow of the peasant Jimbei, resident in Yukinoshta mura, in the District of Kamakura.

She was examined as to her keeping a sweetmeat-shop before the Niomon Gate, at Tsurungaoka, and having seen sworded men there.

Declares the following:—Possesses an income of 9 tempos per annum; lives together with one son and one daughter; lives by selling sweetmeats in front of the Niomon gate of the Temple of Hachiman, at Tsurungaoka; goes there every day to attend to the stall; went there on the 22nd, but, on account of the violent wind and the absence of persons visiting the temple, was about to shut up the stall, when at 3 P. M. came two men, wearing swords, to visit the temple. One appeared about 34 years old; is not certain of what colour, but fancy to have been either black or a colour very much like it, the cotton mantle which he had on; the trousers were perpendicular stripes of grey colour; his under-clothing was nearly black, and with no pattern; does not remember whether he had a crest or not on his dress; he had a bamboo-stick in his hand, to which a piece of cord was attached. The other man was about 24 or 25 years old, with a black cotton coat, and grey-striped trousers; does not remember his under-clothing nor the crest. He had on a round plaited-bamboo hat. [Not the pattern of that produced in court.—E. M. S.] Both of them had on wooden shoes. Before they went into the temple-grounds, he left this hat on the seat before the stall. Soon after they came out again, and came to get the hat again, which was handed to them. They then left without resting at all; both went away through the Niomon gate, and did not pay for the tea they had drunk.

Declares the above exactly as it occurred.

(Signed) SEI.

Evidence of the Nanuski Takajiro, aged 34, chief of the village, and of Zembei, his subordinate, aged 36, of Omachi mura village, in the District of Kamakura.

Examined as to the details of the wounding of two foreigners before the dwellings of Yasuemon and another in the same village.

Takajiro declares as follows:—I possess land to the amount of something over ten kokus of rice. My family consists in all of eight persons. I hold the office of chief of

* Corresponding to 21st of ours. † 10 miles. ‡ 24 miles distance from Kamakura.
§ 5 miles distance from last place.

the village. On the 22nd instant I went out early in the morning, to do some farming at a place called Jikubo, and about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day my servant Monzo came to where I was labouring, and told me that a peasant of our village, named Rokuzaemon, had been to inform me that he had heard from some passers-by of two foreigners who had been wounded, and had fallen down in the road before the houses of two villagers, Yasuemon and Kichijiro. I was much alarmed, and hastened immediately to the scene of the murder, where I found Kiuzaemon, deputy of the peasants. Having assured ourselves of the fact, Kiuzaemon went to inform the chief officers of the temple at Tsurungaoka, named Iwasé Chikara and Ishikawa Kenmots, and, after them, the others. Upon some of these temple yakunins arriving at the spot, Chikara ordered that some one should instantly start to inform the Custom-house of what had happened, whilst he also would send a messenger. In consequence of which my subordinate (Toshiyori) Zembei set out about 5 o'clock on that afternoon, to report the affair. I have not the slightest idea of who were the persons that committed the above murder.

Zembei declares as follows :—

I possess an income of rather more than five a-half kokus of rice. My family consists of seven persons, and I fill the office of Toshiyori (sub-mayor). On the 22nd instant the peasant's deputy came and told me he had seen two foreigners who had been murdered, lying before the dwellings of the villagers Yasuemon and Kichijiro in the road. I immediately went to the place, where I found the Nanushi Takajiro and some of the villagers. The rest is exactly as stated in the evidence Takajiro. After consulting with him, I set off at 5 P.M. to convey the information to the Governor of this place. I have no idea whose act the murder was.

The above statements are perfectly true.

(Signed) TAKAJIRO.
ZEMBEI.

Evidence of Yasuemon, aged 30, and Kichijiro, aged 54, peasants of Omachimura, in the district of Kamakura.

They were examined concerning the murder of some foreigners before their dwellings.

Yasuemon declares as follows :—I possess land to the value of half a koku. I am an agricultural labourer. On the 22nd instant I took my victuals with me, and accompanied by my wife and child of 4 years old, named Fukutaro, started at 8 o'clock in the morning for a piece of land of mine called Saské-nga-tani to sow barley. In the afternoon, about 4 o'clock, a peasant named Kikujiro came to tell me that there were some foreigners lying wounded in front of my house, and that I had better return home immediately. I felt much alarmed, and returned with him immediately to the place, where I found the Nanushi Takajiro with other of the village yakunins and people already assembled. As I was away from my house, I have not the remotest idea of who it was that committed the above murder.

Kichijiro states as follows :—I possess lands to the yearly value of about one koku of rice. My family consists of three persons in all. In the intervals of working in the fields I work as a sawyer. On the 20th instant I went to the Temple Jinbuji, at the village of Numamamura, in the district of Miur in Sangame, to work there by the day. I was stopping there, when a little before 8 o'clock in the evening of the 22nd, Yasungoro and Yoshingoro, peasants of my tithing, came to the temple, and on seeing them they told me that some wounded foreigners were lying in front of my house, and that I had better return home with all speed. I was alarmed, and went with Yasungoro and the other. I do not know at all how the thing happened. My daughter Sumi is living as a servant in the house of one Shozaemon, who keeps an inn called Kadoya, in the neighbouring village of Yukinoshta-mura. My wife Kiyo had gone to assist a relation living in our village, named Genzaemon, in threshing rice, and stopped there the whole day, and therefore, like me, she has not the slightest knowledge of what occurred.

The above statements are perfectly true.

(Signed) YASUEMON.
KICHIJIRO.

Evidence of Kichingoro, aged 24, and Iwazô, aged 21, protégés of Mikizo in Otamachi Hachchomé.

They were examined as to their being sent with a relay of ponies to Kanazawa by certain Englishmen, who made an excursion in that direction.

Declares as follows :—Kichingoro is the son of Hanské, a villager of Kusabamura, in the district of Mü, in the Province of Chikungo, domain of Arima Nakadsukasa no Taiyu. About the middle of the 10th month of the year 1862 he accompanied his lord to Yeddo, and served as a "betto" in the palace there. During the third month of the present year he was discharged, and came to Yokohama, where he became a protégé of the above-mentioned Mikizo. At first he got employment as "betto" at the Custom-house, and was regularly hired from the 5th month. The following month he was discharged. Through the medium of an acquaintance, Fusakichi, in the service of the Englishman Thomas, he got employment there also, where he remained till the 24th of the 7th month, when he got his discharge; and soon after a "betto" named Kiukichi, belonging to whose stable he does not know, got him a situation as "betto" in the stable of the 67th Regiment, belonging to the English garrison on the hill by Kitakatamura, in Musashi. After that he became a "betto" of the 20th Regiment. Iwazô is the son of Iské, a native of Kamiyashki-mura, in the district of Sano, in the Province of Tôtomi, domain of Ota Sajiro. In the year 1858 he was employed in the stables of the lord of that place, and was discharged in the beginning of 1859. In the 9th month of that year he entered the service of Itakura Suwô no Kami. In the 8th month of the next year he left, and became under "betto" in the stables of Matsdaira Tosa no Kami, under the orders of a "betto" named Mankichi. This man was dismissed at the beginning of 1861, and they both went away. After becoming a "betto" to Tsuchü Ohosumi no Kami by the good offices of Kohichi, he heard that Mankichi had gone to Yokohama and entered the service of a foreigner. In the 1st month of this year he came here himself, and became a protégé of the aformentioned Mikizo, who is his guarantee. He became a "betto" in the stables of the French garrison on the above-mentioned hill. A month ago he entered service of the 20th Regiment in the English garrison. On the 21st instant they were told by two soldiers named Safu and Shon that two Englishmen belonging to the garrison were going to ride to Enoshima, and that they must go with a relay of ponies to Kanazawa, and lodge there, in order that when the aforesaid foreigners came there they might change their ponies for those taken there by the "bettos." In accordance with these orders, they started a little after 2 o'clock with a couple of ponies, and arrived duly at an inn called Fukumotoya, kept by a man of whose name they are ignorant, where they stopped. At 8 o'clock next morning the above foreigners came riding in, and after changing horses rode away towards Kamakura. Having been told to bait the ponies which they had ridden to Kanazawa and wait there, the "bettos" waited till evening, but the foreigners did not come back. Whilst they thought this rather strange, a "betto" named Tokuzo, belonging to the American Consul, passed by the inn, of whom they inquired whether those foreigners had returned home, and replied that there were five or six remaining at Kamakura. On hearing this, and as they did not return, the "bettos" determined to pass the night there. It was at the aforesaid Fukumotoya, and they were lying down, after discussing the propriety of one of them going over to Kamakura next day, when a little after 4 in the morning the Swiss Consul, with two Indians and ten other foreigners, of what country the witnesses did not know, but belonging to some guard armed with muskets, passed before the house on horseback, coming from Yokohama. Not knowing what to make of these foreigners coming here before daylight, and also that the two foreigners who had gone to Kamakura had never returned, they felt very anxious, and leaving the horses they had brought to the care of the people of the inn, they set out and came to the inn called Kadoya, kept by one Shozaemon, before the Temple of Hachiman at Kamakura, and when they inquired a "betto," name unknown, who was there, told them that two foreigners had been killed at a village called Omachimura. They went therefore to the place indicated, and looked, and saw that the foreigners who had employed them had been wounded and died, at which they were struck with fear, and informed the yakunins who were in charge at that place of their being the "bettos" of those persons. And when they had communicated this to the Swiss Consul, who was present, the two ponies which they had ridden were delivered over to the "bettos." The bodies of the foreigners were put on a bier, carried by coolies, and, accompanied by a large number of foreigners, they were carried to the Adzumaya, kept by Yasu-e-mon at Kanazawa, and they followed after leading the ponies. At this place two of the company of musketeers mounted these two ponies, and of the two ponies left in charge at Fukumotoya an Indian took one to ride on, and they led the other back to Yokohama. They do not know anything about the way in which the above-mentioned foreigners met their death. This statement is perfectly true.

(Signed) KICHINGORO.
IWAZO.

Written evidence of Iwasé Chikara, an officer of the Temple of Tsurunga oka, in Kamakura.

I make the following statement:—About 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 22nd, some persons unknown attacked and wounded two foreigners who were riding along the road through Omachimura, which lies in front of the great gate of the Temple of Hachiman, at Tsurunga oka. One died and the other lived.

Respecting this affair, I have the following statement to make:—On the afternoon of the 22nd instant a peasant's deputy, Kiuzaemon, came to report to me that about 4 o'clock some unknown persons had inflicted several violent wounds on two foreigners riding on horseback just in front of the residences of the peasants Yasuemon and Kichijiro, in the village of Omachimura, in front of the great gate of Tsurunga oka; that one had died, but the other was still alive. That the Nanushi Takajiro had been working in the field, and had just come back, and went to the spot and instantly told Kiuzaemon to go and report it, which he did; and I reported it to all the yakunins of the temple, and after they had come and made their inspection, I ordered Takajiro to send immediately to report the matter to the Governor here, and to do what was necessary for the foreigners. When I told this to the people of the temple, one of the temple yakunins set out immediately at about 8 o'clock, to report the affair to the Governor. When I went to inspect the place, the houses of Yasuemon and Kichijiro were shut up. On asking a village yakunin the reason of this, I was informed that Yasuemon and his wife had gone out to work in the fields, and that Takajiro had gone to Numama mura, in the district of Miura, to cut timber, while his wife had gone out to work in the fields, and so there was no one at home in either of the houses. Yôské, one of the village yakunins, came to tell me that the second one had died at 10 o'clock in the evening. Next morning, before dawn, arrived the Government officers, who took charge of the corpses of the foreigners. Everything stated in the above document is perfectly true and correct.

(Signed) IWASE CHIKARA.

Evidence of Monzô, aged 20 years, servant to the Nanushi Takajiro.

He was examined as to his having gone to inform his master Takajiro, who had gone out to work in the fields, of some foreigners having been murdered in the village. States as follows:—Is the son of Tazaemon, a resident in Kitakubo-mura, in the district of Miura in Sangami; has been living as servant to Takajiro since the year before last. On the 22nd instant he went out to work in the fields, and I remained at home to hull rice. About 4 o'clock, Chozaemon, Takajiro's father, said to me, I have just been told by a peasant, Rokuzaemon, that some foreigners have been murdered in front of Yasuemon's and Kichijiro's houses; you had better go and tell this to Takajiro, and call him home. I went immediately and Takajiro what Chozaemon had said to me; and on our way back to the house we turned aside to the place where the murdered men were.

The above is a true and exact statement.

(Signed) MONZO.

Evidence of the peasant Kikujiro, aged twenty-seven; was examined as to his having informed the peasant Yasuemon of the murder of the foreigners.

Declares as follows:—I possess no horse, and live together with my parents and younger sister; work as a labourer and also as a sawyer. I had been sawing wood at Obunémura from the 7th month up to the 17th instant, but returned home then on account of its being the period for barley sowing. Early on the morning of the 22nd I went out to a piece of land, Takabashi, which I cultivate, but belonging to the chief "betto" (not a horse "betto") of Tsurunga oka, west of the land called Sasukénga tani, to sow barley. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon I was returning home, when I saw two foreigners lying wounded before the houses of Yasuemon and Kichijiro; the horses which they had ridden were eating the herbage close by. At the time there were four or five wayfarers standing there. I thought that I ought to go and tell Yasuemon, as it was before his house. As he had gone out to work in the fields at Saskénga tani, I went off with the intention of telling him, and met him on the road at a place called Shinyangura, and told him the matter. Then I returned and went again to the scene of the murder, whither the village and temple yakunins were coming one after the other. I have thus not the slightest idea of who the persons were who committed the murder.

The above statement is perfectly true.

(Signed) KIKUJIRO.

Evidence of Sozaemon, innkeeper at Kanazawa; examined as to his having lodged the two "bettos" of the two foreigners in his house.

Declares as follows:—I have land to the extent of one koku of rice per annum. My family consists of eight persons. When not engaged in tillage I keep an inn. At 9 o'clock in the evening of the 22nd (21st?) instant came to men, Kichingoro and Iwazô, leading horses, and saying they were "bettos" belonging to the British garrison on the hills by Kitakatamura in Musashi. They said they wanted a lodging, because on the next day two foreigners were going to Enoshima, and they had brought the fresh horses for them to ride. I therefore gave them a lodging. At 8 o'clock next morning two foreigners, whose names I don't know, arrived on horseback, called for the "bettos," got on the fresh horses that had been brought there for them, and without resting rode immediately away in the direction of Kamakura. The "betto" Kichingoro and the other fed the horses which the foreigners had ridden to this place, and did everything necessary. They stopped all that day at my house, and at 6 o'clock (daylight) the next morning a large number of persons on horseback passed the front of the dwelling. Kichingoro and the other, who were asleep up-stairs, when they heard the noise of horses' hoofs, opened the shutters to see what it was. I also got up and went out to look. It was a number of foreigners and of Yokohama yakunins passing on horseback. Fancying from this that some dreadful event must have happened, I informed Kichingoro and the other man, and as they were in great anxiety about the two foreigners, who had gone to Kamakura on the preceding day, not having returned, they left the two horses in my care, and set out for Kamakura, to go and see. Kichingoro and Iwazo sent out without their breakfasts, and soon after they had gone I heard that some foreigners had been killed at Kamakura. About noon Kichingoro returned and told me that the foreigners, who had changed horses as I said before, had been killed. He took one of the horses he had left with me, and getting a peasant named Kiyomats, living in front of a temple in a neighbouring village, led them both away to the house of Shozaemon, Motoya, at Susakimura. The whole expense of the lodging, &c., of these "bettos" was on the evening of 21st, saké and food 1,348 cash, lodgings for the two men ½ ichibu; 22nd, midday meal, 624 cash; saké and food in the evening, 516 cash; lodging, ½ ichibu; food for the two horees during the two days, 6 ichibus. I received 2 ichibus out of this, and Kichingoro, when he came back, promised I should get the rest.

The above statement is perfectly true.

(Signed) SOZAEMON.

Evidence of Kuizaemon, peasant's deputy of Omachi mura in the district of Kamakura.

Was examined as to the murder of the foreigners.

Declares as follows:—I possess land to the extent of half a koku of rice annually. My family consists of six persons. In the intervals of tillage I keep a pawnshop. There came running an old woman named Man, the mother of Itarô, who was living next door in the house of a man retired from life, to say that about 4 o'clock in the afternoon two foreigners had been cut down just in front of the houses of Yasuemon and Kichijiro. I consequently started immediately for the scene of the murder, and saw what it was, just as Man had said. But as those who were then looking on were only passers-by and not villagers, I immediately went and informed the Toshiyori Zembei of it, and then went back to the place, and as the Nanushi Takajiro had come, after consulting with him, thinking that it might be as well to inform the officials of Tsurunga oka, I went there, but met the temple officer, Iwasé Chikara, on the road, upon which I told him what had happened. He then returned at once to inform the other officers of the temple, and they all came to the place together. I have not the slightest idea whose deed the above murder was.

The above statement is perfectly correct.

(Signed) KIUZAEMON.

Evidence of Rokuzaemon, aged 33, peasant of Omachimura, in the district of Kamakura.

He was examined as to his having heard of the murder of foreigners within the village from wayfarers, and having gone to Takajiro's house to communicate the information.

Declares as follows:—I have land to the amount of five kokus of rice annually. My family consists of six persons. During the intervals of tillage I hull rice and keep a tobacco shop. About 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 22nd, a man who looked like a

travelling peasant and aged about 35 or 36, came to get some tobacco. I sold him sixteen cash worth, and he then said, "Just now as I was passing the road before the great gate of the temple of Hachiman, I saw two foreigners lying down there wounded." On asking where this wayfarer came from, he said that he was from the district of Miura, had been to Fujisawa, and was now on his way back. I do not remember his name nor that of his village. On hearing this statement, as it was an affair which had happened in our village, and the Nanushi Takajiro is a sort of relation of mine, and moreover there might be various things that would have to be done, I went to Takajiro's house to tell him instantly. But he had gone out to work in the fields, so I told the circumstances to his father, Chozaemon, and advised him to call Takajiro as quickly as possible, and then returned home. After that I went to the scene of the murder to make an inspection. I have not the slightest idea whose deed the murder was.

The above statement is perfectly correct.

(Signed) ROKUZAEMON.

Inclosure 6.

Evidence of Japanese Witnesses, examined directly by Consul Winchester.

November 25, 1864.

Kikugero, a peasant, warned, declares to speak the truth:—

I was very busy with my fields on the 22nd; after my mid-day meal I went out to work; at 3 o'clock I came back. I was passing Yasuemon's house and there four or five people standing there round two foreigners lying on the ground. I don't know what they were like these Japanese, men or women. It appeared to me that one of them was alive. I hurried off to tell Yasuemon, opposite whose house these foreigners were lying. I returned with Yasuemon to the place. It appeared to me as if one was alive. He appeared to me to be saying "English." His principal wound was in the neck. His left leg was wounded on one side as if it had been partially cut off. (Shown a photograph of Mr. Bird) I don't know if that picture is like the officer who was wounded. The foreigner who was dead had a beard, but I cannot say whether the one who survived had one or not (repeats this again on being shown a photograph of Major Baldwin in a group). I did not give him any water myself. The Chief of the village was there. I did not see the bodies placed on mats. I don't know when the yaconins came back from Yokohama. There were two horses saddled eating grass on the road; they were loose. I don't know who tied up the horses. I did not hear any shot fired. I saw no strange yaconins that day. My field was in the direction of Daibuts.

Yasuemon, owner of the small hut near which the bodies were laid out, duly warned, declares he went out to work in the fields. I shut up my house about 10 A.M., and went to sow barley. My wife went with me and a child 4 years old. I was called back after 4 P.M. by Kikugero, who told me there were some foreigners lying down before my house, and went there in great fear. There were many people standing in front of the place much frightened. One man had a little breath in him. The foreigner who was dead had a beard. I don't remember the appearance of the foreigner who was alive; he had a wound in the neck. It was not I who gave this man water. A village yaconin gave the order. I don't know for certain the hour he died at, but I heard at 10 P.M. from the village guard who were in charge of him. I only sell fruit when I stop at home. That day I had no fruit to sell. I saw no foreigners passing that day.

Takajero, Chief of the village, warned to tell the truth, declares as follows:—

I first heard of the affiair of the two foreigners while I was at work in the fields, by a messenger from my own house. I went to the spot at once. One was alive and the other was dead. I was of opinion that it was the younger one who was living, but am not quite certain. I don't remember whether or not the living man had a beard; he had a wound in the neck and one in the left knee. This was hanging away from the thigh. I recognize the Japanese hat shown me as one I picked up about four yards off from the dead man. The dead man was lying nearest the house. I recognize these two pairs of shoes as having been picked up by a small stone bridge on the road to Daibuts. The shoes were laid down about two feet a part in pairs, as if men had stepped out of them. In going from Yasuemon's house to Enosima or the converse, Daibuts must be passed.

Yaconins wear such hats as that now shown me. There is nothing distinctive about the shoes. I have not got a straw hat. The officer who was alive took some medicine from a doctor named Nishikiori Sanyeki, who is coming here. The under village yaconins put the mats under the bodies after the two yaconins came from Yokohama. The officer died about 10 P.M. ("yots doki"). The officer who was wounded several times said, Yokohama! Yokohama! I don't know that there were any strange yaconins in the village. The place were foreigners stop usually is beyond my jurisdiction. I did not hear that there was a child who was warned to go away from the spot by a party of yaconins because there was to be a disturbance there, and when she was leaving saw the two officers murdered; nor of a girl of 13 years of age, who was also warned away. I was not present when the wounded man died; Yoshki and Kiuzaemon were present. There were other eight peasants watching with them. The yaconins came from the temple Hachiman and ordered a strong guard. They came a little after 4 P.M.

Sinjo, the priest of Daibuts, duly warned declares to speak the truth :—

Six or seven foreigners came early on the morning to visit the great image. On the 21st November instant (22nd of 10th Japanese month), two foreigners came at a later hour, about 2 P.M., to visit the image. I did not particularly remark the foreigners. I found a silver itchiboo in my box when I opened it in the evening. There was no disturbance while these two last foreigners were visiting the image. They behaved like quiet visitors. They remained a short time at the image, and then left immediately. They visited the interior of the image. I am a very old man, and did not notice any strange Japanese officers visiting the image that day or the previous one. Foreigners always behave quietly at the temple. There have been no foreigners to see Daibuts since that time.

Nishikiori Sanyeké, a Japanese physician, duly warned, declared to speak the truth :—

I was called to the two wounded officers on 22nd Japanese tenth month (November 21st), about 5 P.M. There was some life in one of them. I looked at the wounded man. He had his left knee much cut; his arms and his fingers cut; some of his fingers off. I did not look at the dead man. I did not attempt to bind up the wounds, merely to keep life in him. He was lying on his back, and did not see any wound on the back of his neck. The foreigner spoke, but in a language I did not understand. I gave him reviving medicine. He appeared to swallow it; it passed his throat. I gave it him in tepid water. I administered the medicine to him. I left shortly before 10 P.M., while he was still alive, and I was told he died at 10. I went to get my dinner; I went back after he was dead. It was after 10 P.M. when I went back; the man was lying exactly in the same position. I did not know what country they belonged to. I moved his head enough to enable him to swallow; he could move his head from side to side. I went for my dinner at the suggestion of no one but myself.

Kichigora, duly warned to declare the truth, says :—

I was "betto" (groom) to Mr. Bird, and went with his spare horse to remain at Kanasawa, while my master proceeded on an excursion. When the foreigner party passed, I went on to Kamakura.

This witness heard nothing in Kamakura about his master having survived some hours; he merely saw them puting him on a litter.

Kuzaemon, of the village police, duly warned in Japanese form, states :—

I was called by a woman at 4 P.M. on the 22nd to go and see the two wounded foreigners. She is known as "obasan," or old woman. She told me some foreigners were killed or wounded. I was in my own house about two Japanese streets (240 yards) off. I heard no firing off pistols, and saw no yaconins running away; I saw nobody with two swords all that day. I saw a hat found; I recognize that produced in Court, as also the shoes. The shoes were found at some distance from Yasuemon's house on the road to Daibuts. Japanese often wear hats like that. The one who was lying towards Daibuts was alive; the younger one, I think. The one who was dead had a large beard. I heard the officer say something about "Yokohama;" about 10 o'clock P.M. he died. I was present when the officer died; he opened and shut his mouth several

times before he died. The doctor was not present when he died; he had gone to his dinner. I was keeping watch inside the house. I saw no two-sworded men come near the bodies before the officer died. There were four other watchmen besides myself. There was a sort of a fence round them. We made a fence round them before the Japanese officers came from Yokohama. This officer who lived had a wound on the left knee and his fingers cut off, and a wound on the neck.

November 26, 1864.

Sei, the widow of Zimbei, duly warned, declares she will speak the truth :—

I keep a sweetmeat stall at the Niomon Gate of the Great Temple of Hachiman. I remember the 22nd day of the 10th month. I opened my stall about 9 o'clock that day. There were not many visitors. There seldom are many people in the morning at this time of year. I heard of some foreigners about in the morning; they did not enter the temple, but passed on. I heard two foreigners had passed on to Enoshima without entering. I know about the foreigners who had been photographing about Kamakura on some previous days. I did not see them on that day. I cannot tell the hour at which they passed. Two Japanese, two-sworded people, came to the temple about 3 P.M. They seemed in a great hurry. I offered them a plan, which they refused, and passed on up to the temple. One of them left his hat in my charge while he went up to the temple, and took it from me as he went out. I recognize the hat shown me as the hat given to me to keep. I did not offer them any tea. The hat was on my bench. Officers and all others leave their hats and sticks before going to pray. The second samurai had no hat. The younger one of the two had the hat. They did not appear to have come from a great distance. Their trowsers were down instead of up, which they would have been if they had walked far. I was closing up my shop when these two officers arrived. The men had on cotton dresses and small striped trowsers, but did not appear outwardly people of importance. The one without the hat was above 30; the other 24 or 25: hair in the usual manner, only the *toupé* very long in the young man. Their hair had not the appearance of being recently made. I scarcely saw the elder, who went up hurriedly to the temple; but the young man was rather good looking. I saw no marks of cuts or other special peculiarity in his face. The only words the young one spoke to were "kasa" (hat) as he placed it on the bench, and "kasa" as he took it away. There was no one there who could have seen them but myself.

The guard in the temple must have seen them. They are always on watch. They may have been absent, as so few people came that day. These Japanese swordsmen were a very short time in the temple. The coats they had were official cut coats. One was a darkish green; the one who had the hat had a black coat. I recognize the hat by the appendages. I did not take notice of any crests on their robes. I do not think they were master and servant; their positions in walking were opposed to that relation. I cannot say what their ranks were. I first heard of the foreign officers being killed after the Japanese officers had left the temple. I shut up my shop, and went to see a sick friend. I can't remember who first told me. I did not connect the death of those foreigners with the presence in the neighbourhood of the two officers. After the murder was discovered everyone went to the spot. I stayed at home.

It did not occur to me that these men were connected with the crime until I saw the hat. The hat was shown to me when I was in the Governor's office at Tobei.

The younger one was the taller of the two.

Zembei duly warned, declares that he will speak the speak the truth :—

I am sub-mayor of the municipality Omachimura. I was informed of this murder about 4 P.M. on the 22nd in my house. Kiuzaemon brought in the news. He said, "I have just seen two foreigners lying down wounded. Takajiro was there before me. I did not remain on the spot, but after consultation I was despatched with instructions to the Governor of Yokohama. I walked all the way. I ran all the way on good parts of the road. I did not pass through Kanazawa, but went by a short road. I got to the custom-house between 8 and 10 P.M. It is about six Japanese miles (fifteen miles English) between Kamakura and Yokohama. I had a written despatch which I myself perused, and gave it to the officer at the custom-house. I returned to Kamakura [Mr. Fletcher found this witness on the spot], but after the custom-house yakunins had already arrived there. I remained in Yokohama a little more than two hours. I walked back also. One of the wounded had a beard, and one was slightly alive. It appeared to me that the older

one was dead. I cannot recognise the photograph [Mr. Bird's] shown as that of the man slightly alive.

The rule is that under no circumstances do peasants and citizens ever ride.

Yöoské, a village watchman, duly warned, declares to tell the truth:—

I saw nothing of any struggle personally. I came back from the fields about 4·30. I watched all night inside Yasuemon's house. We never touched the bodies at all, because we never could have answered for it. I noticed one of the officers was alive; the younger one was alive. He had the appearance of speaking, but I could not understand. I saw the doctor giving him some water. It appeared that some of it passed his throat. I did not see him move his head. He had no large beard, the officer who survived. He died about 10 P.M. One of the guards said he was stopping breathing, and I went to see him, and he was dead. The guard who told me was a man in the service of Genjiro, name not known to me. No samurais or yakunins came to see him while I was on guard. The officers of the temple had been to see him before 5 P.M.

The people were leaving the spot when I came at 5 P.M. There were crowds of people, but the guards did not permit them to approach the bodies after 5 P.M. We turned them away.

Tokujiro, duly warned, declares to tell the truth:—

One of my horses was ill on the 22nd, and I went home to look after it. I heard from people who were passing on the road to Miura that some foreigners were killed and their horses loose. There were men and women talking among themselves.

The small horse [Mr. Bird's] was on the road leading towards the sea, about thirty yards down it. The other was nearly opposite Yasuemon's house. I tied up the horses myself, seeing them loose and fearing they would kick each other. I saw the small horse [Mr. Bird's] running up along the sea road towards the point where the large horse [Major Baldwin's] was. Fearing they might fight, I tied them up. I did not go close up to the bodies at the time I tied up the horses. At the time I came up I saw there was a great crowd of Japanese about the bodies. I saw no two-sworded men there at the time. I went up and saw one was alive. There were then no guards, only the village officers running about. This was about 4 P.M. The officer spoke and said, "Mma, Yokohama." At least I understood so. He did not speak much in my hearing.

The Japanese bystanders asked each other who could have done this. No one could tell, or would. I did not see the fight between the Englishmen and their assailants. If I had seen I would say. I did not seen any two-sworded men passing to Miura that day. I did not hear there was to be a fight in the village that day. I heard no shot fired.

November 27, 1864.

Kanekatchi, 11 years of age, son of the widow Onaka, living in a small house at Omachimura, states:—

I saw something of this business, and ran away crying. It was some days ago. I saw two samurais drawing their swords and cutting the two foreigners down; I think the Japanese assassins came from the direction of Fusisawa. They were sitting down in front of the house of Kitchigiro. The foreigners were sitting on horseback. I went out to buy oil. The two-sworded men said to me, It is dangerous to stay here, go away. They said that to me as they were sitting down, before they drew their swords. Both had wooden clogs on, and one had a hat. I did not see the hat. The foreigners were coming from the road to Daibuts. I don't know if the foreigners had or fired pistols. I was too much frightened to speak. The two foreigners were riding slowly one after the other. The first foreigner was attacked from one side by the two samurais. One samurai made a thrust and the other cut at the first foreigner; he was forced from his horse. I only saw the first foreigner attacked, but heard terrible cries. The foreign officer who was attacked in my sight fell at once from his horse. The Japenese samurais had no mantles on. Their coats were of reddish and black striped cotton. I did not notice their trousers. One of the samurais was slightly taller than the other. The first foreigner had little or no beard. The second one had a beard. I think the first foreigner received a wound on the leg at the beginning, and he was then pushed from his horse. They were killed about twelve feet from the stone bridge.

The samurais were sitting in front of Kitchigiro's door. The moment the officers came near them they drew their swords; their hands were grasped round the hilts. The

first officer fell close to a well on the Miura side of the road. I did not see the second officer fall about two fathoms from the well towards the spot where the first fell.

The Japanese samurais asked me the road to Enosima. I met them first as I came back from buying oil, and they ran past me and went on and sat down at Kitchigiro's house. The shop where I bought the oil was up the road to Daibuts. The two-sworded men passed me before they came to the tea-house of the Six Stone Images. Afterwards I heard the officers of the village came and built a tent, but not where the first officer fell; about six feet from it. I heard people saying the samurais ran away towards the sea, and afterwards to the left by a mountain road. People were all round in the fields working, and a child with a coolie's coat on was also near the spot, standing on the road towards Daibuts. I don't know the child's name; he ran away. The samurais sat a very short time in front of Kitchigiro's house before the officers came up. I am sure there were only two samurais.

I believe the child lives in O-matchi. I was so frightened that I could not eat rice for two days.

(This child's statement was carefully translated to him, and fully confirmed on being read over. His statement was clearly and distinctly given.)

Itchibé, keeper of a tea-house called Kadoya, in Totska, duly warned to speak the truth, declares as follows:—

The Kadoya is 2½ ri (seven or eight miles) from Kamakura; it is situated in Totska (the second station below Kanagawa on the tokaido. About 5 P.M. two samurais came to my house. It was not yet dark. They ate rice which I supplied, and left by the Awashima, which strikes from the tokaido, opposite my house. One of the officers was about 22 or 23 years of age. I don't know so well the other. I was very busy that day. One officer had a mantle on, the other had not. They appeared to be in an enormous hurry. They bustled me about their rice, and said if I did not get it they would not stand it (meaning to threaten me). They frightened my wife and children. They said they would cut me down if I did not hurry. It was dark clothing; I don't remember the colour of the bands of the mantle. They ate rice and fish already boiled, and drank some cold saki, so that they staid a very short time. They had straw shoes, I did not observe of what kind. They had no hats. They spoke the Yeddo dialect. They said nothing about foreigners. I was afraid to ask where they came from. They paid me 3 tempos 16 cash. All the people said, what extraordinarily excited samurais these are. One was taller than the other; the taller seemed to be a little the older of the two. The colour of the mantle of one was a darkish green. They had no begs over their swords.

Hatchiroseimon, a peasant, who sells lanterns and other small wares, duly warned, declares to speak the truth:—

I live at Kuamara, on the road from Totska towards the silk districts. At dark on the 22nd of this month two samurais came to my house; asked after the road to Ftatsbasi. My mother was shutting up the shutters when they said, "Don't be afraid; we come to install (open) a school for sword exercise." I pointed out the road to Ftatsbasi, and they left. They appeared to be in a great hurry. I believe both had mantles on, but am not certain. I did not observe their colour. They did not enter my house; had no hats. My mother saw them altogether. I was inside the house; my mother was outside. I heard their voices distinctly.

Choseimon, a seller of buckwheat vermicelli at the village Isawa, near Hatsbachi, about six miles from Totska, duly warned, declares to speak the truth:—

The two samurais came to my house at 8 P.M. on 22nd Japanese month (21st November). They asked me to sell them a lantern. I gave them one of the pattern known as the Odiwara. It was a white lantern. They bought three candles. It was a new lantern, and had no name on it; not my own name. They lighted the lantern in my shop. The smaller one of the two was about 21 or 22 years of age; the bigger, about 23 or 24 years. They were middle-sized men; not large, like wrestlers. Each ate two bowls of vermicelli. They had common straw shoes; they had no hats. I don't remember the colours of their coats; they were of a dark blue. I don't know if they were excited, but were rather in a hurry. They did not say where they came from; I did not ask. They came evidently to buy the lantern; they asked for it first. They inquired the road to Tsudima, and said they wanted to go to Minirocksho, where the ferry to Yeddo is. They left the house at a great pace. I thought it extraordinary to see two samurais travelling. They did not speak about foreigners,

Yokohama, or Kanagawa. I have a daughter; she was frightened at these men, because they had two swords. They told me to hurry, but did not threaten me. It is an unusual place for two-sworded men to pass by. My house is about 5 ri (13 miles) from Kamakura.

Inclosure 7.

Report of Inquest on the Bodies of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird.

THE particulars of these last barbarous murders, so far as the circumstantial evidence which has as yet been produced and followed up can enlighten us, may thus be condensed out of the evidence given at the coroner's inquest.

On the morning of the 21st instant (Monday), Major George Walter Baldwin and Lieutenant Robert Nicholas Bird, both of the 2nd battalion of Her Britannic Majesty's 20th Regiment (two who, amongst all the respected and beloved of the officers of that regiment, had by their gentle inoffensive natures and sterling worth gained the foremost ranks in the affectionate regards of all who knew them) left Yokohama on horseback for an excursion to Kamakura and Daiboots.

About half-past 10 they arrived at Enosima, which place (after exchanging courtesies with other excursionists they met there) they left about 12 o'clock, with the intention of proceeding to Daiboots. The same night information from the district authorities was sent in to the Governor of Yokohama that two foreigners had been assaulted at or near Kamakura, that one was dead, but the other yet alive. This information having been communicated forthwith (about 2 o'clock A.M. of the 22nd, Tuesday) to the foreign Consuls, Dr. Lindau, the Swiss Consul, M. von Brandt, the Prussian Consul, and in various parties other foreign residents, started, at or about 4 o'clock, towards the place indicated; Lieutenant Woods, with a party of Mounted Artillery, and Mr. Lachland Fletcher, Interpreter to the British Legation, being ordered to proceed thither in all haste. A little after daylight they arrived at "the three-fold road leading from the Great Temple Hatchuma, where it divides into three smaller roads, one leading to Daiboots to the right, the second straight on to the sea, and the third into the country to the left," near this spot and between a miserable tea-house and a hut for horses, two small sheds of mats propped up by bamboo, and disposed on mats laid on the ground, were found, most horribly mutilated, the bodies of the two unfortunate gentlemen; the pistol of one of them—one barrel of which appeared to have been recently discharged—by his side, that of the other yet undrawn from his belt. All the inquiries made by Mr. Fletcher (and we all know how perseveringly and discreetly he would push them to the utmost) failed to elicit any information. No one knew anything but that there the bodies were—and that one of the deceased, the younger one, who said his name was Bird, had lived for several hours.

The bodies were brought in by water, and the inquest—a full report of which we publish in another column—was held.

Coroner's Inquest.

On the afternoon of Tuesday the 22nd an inquest was held in the ante-room of the mess-apartments of the 2nd battalion of Her Britannic Majesty's 20th Regiment, before C. A. Winchester, Esq., Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, to inquire into the manner whereby Major George Walter Baldwin and Lieutenant Robert Nicholas Bird, both officers of Her Majesty's 20th Regiment, 2nd battalion, came by their deaths.

Captains Charles Rochfort, Conroy Fahie, and John Aldridge, all of the 20th Regiment, were duly sworn in as jurors.

The jurors having viewed the bodies, the inquest was adjourned, to be resumed at Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate the following day, Wednesday 23rd, at 11 o'clock.

Wednesday, 23rd November, 1864.

The Adjourned Inquest was resumed.

Present:

Charles A. Winchester, Esq., Coroner.
Captain Charles Rochfort, 20th Regiment,
Captain Conroy Fahie, 20th Regiment,
Captain John Aldridge, 20th Regiment,
} Jurors.

R. Lindau, Esq., Swiss Consul, sworn:—

Yesterday morning, at 2 o'clock A.M., two officers came to me and told me that two men had been killed or attacked at or near Kamakura. My first apprehensions were that

it might prove to be two gentlemen who were staying with me, who were then absent on an excursion. I went to the Custom-house with Mr. Von Brandt, the Prussian Consul, whom I met: we found all in a bustle, and the Governor there. He told us he had received communication that two men had been attacked: one was killed; and the other had said that he was an English officer. We determined to go down and ask the Governor to give us an escort; he did so, and gave us four officers, and we left about a quarter-past 3. We lost them at the first gate, they evidently were disinclined to go with us; but my "betto," and one of the escort's "betto," followed us. At Kanasawa I inquired but could learn nothing as to what had occurred, but was told that the wounded men were still at Kamakura. We arrived at the first tea-house, and there saw the Vice-Governor and Sinagawa, and several of the officers. We were then four foreigners—Mr. Von Brandt, Mr. Stearns, and, I think, a man named George, and I. We rode forward, Sinagawa accompanying us. At the end of the valley, where the roads divide into three, at the road which leads from the Great Temple, one leading to Daiboots to the right, the second straight on to the sea, and the third to the country to the left. Near where the road divides on the right, going to Kamakura, there is a miserable tea-house and a stand for horses; there we saw two ponies tied up, and between the stand and the tea-house lay two bodies under a kind of shed or tent formed of mats. The bodies lay on mats, and mats overhead. I believe Mr. Stearns saw the bodies, and could identify them. Mr. Bird was lying on his back on a mat. Near the left hand of Mr. Bird was a revolver, the barrel of which next the capped one was discharged. The right hand was by his side, the left arm stretched out, the hand closed, two forefingers cut off an inch or two from the hand—it struck me as with care, as though to make it look natural. The long barrel of the revolver was full of dirt, as though he had fallen with it. When we had made these first examinations, Mr. Woods, R.A., Mr. Fletcher, and others, arrived. (Revolver produced, and recognized by witness.) The revolver was covered with blood. Major Baldwin was lying on his back, with the hands clenched. On consultation with the others who arrived, we came to the conclusion that the bodies had been removed there. Their watches and other property were found on them. Major Baldwin's watch was still going. I said to the Vice-Governor I did not believe these gentlemen had been killed there. We removed then the mats, and found only a small quantity of blood under both; not an amount proportionate to the hemorrhage which must have ensued from such wounds. The Vice-Governor said he knew nothing about it, and could say nothing; the people had been in the fields working, and had found the bodies there. Mr. Von Brandt, some fifteen or twenty paces off, found some traces of blood on the road going to the sea. Evidently there the wounds had been inflicted, because we found blood on some of the bushes, and an old mat, on the road which slopes to a bank, which had evidently been laid upon, was also stained with blood. We tried to find the traces of blood, but they were not very evident; we were led, however, to a small tea-house, by something—a mat with a weight upon it, for instance, had been dragged along the road; this led us about 100 yards further out, but no blood there. On following these traces to another small house on the left hand off the road, it seemed to finish there. There was an old woman there, and the house was carefully examined, but nothing to give us any information or clue was found. We remarked distinctly marks of European boots leading to and from the sea. We concluded that these were those of the murdered officers; but afterwards heard that others had passed and re-passed the same road the previous day.

M. de Vecchy, in the service of the King of Italy, sworn, said:—

Early the day before yesterday morning I was with my party at Enosima. Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird came about half-past 10. The Japanese priest in charge of a large tea-house at the foot of the large temple refused to give us a place to take breakfast, at the same time some Japanese officers came past, and Mr. Beato in a loud voice called out to them to give us a place, otherwise he said we would take it. This was to a party of three or four yakonins dressed . . . . going past the tea-house towards the temple. . . . . A few minutes after these officers passed towards the temple Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird said they had only a short time to spare, and proceeded towards the temple. About ten minutes after the Japanese officer returned down and repassed the tea-house, and looked very savagely at us, and threw back his robe as though to show his sword. I put my hand upon my revolver, and I believe the others did the same. I did not draw my revolver, but got it handy. The Japanese then marched on. The three chief men were dressed in silk, I did not observe any crest. After this party had passed we went across the island to a cave on the other side, and at the cave we met Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird. I tried to insist upon Major Baldwin coming back to Fusisawa with us, but he said he must see Daiboots before anything. I went along all the temples.

They went to the tea-house and got a glass of beer, and started for Enosima about 2 o'clock. I said good-bye to Major Baldwin, and did not see him again, but heard from my servant that they had gone to get a bottle of beer, and had then left without saying anything else. This officer whom I say looked savagely at us was . . . . . .

[The appearance of the men described but we think best not to publish it at present.]

Lieutenant Wood, R.A. :—

I was ordered out with a party of Mounted Artillery to bring in the bodies of two foreigners reported to have been killed at Kamakura. We started about 4 A.M. with Mr. Hensman, Assistant Surgeon, and Mr. Fletcher, Interpreter. We arrived at Kamakura shortly after daylight. We had three or four Japanese officers with us, who kept up with our party. I found the bodies of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird about 1,000 yards from the gate of the Great Temple. There is a three-fold road which divides. They were lying on the left-hand side going down towards the sea, just where the road to Daiboots turns off; on the road in front of a little tea-house, under two little mats propped up with bamboo. I have heard the first evidence about the position in which the bodies were found. I can corroborate the whole of it. There were two horses in the shed, with European accoutrements. There were only a few drops of blood on the left side of Major Baldwin's saddle-bags; I did not see any blood on the horse pointed out to me as Major Baldwin's. The horses were tied up and feeding. I did not notice that the reins of either bridles were cut. [Bridle produced, a few spots of blood found on it.] Mr. Bird's saddle had much blood on it, especially on the left stirrup. My impression from the position in which I found these bodies was that they had been carried there. I searched for traces of blood elsewhere and found as has been already stated on the right side of the road. On the side of the road about twenty or thirty yards the leaves of trees were marked with traces of blood. I stayed with the bodies. The watches of both the deceased were going. Their shirt pins were all right. I did not search the pockets. Major Baldwin's revolver was in the case attached to his waist, and all the chambers undischarged. Mr. Bird's was lying as stated by Mr. Lindau. The pistol was so smeared with mud and blood that it was not possible to tell if had been recently discharged or not. There were no riding-whips found, though I believe they both started with them. My own first impression was that the time they were attacked they were both leading their horses. There would have been more blood if they had been wounded whilst on their horses; there was blood on the saddles on the near side, and on the back of the saddle-cloth. The horses themselves were unhurt. My impression now on inspecting more closely the saddles and saddle-cloths is that they may have probably been riding. The nose-band of Major Baldwin's pony is covered with mud as though he had been down; but that may have occurred in many other ways. I think the pony has dirted the bridle himself. Both these gentlemen were wounded in both arms. Mr. Bird had a wound on the left knee almost cutting it through. I think that could scarcely have been done on the saddle without cutting the saddle. It would have been a very clever cut to have inflicted that wound without injuring the saddle or stirrup-leather.

Mr. Charles Wirgman, being sworn, says :—

I went out on an excursion on Friday morning. On the first night I slept at Kanasawa. Between Saturday and Sunday and Sunday and Monday, I slept at Kamakura. Monday night at Fusisawa. My party consisted of myself, M. Beato, Major de Vecchy, the Marquis de Bonnet, M. Roussen, and Francisco, Major de Vecchy's servant. During the two days I was at Kamakura we lived at the first tea-house. We had no difficulties —on the contrary they were extremely polite. We saw one man, a Hotomoto, stopping with his retainers the first night we were there, at the same tea-house; he was very polite to us, and left the next (Saturday) morning, starting apparently in the direction of Daiboots. We all spoke to him, and all our intercourse was of a very friendly character. We saw no other parties of two-sworded men. I was sketching about the great temple, Hatchi-mang-sama, the avenue and thereabouts, without molestation. M. Roussin and myself were together principally. He is also a sketcher. I first saw Major Baldwin and Mr. Bird on Monday morning, when I was sitting on the steps leading down to the grotto at Enosima. It was about half-past 10 or 11. Beato came down with Major Baldwin and Mr. Bird. Beato had his photographic apparatus at a little tea-house. Major Baldwin asked to be allowed to sketch his tent. By-and-bye I saw them again as they were going away, and they bade us good-bye. There were two parties of Japanese officials. Before I saw Lieutenant Bird I saw one party come up the main street of Kagosima, go up towards the red-wood pagoda, and come down again; but where they went I don't know. I looked at them and stood on one side. They were very well dressed. There were two officers and three servants. Shortly after the first a second party ascended

the hill. I met them on the hill as I was coming down. They stayed away a long time. The party consisted of four or five. They appeared to be very quiet. So far as I know they showed no signs of displeasure or offence. The first party only had the stolid look of yakonins who don't care about foreigners. I first heard of this catastrophe in the evening at Fusisawa, while I was in the tea-house. I was in the tea-house about 7 o'clock. It was said that two English officers had been attacked. One had had his head cut off—the other both his arms, but he was not dead. We laughed at the report. We made inquiries of our Japanese servant. He said he had heard it from a betto. Next morning a yakonin came down from Yokohama and said it was true. We returned next morning to Yokohama along the tokaido. The distance between Enosima at the tea-house where the Major's servant was left and the spot where these two bodies were found was about six miles, I think. The distance between the same place and Fusisawa is, say twelve to fourteen miles. It took us about three hours' ride. The two parties of yakonins had left about two hours before Major Baldwin and Mr. Bird.

Francisco Quaranta being sworn, said:—

I remember Monday last. I was attending upon my master, who was on an excursion. I remember Enosima. I saw two English officers there. They arrived after the party in which I was—probably three-quarters of an hour after. I saw them arrive, and saw them go away. They went away about 12 o'clock. They were talking with me a quarter of an hour before leaving. I asked them if they would take something. All they asked for was a glass of beer each. They said they were not hungry; that they had already eaten something; they were only thirsty. Then they went away. I did not see them get on their horses. I only saw them go out at the door. It was about 12 o'clock when they left; it could not have been more than ten minutes, more or less. I saw a party of yakonins going up the hill; I just looked at them once, but took no great notice.

Signor F. Beato being sworn, said:—

I was on an excursion with others (as related before). I remember seeing Major Baldwin and Mr. Bird at Enosima. I saw and spoke with them the first. I think this was about half-past 10. They arrived before our horses were tied up. I last saw them on the island. I offered them my bettoes to take charge of their ponies, I took them then up with me to the second temple, and there I left them, after pointing out to them a Japanese man of the place to show them over the place. After that I put my things in a tent, and saw them again, and had nearly fifteen minutes' talk with them, and showed them my views; and I asked them to come with me to Fusisawa, that they would be less tired than if they went back to Yokohama; but they said they had their horses on the way at Kanasawa, and wished particularly to see Daiboots, which they had not seen in coming. I asked them to stay to tiffen with us, but I persuaded them to go and get some refreshment from the servant, and they said perhaps they would go and take a glass a beer, but were anxious to go on. They then left, and I did not see them again. It was about half-past 11 when I first saw them. I think they left the place about 12 o'clock. It was not a tea-house, but the head-quarters of the priest. I consider the distance from Enosima to the place where these gentlemen were killed five miles. I have done it in half-a-hour. From Enosima to Fusisawa is about four miles. I arrived at Fusisawa about half-past 3 or 4 o'clock. I stopped the night there. I had some fun with the children, they took a fancy to throw at the tea-house. About half-past 6 o'clock my servant came to me and told me quietly that he thought the two friends (meaning Major Baldwin and Mr. Bird) had been killed. He described to me the appearance of those he meant. I asked him who told him. He said some bettoes who had come from Kamakura had told him. He said one of the men had had his head cut and was dead, the other had had his hands only cut and was not dead. I did not believe him, and sent him away. The next morning very early there came some yakonins saying they were looking for some men, loonins, who had killed some foreigners, and they were very sorry. It was these who told me these two men had been killed. At Enosima we had great difficulty in getting a tea-house. They shut them all; but we went to a large house and got hold of the head man and told him we must put our horses in, and asked him why these difficulties. As this was occurring a party of five Japanese officers passed us, and looked angrily at us. I did not like their appearance at all. They were not Yokohama officers. After this they gave us the place. Always before I have found the place very civil, but this day they were not so; I fancied these yakonins had put them up not to give us anything except at Kamakura.

J. M. Woodward, surgeon of the 2nd Battalion, 22nd Regiment, sworn; the Coroner handed him a paper:—

That is my report upon the wounds of the deceased.

The opinion I have formed from the examination of the wounds is, that some of them were inflicted whilst the deceased were riding and some on the ground. The wound of Major Baldwin on the cheek I call No. 1; I think very likely inflcted whilst he was riding. I consider all his wounds were inflicted whilst he was riding except that on the back, which must have been inflicted whilst he was lying on his face. With respect to Lieutenant Bird, I think that all the wounds on that gentleman except that on the back of the neck were inflicted whilst he was riding; the last-named wound must have been inflicted whilst lying on the ground on his face. Death, in the case of Mr. Bird, after the wound on the back of the neck, must have been instantaneous. It is possible that Major Baldwin may have lived for two or three hours after the receipt of those injuries; but I do not think it could have been so with Mr. Bird. If the spine is severed high up, as in Mr. Bird's case, death must be instantaneous. The wound near Major Baldwin's spine in the back is so low as to be compatible with a short continuance of life. From the nature and description of the wounds they could only have been inflicted by a sharp and heavy instrument like a Japanese sword. And the wound in Major Baldwin's back must have been inflicted by a two-handed sword; and the wound in Mr. Bird's neck also must have been inflicted by the same description of weapon; not by any weapon that I have ever seen of a less formidable kind. Looking at the wounds on the arms, I am of opinion they were inflicted as they were raised in defence, and that they were attacked on both sides. In respect to the wounds in Mr. Bird's neck it must have inflicted instantaneous death; it was between the second and third cervical vertebra, both of which were cut through, and the spinal marrow completely severed. It is not possible that he could have lived for three hours, and to drink water, with such wounds.

Description of wounds on the body of the late Lieutenant Bird, 2nd Battalion 20th Regiment, murdered at Kamakura, Japan, on the afternoon of the 21st November, 1864:—

1. An extensive incised wound between four to five inches in length at the back of the neck, dividing all the soft parts and two of the cervical vertebra.

2. A long oblique wound about 8 inches in length, running from the acromial process of the right scapula to its base, dividing the bone.

3. Extensive wound on the inner surface of the left forearm, running into the elbow-joint, completely dividing the joint and cutting the articular surfaces of both bones away.

4. Index and middle finger of the left hand cut off a little below the phalangs metacarpel articulation, the ring finger same hand only holding on by a small piece of skin.

5. A long oblique wound at the lower posterior third of the right forearm, cutting through both bones, and all the soft parts held together by a small piece of skin.

6. A long oblique wound about 6 or 7 inches in length on the inner surface of the left knee-joint, running from above downwards and outwards, laying open the knee-joint and cutting away the internal condyle of the femur.

Description of wounds on the body of the late Major Baldwin, 2nd Battalion 20th Regiment, murdered at Kamakura, Japan, on the afternoon of the 21st November, 1864:—

1. Large wound on left cheek, extending from the angle of the mouth to the ear, completely cutting away the cheek, only held on by a few shreds.

2. Left arm and forearm frightfully hacked, bones cut through in several places.

3. Long wound on the outer aspect of the right elbow-joint, cutting through both bones of forearm; forearm frightfully mutilated.

4. Desperate wound on back, 16 inches in length, to the right of the spinal column, and extending from the middle of the back to the base of the sacrum, dividing all the soft parts and three of the false ribs close to their articulation into the abdomen.

Liver exposed but not injured.

(Signed) JAS. M. WOODWARD, *Surgeon, 20th Regiment.*

Yokohama, Japan, November 23, 1864.

Marquis du Bonnais, being duly sworn, said:—

I first saw the two officers at Enosima, when they arrived about 10 to half-past 10 o'clock. I did not observe anything extraordinary with any party of Japanese. I thought the people of the place received us rather queerly. When the party of five yakonins passed by to the temple they seemed to stop for a moment, as though surprised to see us there, but nothing else particular struck me as to their manner. I saw the deceased gentlemen the last time at half-past 11; they came out of the grotto as I was going in.

I was afterwards told they left about 12 o'clock. I observed at several times on previous days in passing the spot where the deceased were found several parties engaged in agricultural employments. I think it scarcely possible that, considering the number of people about, there should not be some one who could give a good account of the whole transaction.

Lachland Fletcher, Esq., being duly sworn, said,—

I went as interpreter with Lieutenant Wood to the locality of the murder. I arrived at Kamakura where the road branches off, shortly after daylight. It was my impression from the manner in which the bodies were upon the mats that they had been disposed there. I sought for traces of blood, and found some about thirty or forty yards down the small avenue that leads to the sea, on the right hand of the road. There is one place at the end of the thirty yards and on a parapet or bank some one and a half or two feet high where there was a quantity of blood, but not a continuous line of blood; but in the spot I have described, it is visible as where it fell, on the leaves of the trees, and the bushes and bank and road, and starred as though it had trickled down from a distance. I afterwards went to the house of an old woman down this avenue leading to the sea, perhaps about 150 yards down. Between where we noticed these traces of blood and this spot, we noticed a track as though something heavy had been trailed along the ground—it might have been a mat with a weight upon it. In some places the defined edges were perhaps two feet or a yard apart, but I saw no blood. It was a dry sandy part, and I don't think blood would have been very visible. I did inquire of various peasants about the circumstances, but all I could get out of them was, that they knew in the evening that two foreigners were killed, and they knew nothing further about it. The old woman in the house could give no information, nor during the whole time I was on the ground could I get any explanation; but the people all said they had been working in the fields. What the officers told me was the same. The Vice-Governor's interpreter, Sinagawa, I understood to say there was some disturbance in the village—I drew the inference that he meant in which these gentlemen were concerned, but I thought probably as he spoke in English, that he did not convey his ideas correctly to me, and thought from his confusion of manner that he was mistaken, and still think so. I could find nothing from either officers or villagers further than that these gentlemen had been killed the previous evening. I got every assistance that the party required. The chiefs of the village were called, and I was furnished with their names. This morning I have been engaged in taking down the evidence of the Japanese as read over to me by the Vice-Governor. I produce the translation. [Read.]

They precisely correspond with that I heard on the ground, save that they contain the statement about the two officers praying in the temple and the finding of the hat.

Statements of the Japanese.

Yasuemon, the name of the proprietor of the house on the spot, states about English 10 A.M.:—

Yasuemon is a peasant, and went out to work in the fields about 10 A.M. at a distance with my wife and boy, and about 4 P.M. another man, Kikiuero, came and told me, while working, that two foreigners were lying dead opposite my house. I forthwith went home with my wife and boy, and the chief of the village was there when I arrived. A report was immediately made to the Governor. I knew nothing whatever of who committed the murder. One of the officers was still alive when I arrived, and he said he was an English officer, and the Vice-Governor said his name was Bird. He died soon afterwards.

Kikiuero, the inhabitant of the opposite house:—

I went two days before to a temple to saw timber, a temple called Jimbugi in Kamakura, and did not come home to my own house in the night time. A peasant called Yasungoro came to me and told me that two foreigners were killed before my house this evening. I immediately returned to my own house. My wife went to a neighbouring place, I fonnd, in the morning to work in the fields.

Se, a widow woman, living at Kinoshita Mura:—

I went out to keep a stand of sweetmeats at the gate of the temple, and about 3 o'clock two two-sworded Japanese came to the temple to pray. One was about 34 years of age, and had on the loose trousers of an officer, and had a bamboo stick in his hands. The other officer was about 24 or 25 years, and had on the dress of an officer, coat and trousers; he had on a large bamboo hat (a hat was discovered on the spot by one of the

yakonins from Yokohama corresponding to the one described here) and also wooden shoes. They did not sit down at the temple, but departed immediately down the avenue towards the sea.

Takajiro, the chief of the village of Omatchi mura (the nearest to where the officers were killed) :—

I went in the morning a little distance off to look after my rice fields, and was there all day till about 4 o'clock. My servant came to tell me that two foreigners were killed opposite to Yasuemon's house. I immediately went back to my own house, and from there direct to where I heard the foreigners were cut down, and met there the chief officers of the temple, and immediately determined on sending a messenger to Yokohama.

Gembi, the next officer in rank to Takajiro, in the village of Omatchi mura :—

I was at home in my house on the 22nd, and a man came to inform me that two foreigners were cut down opposite Yasuemon's house, and I immediately went to the spot.

Kitchigoto, betto, Euwaso, betto to the officers that were killed :—

Their evidence amounts merely to their having heard at Kanasawa (where they were were desired to remain with fresh horses) that two foreigners were killed; immediately went to the spot.

Finding.

That Major George Walter Baldwin and Lieutenant Robert Nicholas Bird were cruelly murdered near the town of Kamakura on the 21st of November instant, about 4 in the afternoon.

That from the evidence brought before them, the jury have no doubt that this atrocious crime was the act of Japanese swordsmen unknown.

The jury further find that this attack must, in all likelihood, have been made on both sides simultaneously, and by a party of five or six ruffians at the very least, but possibly of even greater numbers.

The jury are further of opinion that the Japanese evidence read in Court is utterly worthless, and that there must be ample testimony in the possession of the Japanese authorities, or attainable by them, descriptive of the whole circumstances of the tragedy.

(Signed) G. ROCHFORT, *Captain, 20th Regiment.*
CONROY FAHIE, „ „
J. ALDRIDGE, „ „

Approved :
(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER, *Consul and Coroner.*

Inclosure 8.

Evidence taken before Consul Winchester in connection with the Murder of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird.

British Consulate, Kanagawa, November 29, 1864.

Sono, wife of the keeper of the tea-house near the Six Stone Images, being duly warned to speak the truth, states :—

I remember the 22nd of the 10th month; I did not see any two-sworded men that day; I heard people passing, remarking on the murder of two foreigners. At about 4 o'clock P.M. I saw two foreigners passing my house on horseback, about one horse's length apart. I was sweeping my shop at the time. My house is situated about 260 yards from Kichingoro's house. My son keeps a tea-house in the neighbourhood. His name is Teizo, that of his wife is Hoko. Neither of them told me anything of the murder.

(This witness obstinately declines to answer any questions, persisting that she knows nothing.)

Yasungoro, tea-house keeper near the Six Stone Images, duly warned to speak the truth, states :—

I remember the 22nd of the 10th month. I was at home between 2 and 3 P.M. that day. I remember two foreigners passing my house before 4 o'clock, on the way

from Daibuts to the Hachiman Road; they were on horseback, riding one before the other, not far apart. I did not notice their appearance, as I was in my house. Nobody passed my house proclaiming a fight. I did not see two samurai pass my house that day. I was asked by the head of the village if I knew anything about the murder, it might have been the next day. I heard no shots fired on the 22nd.

N.B.—(The son and daughter-in-law of the foregoing witnesses have been asked for.)

Funabashi Gunji, under official of the Temple of Hachiman, being duly warned to speak the truth, states:—

I remember the 22nd of the Japanese 10th month. Two suspicious-looking samurai came to the temple to pray that day, at about 3 o'clock P.M.; one of them ascended the stone steps and knelt on the platform. This man, contrary to the usual custom, ascended the steps with his wooden shoes on; this attracted my attention. His companion remained at the bottom of the steps. After he had made his obeisances, he left hurriedly; he appeared to be about 25 years of age. I did not pay much attention either to his dress or appearance, and am not aware what colour his hands or dress were; he had no hat; he had a very long sword, but I took no particular notice of it; his hair was done in a very long tail; he had not the appearance of being excited. I am the one who saw these people. I did not speak to them. I am not certain as to the exact time I saw these men. They looked more like Daimio's retainers than Tycoon's men. They looked like companions, not like master and servant. The one who ascended the steps threw some cash into the temple. About an hour after seeing these men, I heard of the murder of two foreigners. I had seen some strangers there the previous day sketching and photographing. I did not hear that these strangers got into any trouble. Strangers were formerly in the habit of coming to the temple, for the purpose of photographing, but they have not been there lately. There is no objection to this on the part of the priests. Sometimes foreigners have attempted to open doors forbidden to be opened. At about 5 o'clock I went down and saw the bodies. There was breath left in one of them. I did not go very close to them, as there was a large crowd of people round them. I did not pay particular attention to the personal appearance of the foreigners. There are about fifty-two officials, of all classes, belonging to the temple. There is no particular reason for objecting to foreigners visiting the temple.

Inclosure 9.

Further Medical Evidence regarding the Wounds inflicted on Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird by Japanese Assassins.

APPEARED at the British Consulate, Kanagawa, this 28th day of November, 1864, before Charles A. Winchester, Esq., Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, George J. M. Woodward, Surgeon of Her Majesty's 20th Regiment, who being duly sworn made oath as follows:—

When the bodies of Major Baldwin and Mr. Bird of our regiment were brought in on the 22nd November, the following was the order of examination pursued:

The clothes of the deceased were taken off about 4 or 5 P.M. of that day, and the wounds were looked at externally, but without disturbing the parts. A precise examination was delayed until the following morning (23rd). Colonel Browne, on the evening of the 22nd, called on me for a rough description of the wounds for the information of the Minister. The two sheets now shown me, and each marked by Mr. Winchester "Rough description, C. A. W.," are what I then gave in. I forwarded the same in a note to Colonel Browne, stating it was a rough description and that the bodies had not been finally examined.

Next morning Mr. Hyde and myself conducted a detailed examination. In the final report which I afterwards produced at the Coroner's inquest, the following are the words in reference to the wounds on Lieutenant Bird's neck:—

"An extensive incised wound between four and five inches in length at the back of the neck, dividing all the soft parts and two of the cervical vertebræ."

To this there ought to have been added that both vertebræ were cut through and the spinal marrow completely severed.

In order to make the examination of this wound we drew the head over the edge of the table and allowed it to hang down face downwards. We both dissected the wound, and it was then clearly evident that both bones were cut through and complete destruction of the spinal chord had taken place.

It is possible, if the injury had not gone further than the vertebræ, that Mr. Bird might have survived some time, but not if the spinal marrow was divided as we found it.

It was a clean cut without any splintering of the bones. The wound was an oblique wound in its direction and divided the bodies of both the vertebræ; as the wound went to the right it ascended, and it appeared generally to have been inflicted by a person standing behind and to the left of the body, at least, that is the best of my belief as to the position of the party inflicting the wound.

Supposing the wound on Lieutenant Bird's neck not to have been inflicted at the first attack, he was far more likely than Major Baldwin to have survived some little time; his other wounds were consistent enough with a temporary prolongation of life.

(Signed) G. P. M. WOODWARD,
Surgeon, 2nd Battalion, 20th Regiment.

Sworn by and signed before me at the time and place first before-mentioned.
(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER, *Consul.*

Appeared at the British Consulate, Kanagawa, this 28th day of November, 1864, before Charles A. Winchester, Esquire, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, Richard Armstrong Hyde, Assistant-Surgeon of the 2nd Battalion 20th Regiment, who, being duly sworn, made oath as follows:—

"I was present at the rough examination of the wounds of Lieutenant Bird on the 22nd in the afternoon, and again at the detailed examination on the morning of the 23rd. I have now read over the affidavit of Surgeon Woodward, made before Her Majesty's Consul this (28th) day, and confirm it in every particular. I have nothing that I would care to add to that deposition. I agree in the opinion that it was impossible for Lieutenant Bird to have lived for hours after receiving the wound in the neck, and that if that wound had not been inflicted he might possibly have lived for several hours with the other wounds.

(Signed) R. A. HYDE,
Assistant Surgeon, 2nd Battalion, 20th Regiment.

Inclosure 10.

Rough Plan showing the Locality where Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird were Killed.

Inclosure 11.

Substance of the Information given by the Vice-Governor from the Police Notes, copy of which was afterwards made and translated by Mr. Sotow.

November 24, 1864.

THE Vice-Governor states:—

"The hat and shoes were found near the spot where the bodies of the English officers were found.

"The hat and shoes were on the road; not in the fields. The hat is a wicker-basket mushroom hat, such as worn by officers from the middle to lower class of officers. It is also worn by civilians, as farmers and merchants. The shoes with black leather bands are of the kind worn by officers. The other shoes were common shoes."

The Vice-Governor will inquire at the priests at the great statue whether it was visited by these gentlemen before they were attacked or not. The horses stood near the spot where their masters fell. Kikugero was the first man who saw the bodies; he states:—

"I am a peasant, an 'omatsi mura.' I went out in the morning to work. About 3·30 or 4 P.M. I was returning from my work. I saw two foreigners lying. I went at once and told the peasant to whom the house belonged. The horses were cropping grass quite near at hand. I went directly to Yasuemon and told him what had happened. We came back together and secured the horses and looked after the body, and the man who lingered."

The officer, who lived some time time, died at 10 P.M. ("yots doki"); all the officers of the temple say that he died about 10 P.M.

The officer said that he was an Englishman; he said so several times.

There is no description of the figure and countenance of the officer who survived in the evidence.

Hereupon Her Majesty's Consul requested, on behalf of the Minister, that the witnesses might be detained.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure 12.

Further Evidence taken by Consul Winchester.

November 30, 1864.

ICHI DAIMON, a labourer, duly warned, declares:—I remember the 22nd of the 10th month. I was working in the same field with Sentaro that day. About 4 P.M. I saw two foreigners approach from the direction of Daibuts. As they came along the ground became low, and we lost sight of them. Afterwards we heard neighing of horses and a noise, and one foreigner I saw turn down the road leading towards the sea between the embankments. He was still on horseback, and a samurai was following him. The foreigner fell from his horse, and the samurai returned. The samurai had his sword drawn. I did not distinguish the colour of the samurai's clothes. The samurai ran back rapidly, and as he passed Yasuemon's house I saw him joined by another samurai, and they both ran up towards the stone bridge on the Daibuts and Totska road. I could not discover any pistol-shot.

The foreigner who fell from his horse between the embankments came staggering up the road towards Yasuemon's house, and I then took notice of another foreigner who was sitting on the ground. I saw this last fall back. The foreigner who came up from between the embankments fell nearer to us than the second foreigner.

Sentaro and I crossed the bridge and came as near to the foreigners as the stone tablet on the Miura road. They had both some life then in them.

It was after we crossed the bridge that we saw the second foreigner fall back.

November 30, 1864.

Sentaro, a labourer, duly warned to speak the truth, states:—I remember the 21st November instant. About 4 P.M. I had my attention directed to something very unusual. I was working on the other side of the rivulet Yeuma-kawa. I heard some horses neighing. When I looked up I saw a foreigner riding on the path towards the sea. There was a samurai with his drawn sword running after him. Immediately afterwards, I saw the samurai return and go along the path turning off to Daibuts. I saw the foreigner falling from his horse and afterwards stagger along the road towards Kichigoro's and Yasuemon's houses. The samurai did not return till after I saw the foreigner fall. I did not hear any gun or pistol-shots. I heard a shriek at the same time as the horses neighed. The samurai who followed the foreigner down the path towards the sea had on trousers which were tucked up; he had on bands or tatské crossed on his breast and tying up his sleeves. I saw the second samurai standing near Yasuemon's house, and the two samurai joined and went along the road which leads to the division of the roads between Daibuts and Totska. After the samurai left we saw the foreigner stagger up the road. When this foreigner emerged from between the embankments, I then for the first time perceived that another foreigner was lying opposite Yasuemon's, with his face and feet towards Daibuts; and then we saw the foreigner from the sea-road fall down nearer to us than the foreigner I made out last.

After that we crossed the rivulet and came along the road to a stone tablet, where the Miura road branches off. I think the foreigner who had fallen nearest to that point had a beard. They were both alive at this time. I was about 24 feet distant. The foreigner who was furthest from us was partially sitting up, and we saw him fall suddenly back. Afterwards, when I went up to the bodies, I saw that the foreigner who fell back from the sitting position had lost two of his fingers. I did not notice the faces of the samurais. There may have been a pistol-shot fired at the time the horse neighed. I did not notice the samurai walking down from the Hajiman before this event. I saw the horses of the foreigners approaching from beyond the six-stone image tea-house, but as the ground fell they got out of sight, and it was the noise and neighing at the time I expected them to come into view which first called my attention.

The horses continued to crop grass.

The name of my companion who was working with me is Ichi daimon.

November 30, 1864.

Otoka, the son of Choguro, living in Omachi, aged 15, duly warned, declares to speak the truth:—

I was standing on the other side of a little stone bridge to the south of the embankment on the road leading towards the sea. I heard some horses, and immediately after the noise of a horse running down along the road between the embankments. I then went and placed myself on the road. I saw a foreigner fall from his horse, which came on towards me. I saw the legs of a samurai between those of the horse as he came towards me. I was much frightened. I did not see the samurai strike the foreigner, but I saw his sword glittering in the air. I only saw the samurai's trousers, but cannot speak as to the colour. I saw the foreigner stagger up the road away from me towards Yasuemon's house. The horse jumped over the south embankment before he came to the little bridge on the other side of which I was standing. I was frightened, and ran away and hid myself.

Afterwards when the people returned, I picked up a little flask [since returned] and noticed blood on the bushes. I only saw the legs of one samurai. Afterwards I saw another horse near the branching off of the Miura road.

Koseimon, chief of the village of Haseimura, near Daibuts (in which the image is situated), duly warned, declares to speak the truth:—

I remember the affair of the 21st November near my village.

I was passing along the road, when near the tea-house of the Six Stone Images, two foreigners on horseback passed me, and I had got to a high part of the road, I could see two samurai attacking them. I was so frightened that I lost my head, and ran away into the house of Yasugoro. There was a great wind blowing that day, and I was so much frightened that I cannot say I heard any shot. The foreigners were riding, not together, but one before the other, a little distance between them.

I saw each samurai attack one of the foreigners as they passed the little stone bridge, both from the side of Yasuemon's house. I cannot describe the circumstances of the attack with certainty, I was so frightened; but the foreigners seemed to be well abreast when the samurai attacked. The samurai attacked the foreigners sideways. The first foreigner appeared to be the taller of the two. The second foreigner took off his hat as he passed me, perhaps to fix it more firmly on his head, as the wind was blowing.

When the horses passed me they were trotting slowly.

Inclosure 13.

Information received through a Confidential Agent sent to Kamakura by Mr. A. von Siebold.

Report by a Native of Fujisawa, Isutaga Matabé.

My servant returned from Miura (a village on the seaside east of Kamakura) and passed near the road leading from the temple Hachiman, where there was a disturbance, and that foreigners had been killed. He went to look, and saw a foreigner of large stature dead on the ground, bleeding much from his throat, possibly wounded on that place, also from his abdomen blood was flowing, as if he had been wounded there; the other foreigner was wounded on the leg and hand and was still alive, and saying with some difficulty, as his tongue was paralyzed, something about sending to Yokohama to English sanjiuban or nijiugoban (No. 25 or 30), promising to give many dollars ("dollar taisan yaru"). The horses eating grass on the roadside; no "bettos" were visible, and also no officials or yakunins; this was after 2 o'clock and before 3 o'clock English reckoning.

Report of the Tea-house Rokujisoo, on the Daibuts Road (about 120 yards from the place where the murder took place).

After 2 o'clock a Japanese ran past our house, crying, and said, "Some foreigners are fighting with samurai (Daimio's retainers), and the samurais have both drawn their swords." We heard some noises of blows given, and immediately afterwards two shots of a gun or firearm. No peasants were at this time in the neighbouring fields. We sent notice to the chief of the village, and went ourselves to see what had happened. We saw one foreigner dead and lying on his back over one side; the other still alive, and asking to send to Yokohama, to No. 25 or 30, and promising dollars in reward. The other things

he said we did not understand, but believe he was asking for water. He was alive until 2 o'clock that night; we know this, as guards were put round them by the officers from the temple Hachiman and other officials.

NOTE.—This was told by the woman of the tea-shop of Roku-ji-sô.

Current Reports in the neighbourhood of Yokohama.

A child was playing near the tea-house near the place where the murder took place. Two Japanese officers, one very tall and both young, came and sat down and told the child to run away, as some disturbance would happen shortly. A girl passed at 2 o'clock with the rice, &c., to take to the fields, and the two-sworded men said also, Run away, there is danger. She went on some distance, and looking round, saw the two samurais attacking the foreigners, aud she was afraid and ran away. Another child saw them through the shrubbery washing their swords in a paddy field rivulet and putting them back in their scabbards. They ran away along the pine-tree road towards the sea-shore. The child saw a hat, two pairs of Japanese shoes, and a bamboo stick on the ground; one pair of shoes had bamboo-lined ropes, and the hat a written mark. Six foreigners were seen with baggage going towards Daibuts, and after them two foreigners on horseback, who (the two) returned at or about 2 o'clock.

The place where the foreigners were murdered is a place where four roads meet, but notwithstanding a great many people were looking on, no one saw any two-sworded men run away: they must have gone down towards the sea-shore. The people say that they cannot be any strangers, but must live in the neighbourhood of Kamakura; they must belong to Kanazawa or to the garrison of Miura, which belongs to the Daimio Hotta Konosho, 100,000 koku.

Some kango bearers stated that the Japanese assassins had first inquired after the road, and then drawn their swords and attacked the foreigners; one foreigner pointed his revolver at them: they rushed under his horse and thrust their swords upwards; one fell from his horse and fired at the same time.

An order has been issued to the peasants not to speak or relate to any one about this tragedy, and therefore considerable difficulty is experienced to make them speak, to relate anything they witnessed, notwithstanding crowds of people assembled to see the wounded foreigners.

It is ascertained that the assassins must have made their flight towards Kanazawa or Miura, along the sea-shore; in any case their last place of residence could not have been far from the scene of murder, as they could not have walked any distance with their wooden clogs.

The convent of Ishoji (belonging to Mito) was examined, but it appeared that only harmless soldiers lived there as guards; the son of the agent had been very wild, but had been sent away last summer. All people are examined in the tea-houses and hotels.

I hereby declare that the above was related to me by the person sent down to discover the particulars.

(Signed) A. VON SIEBOLD.

November 25, 1864.

Inclosure 14.

Information received from the Vice-Governor, November 30, 1864.

THE samuraïs went away by the road to Totska, and first passed a village called Ongijats, and came to the house of a peasant called Basaiyemon, and asked him to sell them "soori," a particular kind of straw-shoes. The master of the house was absent. The wife, called "Mio," was in the cooking part of the house, and replied, There are no soori for sale here, and the two samuraïs left without further comment. Thinking them suspicious, she looked after them, and saw their backs; they had mantles open behind, but can't speak as to trousers. One had no shoes on; the other had soori on. As a pair of soori which were in front of the house were missing, no doubt one of the samuraïs took them.

Evidence of a sub-officer, priest of the Temple of Hachiman, called Tosida Tugima.—On the 22nd day of the 10th month I went to the village called Yamanouchi, as I had business there; and returning thence I met two samuraïs. Their ages might have

been 22 and 23. One had his pocket-handkerchief tied in a knot behind the head and had trousers on. I can't state of what colour or stripes his trousers were. One had no mantle. The other samuraï had taken his trousers off, and was carrying them in a bundle in his hand. This samuraï had a black mantle on, with a crest on it, to which I paid no attention. This was after 4 P. M. The road on which I met these samuraïs leads to Tusisara and Totska; they were going in that direction.

Nangahsta.—The samurai called at the house of Mijiro at 10 P.M. 21st November, and said, "I am going to Yeddo, please point out the road." This was done towards Misoonokutchi. They first took the road to Hachijosi, and when the error was pointed out they came back and took the right road. Cannot describe their appearance or dress as it was night.

Shimosakoonoboo.—At the house of a man called Yaské people had collected. Two samurais, about midnight of 22nd, 10th Japanese month, opened the front door and said they were hungry and asked for food, which was refused at first, but they begged much. So they gave them three cups of saki. They again begged something to eat. So they gave them three cups of mixed rice and barley and sweet potatoes, 16 cash worth. They bought one candle and paid 1 tempo and 64 cash altogether, and offered 2 itchiboos to any one who would show them the way to Asabu, a quarter near the United States' Legation in Yeddo, but this was declined by all the persons present. They left together, both samurai with an odowara lantern and said, "In a few days we will return and thank you," and went off to Midsoonokutchi.

Setto,—The ferry-boatman of Setto, called Senjiro:—"I was on guard at the ferry station on this side, and on the morning of the 23rd, 10th Japanese month (22nd Novemher) two samurai appeared there before daybreak and said they were returning in great haste to Yeddo, and wented him to push off a ferry-boat at once. Senjiro asked for what purpose, and where are you going to? They made no answer. Senjiro complained of the early hour, and they gave him half-a-tempo. Their lantern was not lit. They produced at the station on the Yeddo side their lantern and lit. Senjiro describes them as follows:—

1. About 24 years of age, the taller of the two, fair skin, a mild way of speaking, pocket-handkerchief round his head, of blue colour; a red scabbard to sword believed, does not remember the short sword; a black mantle open behind, Jatski trousers, *i.e.*, tied up, no stockings, and straw shoes.

2. Aged 20 years, about middle size in stature and girth; longish reddish face, mild way of speaking, blue pocket-handkerchief like his companion, believes sword to have a red scabbard, small sword not observed; black mantle open behind, no stockings, straw (soori) shoes.

Left in the direction of Au-yama.

These samurai were lost at this last point; no one had seen them at Au-yama.

The report that they had left by the Koshiu road was incorrect.

Inclosure 15.

Sir R. Alcock to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, November 22, 1864.

ANOTHER murder has been added to the long series of assassinations in open day, of which foreigners have been the victims since the signature of the Treaties. This morning, about 1 o'clock, the Consul was roused from his bed to receive from the lips of the Governor of Kanagawa the report of an attack having been made upon two British officers of the 20th Regiment, in which one had been killed and the other grievously wounded, near the Temple of Kamakura.

Some hours later a party of mounted men, sent there by Colonel Brown, found the dead bodies of both officers under a mat shed by the side of the road, horribly gashed and mangled in the way familiar to the ruffians who fall unawares upon inoffensive foreigners in this country, and cut them down from behind with their two-handed swords.

I have seen the Governor of Kanagawa, and urged upon him the necessity of instant and energetic measures to secure the arrest of the murderers. And the Vice-Governor, who had been despatched to the scene of the outrage, has returned, informing me that the head man of the temple, the head man of the neighbouring village, and the keepers of the adjoining tea-house, have been brought here for examination.

So far, therefore, it would appear there has been no want of good-will or promptitude in the action of the local authorities. But I need hardly remind your Excellencies there is but one thing that can be really satisfactory, and that is the prompt arrest and punishment of the cowardly assassins whoever they may be, or howsoever protected.

Hitherto, in all similar cases filling up the long and dismal list recorded against Japan, this has been the one thing wanting. It is to this fact we are mainly to attribute the perpetual recurrence of the same deeds of blood—the fact of assured immunity to whoever murders a foreigner. So long as this continues, so long will the lives of strangers be insecure, and the Government of the Tycoon incur fresh and increasing responsibilities towards foreign Powers. If the assassins who killed the French officer, Lieutenant Camus, had been discovered, convicted, and publicly executed, we should not now, I believe, have to deplore the untimely death of two British officers. No measures of precaution or protection can avail to give security to life so long as every ronin or two-sworded ruffian in the country feels that of all the crimes open to him to commit there is none so sure of impunity as the murder of a foreigner.

Where, then, is this to end? Sooner or later, the Treaty Powers will undoubtedly feel under the necessity of demanding from the Government of Japan, whoever may be the depositaries of the governing power, better security for the lives of their subjects—such security, at least, as the punishment of those who take them by violence would afford. It is for the Tycoon's Government to anticipate this in vindication of their good faith, by doing now what has never yet been done, and bring the criminals to justice.

I have no doubt the Tycoon's Government deplores the frequent recurrence of these atrocious acts of violence against foreigners. I have as little doubt that they are the acts of men who are the enemies of the Tycoon, and who would willingly convulse the country with war both civil and foreign. But the ever-recurring escape of criminals butchering the subjects of foreign Powers in cold blood and without provocation, will prove more dangerous in the end to the Tycoon and the stability of his Government than the worst efforts of his enemies directed against himself. For these reasons, in addition to all others, I urge upon your Excellencies the importance of immediate action, and the necessity for such effective efforts to secure the persons of these murderers as shall make success both certain and prompt.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 16.

Lieutenant-Colonel Browne to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *Yokohama, November* 27, 1864.

ON the 21st of the present month Major George Walter Baldwin and Lieutenant Robert Nicholas Bird, both of Her Majesty's 20th Regiment, now serving under my command, were assassinated in the village of Kamakura, in this neighbourhood, under circumstances of the greatest atrocity.

These gentlemen were not trespassing or transgressing, but were barbarously murdered in cold blood, at a place of ordinary resort, and on the public highway.

I thank your Excellency for the prompt communications had with the Government of this country, and hope against hope that justice may overtake the offenders.

I desire, and it is my duty, to record the death of these officers, and to request that their terrible fate may be brought, with the least delay, to the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

Your Excellency needs not to be reminded that this murder adds one more to the long list of victims who have suffered in this country, and that it is but the forerunner of future calamities, unless ample and speedy retribution follows.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. R. BROWNE,
Lieutenant-Colonel, 20th Regiment, Commanding Her Majesty's Troops in Japan.

Despatch from Sir R. Alcock respecting the Murder of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird at Kamakura, in Japan.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1865.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS

JAPAN. No. 3. (1865.)

FURTHER PAPERS

RESPECTING THE

MURDER

OF

MAJOR BALDWIN AND LIEUTENANT BIRD,

AT

KAMAKURA, IN JAPAN.

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Further Papers respecting the Murder of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird at Kamakura, in Japan.

No. 1.

Sir R. Alcock to Earl Russell.—(*Received February* 16, 1865.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, December* 17, 1864.

BY the inclosed report of Messrs. Macdonald and Siebold, your Lordship will see that already a first act of retribution, and one wholly unprecedented in the history of our relations with Japan, has taken place, in the public execution here of two accomplices belonging to the same gang of murderers as the actual perpetrators.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Messrs. Macdonald and Siebold to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *Yokohama, December* 16, 1864.

IN accordance with your instructions, we proceeded this afternoon to the Tobei Japanese prison, officially to represent Her Majesty's Legation at the execution by the Japanese authorities of two ronins, accomplices of the assassins of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, late of the 20th Regiment.

Lieutenant Goldsmith, of the 20th Regiment, and Fort Adjutant of the garrison, accompanied us in order to watch the proceedings on behalf of Colonel Browne and the officers of the regiment.

On arrival we found that the gates of the prison had been thrown open and admission freely granted to a large assemblage of foreigners, military and civil, who had congregated in the open enclosure of the gaol where the execution was to take place.

At 3·20 P.M. the prisoners were led out of the prison to the place of execution with their eyes bandaged, and in the presence of the Tycoon's officers, ourselves, and the foreigners and others present, were publicly executed by decapitation.

Previous to their being led out of the prison they had been pinioned and their sentences read out to them.

On being led to the place of execution, they were made to kneel on mats in front of pits that had been prepared to receive their heads, and with one blow their heads were struck off by the hands of the executioner.

Their respective ages were stated as 23 and 26 years. The elder was carried into the enclosure. He had made a desperate resistance at the time of his capture, and received three severe wounds, one across the head, one on the knee, and the other on the hand.

We have the honour to inclose copy and translation of a placard recording their sentence that had been posted on the prison gates. Similar placards are posted up on the gate of Yokohama, the Custom-house gates, and in the market-place.

We have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN MACDONALD.
A. VON SIEBOLD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

Placard.

(Translation.)

The ronin, Kabaiké Genpatsi, a vagrant, aged 26 years; the ronin, Inaba Usigiro, a vagrant, aged 23 years.

THE above-named individuals, by profession vagrants, wearing two swords, went with Shimizoo Seisi to the village Hatorimura, in Sozu, to the houses of the country people, saying that Seisi was going to exterminate and expel the foreigners resident at Yokohama, and demanding funds for that purpose, and threatening the peasants with death if refused. The above-named individuals having received such money and divided it with Seisi, they cannot deny being accomplices of Seisi, and therefore they are condemned to be put to death by decapitation.

11th month of the Rat (16th December, 1864).

No. 2.

Sir R. Alcock to Earl Russell.—(*Received February* 28, 1865.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, December* 23, 1864.

SINCE my last despatch on the subject of the recent murder of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, much activity has been displayed by the Japanese Government; and an instalment of justice has been obtained in the execution of two men, who if not proved to have been accessories to the crime, were, I think, beyond all doubt, a part of the same gang scattered over the country, and seeking to commit acts of violence on foreigners if they can find the opportunity.

As usual in such cases, there have not been wanting persons to suggest, as may be seen by the inclosed newspaper comments, that these men were mere thieves and vagrants, and had nothing whatever to do with the murder or murderers in question. Where there is a possibility of doubt, there is of course room for any extent of rash assertion. I believe, I repeat, that these men were part of a band whose main object, it may be, was to throw the country into confusion, robbing and plundering as a means of existence, but with an especial design to murder foreigners, as the most effective mode of bringing the Government of the Tycoon into trouble.

There is good ground for believing, therefore, that the Japanese Government, in striking off the heads of two ruffians so affiliated, and who had themselves made allusion to ulterior designs against foreigners, have rid themselves as well as us of two offenders plotting against and dangerous to both. Judgment has been pronounced, as I firmly believe, on sufficient evidence, and with an earnest desire on the part of the Tycoon's Government to afford satisfaction to us, and do justice to the best of their power. The publicity of the execution, and the specific terms of the proclamation pointing out the offence for which they suffered as connected with outrages on foreigners, cannot fail to have a good effect, and prove a new guarantee of security in the future.

I need hardly remark that such an example and mode of procedure is without precedent in the history of our relations with the Japanese, or indeed in the annals of their history. No Japanese, much less one of the two-sworded class, has ever before been brought to justice avowedly for an offence committed against a foreigner.

I think we may fairly accept this striking departure from all previous tradition as an evidence of good faith and strong desire to afford all the satisfaction in the power of the Government to give. It is not all that we have a right to demand or could desire. But the escape of criminals of the class of these murderers may well be beyond their control. It sometimes happens nearer home, and in countries with Governments bearing undisputed sway, and with the best and most effective police in the world. What must be the chance in a country in a condition resembling Great Britain before the Union in the days of the early Plantagenets, when not only across the border, in the fastnesses of Scotland or Wales, to say nothing of Ireland, criminals might find a sure refuge from the pursuit of justice, where no King of England's warrant would run, but in holy and privileged sanctuaries in the very capital? Yeddo at this day has at least 300 of such privileged sanctuaries in the yashkis or official residences of the feudal Daimios, and throughout the breadth of the land every feudal prince's territory is a sanctuary for the two-sworded class; undoubtedly so if the offence committed be one against foreigners only.

These are perplexing and difficult conditions to deal with; and as nothing can ever

be gained by insisting upon impossibilities, even if such a course could be defended as just or right, I am disposed, while pressing our demands for full justice to be done and urging the utmost diligence and energy in the pursuit of the murderers, to accept what has been already done as a satisfactory instalment. I believe it may be all that, with the best good-will, they have hitherto been able to effect.

The inclosed correspondence with the Japanese Government and their several inclosures will put your Lordship in possession of the various steps taken. The proclamation of the Government denouncing the murderers and calling upon all Japanese to arrest, or if need be kill, such offenders, was issued at my instigation and that of my colleagues. It is satisfactory as far as it goes, though in one essential point it scarcely met the end we had in view, which was to make the whole vicinity responsible, if they neither prevented the crime nor secured the murderer. In the margin is noted an alteration I suggested, and to which the Gorogio have since replied in the sense that such end is really attained by the original notification. This measure is in keeping with their general system of mutual responsibility; but it may be impossible to obtain it, from the fact, as shown in the inclosed extract Mr. Siebold has made from Japanese law-books in regard to responsibility of the inhabitants of a street or village in case of murder within their limits, that it is neither very definite nor rigorous. The Governor of Kanagawa, Toki Osumi no Kami, who was so tardy in giving information to Her Majesty's Consul and in other respects gave rise to very sinister suspicions, has been removed from his office and disgraced at my requisition. It was necessary that he should be punished, if only as some guarantee for the future; and once satisfied that I had just cause for complaint, I am bound to say the Gorogio yielded, after some delay it is true, but with a very good grace in the end.

P.S.—I had scarcely concluded this despatch when I received a message from the Governor of Kanagawa to inform me that one of the murderers had been seized on the 17th instant, and has since confessed his crime. I inclose a memorandum of what passed, which will give all the details that have yet reached me. As I leave to-morrow morning, I have left instructions with Mr. Winchester to secure the fulfilment of a promise already made to me by Sakai Hida no Kami, that one murderer should be executed on the spot where he committed the crime, and in a public manner, in presence of a detachment of the 20th Regiment.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

Newspaper Extracts.

From the "Japan Herald."

To the Editor of the "Japan Herald."

Sir, *Yokohama, December 17, 1864.*

I BEG leave to write a few lines respecting the execution of two men which took place yesterday at Tobi.

It has been, I believe, semi-officially notified to some persons that these two men were accomplices of those who murdered the officers of the 20th at Kamakura. Were public opinion satisfied with the truth of that assertion, so speedy a punishment by the Japanese authorities would be looked upon as a considerable and gratifying advance on former Japanese justice. But the affair is surrounded with so much mystery and doubt that it needs a good deal of elucidation.

This community, as representiug the foreign nations, did not so much require the execution of two or any number of men, as the bringing of the murderers or accomplices to a full and fair trial. These two men of yesterday having been sentenced to death, we may well ask whether they have had a full and fair trial, to the satisfaction of the British and other foreign authorities; and, were any of the British or other authorities represented at the trial? Are the British and other foreign authorities convinced in their minds that the two sufferers of yesterday were truly, and have been convicted upon clear evidence as being actually, the accomplices of the murderers at Kamakura?

Before the execution was allowed to take place, all precautions ought to have been taken to remove any doubt or uncertainty upon so important a point. I lay the more stress upon this subject as I hear that a foreign merchant of Yokohama who was present at the execution, and so close upon the spot as to have a good view of the awful spectacle, affirms that one of those two men was well-known to him as a native trader with whom he had had many dealings last summer.

I was particularly struck yesterday morning by the jeering manner with which all the

native merchants spoke of the execution, and how they grinned when asking me whether the two sufferers had been actually concerned in the murder at Kamakura.

Yours truly,
DOUBTFUL.

From the "Japan Commercial News.

AS the "Japan Herald" may by chance be read by some at home, it is proper that we should set our seal of condemnation on the "Herald's" account of the individuals decapitated a few days since. We have positive information that these criminals had nothing to do with the recent murder of two of Her Majesty's officers. The accusation and condemnation was read on the ground near, when the execution took place, and it only charged them as thieves and vagabonds, and did not directly accuse them as being parties to the late murder. The murderers are still at large, and likely to remain so.

From the "Japan Herald."

A correspondent, in last week's "Japan Herald," seems to have been alarmed lest we should really have obtained a great advantage or a victory over the inveterate prejudices and traditionary policy of the Japanese. To prevent our being too much elated he suggests various sinister doubts as to the true character of the criminals executed, not seeing apparently in what the chief significance of the act consists, and he winds up by asking whether they had "a full and fair trial before British authorities," &c. Perhaps he would like that they should have been tried by the forms of Westminster or our Central Criminal Court, with English judges in their wigs and jury.

Has the writer never read the Treaty, or heard of a certain Article therein which expressly stipulates that "Japanese subjects who may be guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects shall be arrested and punished by the Japanese authorities according to the laws of Japan?"

What right of presence or intervention under such a clause have any foreign authorities? A full and fair trial, to the view of this writer, of those who according to Treaty are so to be judges, might be very different, and any attempt to accord the two would be in all cases a hopeless business.

The true political significance and importance of this act of the Japanese authorities, to those who can really understand anything of what is passing before them, lies not so much in the execution of men convicted of complicity in the murder of two foreigners, as in the publicity of the act, and subsequent official declaration that two men have been so dealt with, according to Treaty and their laws, for conspiring against foreigners to take their lives. The rest is beside the question. No British or foreign authority compelled them to bring to justice these two particular offenders or individuals. Nor does any responsibility attach to foreign Ministers for any acts of the proper tribunals, whether of omission or commission, and it would have been a piece of great folly on their part to attempt by any unauthorized interference or intrusion, to assume it.

According to the writer, "before the execution was allowed to take place all precautions ought to have been taken to remove any doubt or uncertainty upon so important a point." And he lays "the more stress upon this point because he hears that a foreign merchant who witnessed the execution, affirms that one of the two men was well known to him as a native trader with whom he had many dealings last summer."

To which commentary there is this simple reply. It was no part of the business or luty of the British authorities to interfere with the administration of justice by Japanese orms, laws, or authority, and if they had by any misfortune been ill-advised enough to ake up so untenable a position, the only result would have been to bring upon themselves he risk and the whole responsibility of a total failure of justice by a meddling interference, hich in itself would constitute a serious violation of Treaty. The Japanese Government ould, in all probability, have resented any such impertinent proceeding as insulting and ffensive, and certainly would have been entirely justified in so doing.

On the other hand, if assuming, for the sake of argument, that they were wholly nworthy of trust, who can doubt on such an assumption that they could have utterly ffled any efforts of a foreign Consul or other authority to satisfy himself or get at the uth on any one point connected with the identity, antecedents, or guilt of the parties? his alone might and ought to suffice to make us scrupulously abstain from any attempt intermeddle. But many other objections of the most insuperable character exist to the esence or direct intervention of British authorities in the Japanese administration of

ustice among their own people. It is well-known that here, as throughout Asia, examination of the accused is conducted by torture. Would our correspondent like to see a British Consul taking part in such a court? And if he objected, by what right should we dictate to the Government and people of Japan the manner in which they shall execute their laws or administer justice?

They have in this matter acted according to Treaty; there is reason to believe with good faith; and whether the two men recently convicted of complicity and publicly executed for that offence, and their sentence equally publicly announced by the competent Japanese authorities, were or were not rightly so convicted, is really not a question on which we or any foreign tribunal is competent to enter. Nor, in so far as the satisfaction due to any foreign Powers is concerned, or the satisfactory character of this first instalment of justice, has the question raised by our correspondent as to the evidence of culpability on which they were convicted, any true bearing. The arrest and execution of the perpetrators of the foul murder is the demand made by Her Britannic Majesty's Representative. That satisfaction has not yet been obtained; but in the mean time it would indicate a very perverse and unreasonable spirit to refuse to accept the official acts of the Japanese Government for the arrest and punishment of accessories either before or after the crime, as a satisfactory proof of their desire to do justice to the extent of their power, on the plea that British authorities had not, contrary to Treaty, been present at the trial and allowed to dictate the order and mode of proceeding. Such rumours and reports as our correspondent refers to are to be expected as a matter of course at such a place as Yokohama, but they have no importance. Indeed, were it ever proved that the witness was right in his supposition that one of the prisoners executed was "known to him as a native trader with whom he had had many dealings last summer," that is far from proving that he may not have been a worthless character, and a man affiliated to a gang of lonins or murderers.—Communicated.

Inclosure 2 in No. 2.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Sir R. Alcock.

(Translation.)

WE have to communicate to you the following.

As two British officers were murdered in the village Amatchi-Mura, in the district of Sousiu, we had formed the intention of arresting the murderers before your departure, and two of their accomplices have already been arrested and punished by the Government of Kanagawa, and a placard, as per inclosure, has been published within the jurisdiction of the said Governor.

After a severe examination of these accomplices in the murder, two other suspicious individuals have been tracked, and the day before yesterday, the 19th instant, arrested. As soon as these men are examined, we shall inform you of the nature of their depositions.

With respect and consideration.

The 21st day of the 11th month of the 1st year of Gengi (December 19, 1864.)

(Signed) MIDZUNO IDZUMI NO KAMI.
ABE BUNGO NO KAMI.
SUWA INABA NO KAMI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 2.

Sentence of the two Ronins who were Executed on the 16th December, 1864.

(Translation.)

Genpatchi, without fixed domicile, declaring himself to be Ronin Kamatchi Genpatchi, aged 26 years; Woosidziro, without fixed domicile, declaring himself to be Ronin Inaba Woosidziroo, aged 23 years.

These two men, without profession and domicile, wore two swords, and forced themselves, together with a ronin, Shimidzu Seidzi, into the house of a peasant in the village Hatorimoora, in the district of Sousiu; and Seidzi said to the peasant, "As we are going to expel the foreigners at Yokohama, you must pay us money for the expedition; but if you refuse we shall cut you down." And having made him (the peasant) pay much

money, these two took their share in the said money from Seidzi, saying, however, "that they had not the same intention as he had of expelling the foreigners at Yokohama." Because they had an agreement with him, they have been sentenced for their crime to capital punishment.

Inclosure 4 in No. 2.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Sir R. Alcock.

(Translation.)

WE have to make to you the following communication.

We inclose herewith, for your information, copy of a notification issued on the part of the Government, tending to establish order and security in the cities and villages within the limits where foreigners are at liberty to resort to, which you are desired to take notice of; and having arrested one of the accomplices of the criminals who some time ago murdered the foreigners, the Governor of Kanagawa will shortly, after examination, inflict severe punishment on him; on which occasion we shall have to make a further communication to you.

With respect and consideration.

The 17th of the 11th month of the 1st year of Gengi (December 15, 1864.)

(Signed) MIDZUNO IDZUMI NO KAMI.
ABE BUNGO NO KAMI.
SUWA INABA NO KAMI.

Inclosure 5 in No. 2.

Notification.

(Translation.)

MURDERS having been committed on the 22nd of our 10th month on two foreigners in front of the big gate of Tzuruga-oka Hatchiman, at Kamakura, in the Province of Susiu, by two officer-like persons who ran away after the deed, strong measures have been taken to find out these culprits; and as for some time vagabonds have been crossing the different villages, strong orders have been given to arrest such individuals.

Should, therefore, another deed as the above occur, measures must be taken for their arrest by conjoint force, and in case it be impossible to effect this, there is no objection to their being killed.

Hitherto such deeds have often been committed, and each case has involved the country in difficulties; and as such failure of establishing security tends to make us weak in the eyes of foreign Powers, the aforesaid measures must be adopted in future should foreigners be killed or molested in their excursions. And if the criminals escape, it must be reported at once from such town or village, to the Government at Kanagawa or the Custom-house. Likewise so if any traces of them have been discovered or heard of, however slight these may be; in which case a reward will be offered according to circumstances; but if through fear of consequences such be kept secret, and discovered afterwards, both the individual and the yaconins of the place will be severely punished.

The above is circulated for the information of all within the limits of ten *ri*.

Dated 11th month (December).

(Signed) GOVERNMENT OF KANAGAWA.

Inclosure 6 in No. 2.

Extracts from Law Books in regard to Responsibility of the Inhabitants of a Street or Village in case of Murder being committed within its enceinte.

(Translation.)

THE head or chief of the street or village has to report in writing the murder with all the particulars as to place, time, &c. Until the arrival of the coroner on the spot, the body may not be removed; the coroner shall take all evidence in writing; the village is bound to place guards round the body until the arrival of the coroner or the Government officer.

If the person cut down is not dead, only wounded, the village authorities must call medical assistance and remove the wounded person, if necessary, to a convenient spot.

The same rule extends to persons found on the high-road and not able to proceed on their journey. If there is reason to suspect that any of the inhabitants of the village or street are concerned in the murder, the chief of the village is bound over to produce the murderer within a term of ten days; and if they cannot bring him up within that time a further term is accorded of some twenty days or more, but they shall be still held responsible to discover the murderers.

If the relations of the criminal are known, they will be held responsible, and if they aided his escape they will be liable to punishment as accessories.

In case of the murder being committed on the limit of two villages, the village in the direction of which his feet are directed, when first found, shall be held responsible.

Inclosure 7 in No. 2.

The Governors of Foreign Affairs to Mr. Dohmen.

(Translation.)

WE have to communicate that Toki Osoomi no Kami has been relieved yesterday, the 22nd of our month, from his duties as Governor of Kanagawa, and we wish that you will bring this to the notice of your Minister.

With respect and consideration.

The 23rd day of the 11th month of the 1st year of Gengi (21st December, 1864).

(Signed) KIKOOCHI-YO NO KAMI.
TAMURA HIGO NO KAMI.
SHIBATA HIUGA NO KAMI.
HOSINO BITSIU NO KAMI.
IDZURE KAGA NO KAMI.

Inclosure 8 in No. 2.

Memorandum of the Report received from the Vice-Governor of Kanagawa regarding the Apprehension of the Assassin Shimidzoo Seiji.

December 23, 1864.

THE Vice-Governor reports that the discovery and arrest of one of the actual murderers of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird had taken place in Yeddo on the 17th of December, consequent upon the information derived from the evidence of the two ronins executed on the 16th instant, and that the assassin is the ronin Seiji mentioned in the despatch of the Gorogio as the chief of the band. The above-named criminal was arrested in one of the suburbs of Yeddo, near Senchi, on the 17th instant, but only to-day he had confessed that he was one of the murderers of the foreigners at Kamakura, and that it was expected that his evidence would doubtless lead to the discovery of the other assassin.

The Vice-Governor further stated that Seiji was going to be sent down to Yokohama to be tried, and that the Governor would again communicate in regard to his execution.

No. 3.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(*Received February* 28, 1865.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, December* 29, 1864.

IT is with much satisfaction that I have to report that the energetic representations made by Her Majesty's Minister previous to his departure have terminated in the apprehension and condign punishment of Shimidsu Seiji, one of the principals in the assassination of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird at Kamakura, on the 21st ultimo.

The arrest and confession of the assassin were communicated in a general way to Sir Rutherford Alcock on the eve (23rd instant) of his departure, and on the afternoon of the 26th the Governor of Kanagawa paid me a visit for the purpose of explaining the manner in which it was proposed to carry into effect the sentence passed against the prisoner.

In arranging the details several questions (some involving difficulties) presented themselves, and two subsequent interviews took place on the 27th before these were finally arranged.

1. The recognition of the prisoner by some of the witnesses who had seen the two samurai at Kamakura on the day of the murder, and the obtaining from him a short acknowledgment of his identity and guilt before official witnesses designated by myself, were objects of importance in view of the doubts to which any omission on this head would be sure to give rise. This demand was at once assented to and fully carried out, as your Lordship will gather from the inclosed despatch of Mr. Acting Consul Flowers,

giving cover to the procès-verbal, signed by him and Mr. Ernest Satow, of what took place at the Japanese prison on the 27th.

2. The place of execution. The locality of the crime had naturally suggested itself as the place of expiation, and Her Majesty's Minister having expressed to the Vice-Governor a wish to that effect, I deemed it right to repeat the proposal. The Governor stated in reply that Kamakura, formerly the capital of the country, was a sacred spot in the eyes of the Japanese, and the seat of temples and images which were objects of universal veneration and pilgrimage; that to make the vicinity the theatre of a judicial execution would be to degrade or even to pollute a spot very dear to native associations; that throughout Japan each district had its public place of execution, and that in the present instance he begged I would not insist on any variation in the ordinary proceedings of justice. These considerations were of a nature to which it was impossible not to defer, and I yielded the point with the observation, that as exposure of the head was part of the sentence passed, or to be passed, on the criminal, this at least should take place at Kamakura.

The Governor urged in answer that the same reasons, the force of which had been acknowledged in respect of the scene of execution, applied equally to the exposure, and that there was a spot also appointed for this final act of justice which could not take place elsewhere. On this point, however, I was able to correct him, by reminding him of the exception made in the case of the assassins of the Regent, where the exposure took place in the official quarter of the capital. The Governor then requested time to consider the point, and on the following morning it was arranged, after some discussion, that placards embodying the sentence should be erected at Kamakura, Totska, and other places in the neighbourhood within the foreign limits, and that the exposure should be made for three days at the bridge forming the main access of all passengers and traffic to and from Yokohama.

3. The time. Throughout the Governor had manifested great anxiety for the completion of the execution on the 27th, a proposal to which I assented, on the understanding that it should not take place after dark. That there might be no delay, Mr. Acting Consul Flowers and Mr. Satow repaired to the Japanese prison at Tobei at 1 P.M. It was past 4, however, before the prisoner arrived, and as the day passed on without the fixing of any possible hour within the limits of daylight, Colonel Browne, of the 2nd battalion of the 20th Regiment, commandant, dismissed the garrison, which had been kept all day in quarters in order to attend the execution. There was a strong desire to force us into attendance after dark, on various pleas—as the possibility of the prisoner committing suicide, his great exhaustion, the following day being the anniversary of the Tycoon's mother's death, &c. Blazes of light and torches were promised, but at a third interview, at which the commandant gave me useful support, it was finally settled that while the procession through Yokohama, which had already commenced, should not be interrupted or repeated, the execution was to be deferred till 10 A.M. on the following morning, the 28th. The carrying out of a great act of international justice by night was clearly inadmissible.

4. The procession. A very interesting account of the appearance, demeanour, and language of the criminal will be found in the inclosed report of Mr. Assistant L. Fletcher, which is also important as placing beyond doubt the real character of the accomplices executed on the 16th instant, and the good faith of the Japanese Government in all the measures adopted for the punishment of this crime.

5. The sentence and confession. The Governor presented me on the 27th instant with a copy of the sentence (translation annexed to procès-verbal of Messrs. Dohmen and Macdonald) which was read to the prisoner in the presence of Messrs. Flowers and Satow. The punishment is termed "Gokumon." It includes the procession, decapitation, and subsequent exposure, and is the highest known to Japanese law. It was stated that the confession was of considerable length, and that a day or two must elapse before a copy could be furnished. A translation will be forwarded should it be received before the closure of the mail.

6. The execution. The garrison, as had been previously arranged, was marched over to the execution-ground at 9 A.M. under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Penrose of the Royal Marines. Messrs. Dohmen and Macdonald, accompanied by a detachment of the mounted escort under Lieutenant W. H. Smith, attended as witnesses for this Legation; and Mr. Acting Consul Flowers and Mr. Student Interpreter Satow represented the extra-territorial jurisdiction of the district within the limits of which the crime was committed. At 10 A.M. the prisoner was brought to the place of execution, and conducted himself in the same calm and intrepid manner which he had displayed during the procession. He repeated his acknowledgments of guilt, and when asked by Mr. Satow to state what he had

wished to say on the previous day, replied that if the foreigners had given way he would not have attacked them. He then addressed himself to the Japanese officials, and earnestly entreated that his eyes might not be bandaged, requested them to salute his wife, expressed a hope that though his head was to be exposed on the bridge his body might be decently buried in his own country (Mito), and a headstone recording his name and death be placed over him, and after soliciting leave, sang a song which was understood to be in praise of his Daimio and native district. At the conclusion of his strain he cursed the foreigners, declaring that it was an unhappy day for Japan when a man of his class was punished for the slaying of an individual of that hated race; and finally asking the executioner if he had put water on his sword, submitted himself to his doom. The inclosed procès-verbal, drawn up by the gentlemen directed to attend the execution will furnish your Lordship with additional particulars.

7. The remaining criminal. Subsequently to the execution the Governor informed Mr. Dohmen that the fourth actor in this assassination, named Takahashi Tôjiurô (under whose sword Major Baldwin fell), was supposed to be in Yeddo disguised as a merchant, and hotly pursued by the police.

I ought not to close this narrative without expressing my obligations to all the gentlemen of the Legation and Consulate already named, for their earnest and useful assistance.

Such, my Lord, is an account of the first act of international justice directed to the punishment of the formidable band of ruffians leagued to exterminate foreigners by murder, which since the opening of trade in 1859 has taken place in Japan. Every unprejudiced mind must consider it as evidence of a great change in the policy of this Government towards foreign Powers. A year ago it would have been vain to hope for such an exhibition of strength on the part of the Administration of the Tycoon. It could not have dared to face the outcry which such a proceeding would have created. Happily, the force imparted to it by the destruction of Choshiu's power at Shimonasaki has enabled it successfully to take a step entirely consonant with the true principles on which the friendly intercourse between nations is founded.

The punishment of the actual criminals is the only real ground for hoping that the system of assassination will be repressed. So long as immunity from punishment attended the commission of acts of fanatical atrocity, the demand of money compensation from the Government of the Tycoon, which felt itself unable to punish the crime, rather added to the *éclat* of the deed by involving in difficulty the Power which had first contracted relations with the foreigner.

It would be to form far too sanguine a conclusion that the punishment of three or even four of this band will suffice to terminate the long and melancholy list of crimes against the lives of foreigners. It may even inspire a thirst for vengeance in the breasts of their associates. But after all, human nature is the same everywhere. The fanaticism which involves the crime of secret murder, however much the intrepid endurance of punishment may inspire admiration, will be found far less operative when it is seen to imply imminent risk of personal retribution.

Moreover, the influence of such an example will affect the conduct of large classes, whose dislike to foreigners, however hearty, is still under the control of all the ordinary motives which influence the conduct of men.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 3.

Acting Consul Flowers to Mr. Winchester.

Sir, *Kanagawa, December* 28, 1864.

IN compliance with your instructions, I proceeded to the Japanese prison Tobei yesterday, at half-past 12 o'clock, with the object of being present at the recognition of Shimidzoo Seiji, one of the murderers of the late Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird at Kamakura, by the witnesses.

I have now the honour to inclose a memorandum of what took place, signed by Mr. Satow and myself.

You will perceive that the evidence is most satisfactory.

In the first place, all the witnesses declared that they recognized the prisoner before them as one of the two samurai whom they had seen at Kamakura on the day of the

murder; the boy Kanakitchi at once knew him as one of the assailants of the two English officers, Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird. The prisoner himself, on being questioned by Mr. Satow, frankly told his name and admitted his guilt; and was proceeding to complain of the manner in which he had been examined, at which point the Japanese officers requested us to retire.

Sentence of death was then passed on him; after which he was secured on horseback, escorted to Yokohama, and paraded through the most frequented thoroughfares, with a banner carried before him on which his crimes were written in large Japanese characters.

The late hour at which the prisoner arrived from Yeddo yesterday caused the execution to be postponed to 10 o'clock this morning. From 9 to 10 o'clock A.M. the British troops in garrison and many of the foreign community collected round the place of execution The prisoner was brought to the plaee of execution at 10 o'clock. An hour was spent in necessary preparations, during which time the prisoner—a hardy, powerful-looking young man 25 years of age—showed no signs of dismay.

At about 11 o'clock the head was severed from the culprit's body, and was immediately carried off and placed on a spike or gibbet at the guard-house close to the bridge Yoshida-basi, which furnishes the principal and most frequented means of access to and exit from the Settlement.

Thus was concluded the most important act of international justice hitherto witnessed in Japan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MARCUS FLOWERS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 3.

Procès-Verbal of the Recognition of Shimidzoo Seiji, one of the Murderers of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, by the Japanese witnesses Sei, Kanakitchi, and Itchibe, at the Japanese prison Tobei, on the 27th December, 1864.

UNDER instructions from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires we proceeded to the Tobei at 1 P.M. for the purpose of being present at the recognition of the criminal by the above-named witnesses, and on our arrival found the witnesses assembled.

It was arranged that the witnesses should view and observe the features and person of the prisoner from behind a screen; an arrangement which the sliding partitions of Japanese rooms render perfectly easy.

The prisoner arrived from Yeddo about 4 P.M., and was immediatcly placed so as to be fully exposed to the observation of the witnesses.

When a sufficient time had elapsed to enable the witnesses to speak to the identity, they were separately interrogated and respectively made the following statements:—

Sei (a widow who keeps a sweet-meat stall at the gate of the Hajiman) declared that she recognized the prisoner to be the man who laid his hat on her bench before going to the temple.

Kanakitchi (a boy aged 11 years, residing at Muira) declared that he recognized the prisoner as the man who with drawn sword attacked the first foreigner, Lieutenant Bird, as he passed.

Ishibe (the keeper of the Kadoya tea-house at Totska) declared that he recognized the prisoner as one of the two samurai who on the night of the 22nd of 10th Japanese month came into his premises and imperiously demanded food.

Whereupon we proceeded into the room where the prisoner was, and the following questions were put and replies received through the Undersigned, E. Satow, as interpreter:—

"Are you indeed Shimidzoo Seiji?"

"Yes, my name is Shimidzoo Seji."

"Are you one of the men who killed the foreign officers at Kamakura on the 22nd of the Japanese 10th month?

"Yes, I killed one of the foreign officers at Kamakura."

The last question was repeated in a somewhat varied form, and the prisoner rejoined,

"Without doubt I am one of the men who killed the foreigners at Kamakura; but I have somethiug to say about the manner in which I have been examined."

At this point the Japanese officers rushed in, and ordering the prisoner to be silent, requested the interrogatories might cease; and the Undersigned, Acting Consul, considering

the satisfactory character of the recognition, and subsequent acknowledgment of guilt. rendered it unnecessary to proceed further, we retired to the next apartment.

The prisoner looked pale from confinement, but did not exhibit on his person or countenance any marks of exhaustion or ill-usage.

(Signed) MARCUS FLOWERS, *Acting Consul.*
ERNEST SATOW, *Student Interpreter.*

Inclosure 3 in No. 3.

Mr. Fletcher to Mr. Winchester.

Sir, *Yokohama, December* 27, 1864.

THE following is a plain narration of my own impressions, and of what I was able to gather this evening when I accompanied the procession of Shimidzoo Seji, the chief actor in the murder of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, as he was led exposed to public view on the back of a pack horse through the streets of Yokohama. About half-past 4 o'clock in the afternoon he arrived at the native quarter of the town, accompanied by a large guard of officials that escorted him from Yeddo. The whole population of the native town turned out in a mass. Great excitement prevailed, and the curiosity to see him was intense. He was paraded about before the public gaze for an hour's time through all the principal streets of Yokohama, in both the foreign and Japanese quarters; and about dark was conveyed to the place of execution on the side of the hill, a short distance beyond the Governor's house, where it was supposed the sentence was immediately to be carried into effect. I accompanied the culprit closely to the place of execution, putting no questions to him, however, both as I was desirous not to lay myself open to the abuse which a condemned malefactor, situated as he was, might be supposed to indulge in towards a foreigner, and because I thought that he might volunteer some statement of his own, more to be relied upon than anything that might be elicited by putting questions in a direct form. In this hope I continued near him all the time, during some four hours, till about half-past 8 o'clock, when as I was standing at a short distance from him Thomas Caulfield, the Consulate gaoler, came up to me and informed me that he was addressing those around him, and, as it appeared to him, making some confessions. I walked in towards the crowd and stealthily came up behind the officer that seemed to be listening and assenting to what he said, assenting in the sense merely that he was hearing him. The beginning I did not hear, but the first words that caught my ear as I drew near within a few feet of him were, "What a wonderful place Yokohama is becoming! How it has grown during the last five years, since I visited it before. I suppose this extraordinary growth of the place is much owing to the Consuls. What a sad contrast it presents to Yeddo, which is far, far from extending. Well, some years ago I was an officer of high standing and rank, and little did I think that my end should be this, which is one of shame. My name, however, is known to my countrymen as an officer of reputation, well versed in philosophy and the sciences; and I trust my body shall have its last resting-place in Mito, and receive a decent burial. Gempatchi, who I understand has already been put to death, joined me only this last spring. How long is my head to be exposed? Is it for three days? When I killed the foreigners, I expected one of them might be a Consul."

Here he spoke in a vague and incoherent manner of Consuls, from which I was led to infer, though indeed I might be mistaken, that he used the word "Consul" merely as a convertible term for a foreign officer. While he was going on, however, an officer came up from the group of higher officials that were warming themselves at a fire a short way off, and on whispering something to the coolies and the others standing about him he immediately became silent.

His language and manner certainly bore him out in the claims he laid to rank and education. His face, though somewhat unprepossessing and ill-favoured in appearance, was indicative of unbending determination of purpose, with a keen intelligent eye. During his procession through the settlement he appeared to look with some interest at the place and to admire the foreign buildings, and was always ready to listen to whatever was addressed to him. On one of the foreigners remarking to him, Your name is Shimadzoo Seji? he instantly corrected him, saying it was Shimidzoo Seji rather. When he got into the native town he sang a wild and melancholy strain, which, if it had any meaning, I could not make out, but evidently to show that he was bound to die game. After he was kept for some time at the place of execution in the cold night air, he lost a good deal of the defiant attitude which he assumed while passing through Yokohama.

He complained of the hardship of his being left out in the cold night, perched on the back of a horse, whereupon he was removed to a mat placed on the ground to receive him, and his hands, which were tied behind his back, were a little loosened.

After he was supplied with some warm drink, which I imagine was sakey, he let his fancies free, and spoke in an intelligible but rambling manner about the foreigners, the Consuls, Yokohama, &c., as I have described; but he always preserved a dignity of manner truly astonishing in one giving, as he then must have supposed, his last injunctions on the brink of death. The respectful tone also in which the coolies and the yaconins approached him clearly showed that they were deeply impressed with the deference due to a man of his rank and position under what they doubtless considered merely the ban of misfortune. From his conversation and whole bearing I should have judged him to be a man of gentlemanly education and refined manners, sorely grieved at the position in which he was placed, but still determined to face his inevitable doom with calmness, in meeting which the philosophy on which he prided himself so much probably came to his assistance. He spoke something about "chikusen," which I did not happen to catch, as the officer came up and stopped him; and I took my departure immediately, as the norimon arrived in which he was to be carried off the ground, and lodged in prison for the night, his execution having been put off, as the chief officer present informed me, by the orders of Mr. Winchester and of Colonel Browne till 9 o'clock next morning.

I may remark that even in the absence of his confession that he was from the Province of Chitatshi or Mito, his accent and intonation, as well as his clear and distinct mode of expressing himself, peculiar to the more northern districts of Japan, left little doubt that he was a native of Yeddo or its close vicinity.

I ought to add further that he ate and drank heartily several times, and appeared to be in full possession of bodily strength and health, a fact entirely at issue with the statements of the Japanese officers that he was in a dying condition.

I trust these conclusions, arrived at by careful observation and with ample means of judging correctly, may not be found uninteresting to you in the meantime. And if opportunity should offer for receiving further light on the subject before the execution to-morrow I shall not fail to make the same known to you.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. FLETCHER.

Inclosure 4 in No. 3.

Report of the Trial of the Ronin Shimidzoo Seiji.

(Translation.)

ON examination of the above, it appeared as follows:—

He was the son of a ronin, called Shimidzoo Kenjiro, and was born at the village of Kantani, in the Province of Yotomi. From his earliest years he wandered about with his father, Kenjiro, from place to place till at about the age of 10 years, as he thinks, they parted somewhere in the Province of Sangami, after which he lived upon several persons whom he had known. As he grew older he used to carry the baggage of travellers along the tokaido into Oshiu, and sometimes went on messages. For these services he obtained money, but as he had been frequently told by his father, Kenjiro, that he was of good stock, though a ronin, and must therefore, by striving to become a samurai of standing, maintain the reputation of the family, he began to carry a sword with the idea of becoming the follower of some person skilled both in literature and in military exercises, in whose service he might acquire all kinds of knowledge and accomplishments. But he felt deeply grieved at the way in which the barbarians had encroached of late and defiled the territory of the empire; and not only at that, but also at the high prices of all articles since the opening of Yokohama, to the great trouble of the whole nation. It appeared to him, therefore, that if he could only kill one barbarian and get away to a certain place he would thereby win the approbation of all who held these same opinions. With that view he set out for Yokohama on the 14th of the second month (March 1864), but hearing that two-sworded men were most strictly examined at the barriers of that place he went to Hodongaya, buried his long sword among the hills and hid his baggage in the bushes, after which, with one short sword and in disguise he set out again for Yokohama. While resting at a teahouse to make his observations he met with another man wearing one sword, with whom he entered into conversation about the barbarians. Gradually becoming more intimate with this man, and finding that he also felt much indignation at the violent and self-willed way in which the barbarians acted, he agreed on a plan for killing some: but as there was

something which caused him to suspect the other he swore an oath with him, that if either was unfaithful to the agreement the other should slay him then and there. After this they both proceeded towards the gate. But the man, who appears to have been some spy of the police, ran into the gate and called out in a loud voice that a ronin was coming. Perceiving, then, that he had fallen into a snare he ran after the man to kill him, and had almost come up to him when he saw a number of the guard issuing forth, so he entered into a buckwheat shop outside the gate and ordered some of that food to be served to him. Whilst he was making all haste to pull off his gaiters, and otherwise to disguise his person, a body of them came up. Then, in the confusion, abandoning his bundle containing two military works, some manuscripts, and some straw shoes, he ran out by the back door. He then fled to the place where he had buried his sword, as aforesaid, in the hills, and passed the whole night there.

Next day, dressed as a citizen and wearing one sword, he approached close to the gate, and seeing three barbarians come out on horseback, watched an opportunity to draw near and slay them; but they also appeared to be on their guard, and took out their pistols, so that to his great disappointment he was unable to carry out his intention. Then the guards, appearing to conceive suspicion, came out in force and pursued him, on which he ran away. Having failed on several occasions in like manner, and fearful of becoming too well known and being at last discovered, he again took to wandering about from place to place. The desire to slay barbarians, however, arose again in his mind, but as it seemed that Yokohama was too vigilantly guarded for him to get in there, it came into his head to watch the barbarians on their excursions to Kamakura, and kill them there. With this intent he stopped a night at Kanagawa on the 21st of last month (November), and on the 22nd came to Sakaingi on the confines of Musashi and Sangami, where he fell into the company of another samurai. They communicated to each other the places of their birth, &c., and he found the other to have been been born in Hitachi, and to be called Takahashi Tojiuro. On learning that he was going to Kioto, and intended to pay a visit to the temple of Hachiman at Kamakura, he began to joke about his own desire to kill a barbarian, and his indignation at the way they were behaving, in order to try the other; and he also appearing to share the same indignation against barbarians, seemed a trusty man. Whereupon he discovered his intentions to the former, who approved highly of them, and so they agreed to kill the first one they met.. On the same day, after paying a visit to the temple of Hachiman, on coming out of the great gate about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and going some 200 yards, they saw two barbarians on horseback coming from the direction of Nangatani. No one else was in sight, and thinking that the opportunity for killing had at length arrived, he stopped under the shadow of an avenue of pines and said to Takahashi, "Shall we kill them?" And the latter agreeing, he threw away the plaited hat which he had on, ran out, turned to the left, drew his sword, and aimed a blow at the ribs of the barbarian who came riding first, besides inflicting other wounds which he does not particularly remember. Takahashi then attacked the other barbarian who came riding after and gave him several wounds, which he (Seiji) does not remember. Both of the barbarians fell off their horses appearing to be quite dead. Rejoicing then at having at last accomplished the purpose which he had harboured for so long, he fled away with all speed to avoid being seen. He does not know where Takahashi went to after leaving the spot. He himself, desirous of avoiding discovery, took off his long sword and wide trousers, folded up his mantle in a handkerchief, and took the appearance of a citizen bearing one sword. He then for the first time heard from report in that place that these barbarians were Englishmen. After that he passed the barrier at Shinogawa by a side path, and went to see Inaba Ushijiro and Gamaike Gempachi, men without any fixed abode, with whom he had been long intimate, and agreed with them to go up to Kioto. Wherefore, on the 2nd day of the present month, he left Yeddo, and came to Hatongaya, in company with Gempachi and the other.

On the 3rd day they arrived at Fujisawa, and being all so badly off for money that they doubted the possibility of getting to Kioto, and having heard that Hachiroyomon of Hatorimura in Sangami was a rich man, he proposed they should go and borrow some money of him. Going then to the man's house, Seiji went in first, and said that they were going to put down the barbarians, but were hard up for money to carry out that purpose, and would like to borrow some from him, threatening that he should feel obliged to kill him and his household if it were refused. Thus he obtained money by compulsion. At this moment a number of people came running up in a crowd, and they thereupon took to flight. On examining the money at some place, name unknown, amongst the hills, they found between 560 and 600 ichibus, all in the old gold half-ichibu coinage. Out of this he gave them about 200 ichibus as their share, and they then set off to Odawara; but thinking that under these circumstances it would be dangerous to continue their journey to

Kioto, they turned back to go first once more to Yeddo. They threw away their swords, and getting themselves up as citizens went as far as Nippa in Sangami, where they were discovered. Gempachi and Ushijiro were caught, but he himself escaped. Thinking that after committing such a crime there was very great danger of being captured, he again changed his disguise, putting his short sword in his bosom, wherewith to kill the police-runners in case they should attempt to take him prisoner. When captured at Senjiu, whither he had betaken himself, he said that out of the money he had changed eight cobangs with a fellow-traveller into gold two ichibu pieces, of which he had spent two cobangs and half an ichibu, and the rest he had in his possession. When strictly interrogated a second time as to the direction Takahashi had taken in view of the fact that he could not have met a man who would agree to such a crime for the first time by the way, but must have been long and intimately acquainted with him, and therefore ought to know where he would go, he declared, as already stated above, that he had not the slightest idea, but that having committed such enormous crimes, and being put on his trial for them, he was unable to offer anything in his own defence.

Eleventh month (December 1864).

The above document contains the result of the trial.

Inclosure 5 in No. 3.

Procès-Verbal of Messrs. Dohmen and Macdonald respecting the Execution of Shimidzoo Seiji.

WE, the Undersigned, having, in accordance with instructions received from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, proceeded this day to the Japanese gaol in company with Mr. Acting Consul Flowers, representing the extra-territorial jurisdiction of the district, assisted by Mr. Student Interpreter Satow, and with a party of the mounted escort in charge of Lieutenant Smith, commanding the Legation Guard of Royal Marines, to witness the public execution of Shimidzoo Seiji, one of the assassins of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, of Her Britannic Majesty's 20th Regiment, hereby declare that the sentence was carried out in the following manner:—

On our arrival at the scene of execution we found two battalions of the 20th Regiment and Royal Marines and half a battery of the Royal Artillery, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Penrose of the Royal Marines, drawn up in a square around a slight elevation a few hundred yards distant from the prison, on which the usual preparations had been made for the punishment which was going to take place.

Although the time for the execution had been fixed at 10 A.M. precisely the prisoner did not arrive till 11. He was brought from the prison in a norimon under due escort, headed by the bearers of a white flag and a wooden board on which the annexed sentence was written.

When taken out of the norimon, saké and sweetmeats were given him, which last repast, although standing over the pit which was a few minutes afterwards to receive his head, he seemed to enjoy very much.

The short time usually allowed to the condemned for making their last earthly arrangements, was chiefly employed by this man in singing a song, understood to be to the effect that "he did not regret dying thus, as to kill foreigners was the desire of a real Japanese"—followed by a savage growl, unmistakeably an execration against all foreigners; after which he tendered his neck to the executioner with the greatest imaginable indifference.

The decapitation presented a shocking sight, the executioner having to strike three blows before the head was severed from the body.

As soon as the first fatal blow was struck, a gun fired by the Royal Artillery announced to the spectators that justice had received her due.

Besides a large crowd of natives nearly the whole foreign community winessed the awful sight.

When the troops marched back they saw his head exposed near the guard house at Yosidabashi, the bridge connecting the settlement with the road to Kanagawa.

Shimidzoo Seiji was a strong tall man, apparently of sound bodily health, and with a countenance fully answering the description of a Japanese desperado. He met his doom in a manner worthy of a better cause, and for which he would no doubt have left this world with full forgiveness from the regiment he so outrageously insulted in murdering two of its

beloved officers had he but shown the slightest sign of regret at the sorrow of which he was the cause.

British Legation, Yokohama, December 28, 1864.

(Signed) MARTIN DOHMEN, *Acting Japanese Secretary.*
JOHN MACDONALD.

Inclosure 6 in No. 3.

Sentence passed on Shimidzoo Seiji.

(Translation.)

The ronin Shimidzoo Seiji, age 25 years.

This fellow, together with Gamaiké and another, went to the house of Hachiroyomon in Hatorimura, in the province of Sangami or Susin, and saying that he was going to murder foreigners, but had no money to carry on with, desired that some should be lent him, threatening death, &c., if it were refused. Having thus obtained the money by force, he joined himself to another vagrant named Takabashi Tôjirô and murdered the Englishmen before the gate of Hachiman at Kamakura. In consequence of the enormity of these crimes he is condemned to be led round the town, to be decapitated, and to have his head exposed in a public place.

11th month (December).

JAPAN. No. 3. (1865.)

FURTHER PAPERS respecting the Murder of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, at Kamakura, in Japan.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1865.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

AFFAIRS IN JAPAN.

MARCH AND APRIL, 1861.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1861.

LONDON:
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Correspondence respecting Affairs in Japan.

No. 1.

Mr. Alcock to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 16.)

(Extract.) *Yeddo, January* 1, 1861.

I HAVE just received intimation, conveyed by one of the Governors in person, from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the Council of State are advised of a band of "loonins," to the number of several hundred, and supposed to be disbanded retainers of the late Prince of Meto, having combined, with the intention of setting fire to the Foreign Settlement at Yokohama, for the destruction of the foreign residents and trade at that place; and, at the same time, of attacking each of the foreign Legations in the capital, and murdering their inmates. This startling intelligence had been already conveyed to the American Minister Mr. Harris, early in the morning, by a Governor of Foreign Affairs, sent down to Kanagawa express for that purpose: Mr. Harris being there on a visit. He was good enough immediately to despatch Mr. Heusken, the Secretary of Legation, to make me acquainted with the communication he had received, and with a proposition made to him on the part of the Government, that all the foreign Consuls should move over to Yokohama to one spot, where it was stated they could be more easily protected, while he, and the other foreign Representatives in Yeddo, should also consent to abandon their Legations for a time, and take refuge all in one place within the castle moats, until these disturbers of the peace could be seized, or the country was reported in a quieter state. Mr. Harris informs me he will return here to-morrow to consult with me, as also M. de Wit, the Dutch Consul-General. M. de Bellecourt, the French Chargé d'Affaires, left this for Kanagawa yesterday before the intelligence was received, As yet, therefore, I have had no opportunity of consulting with any of my colleagues; or of learning very definitely the impression made upon them by such a communication from the Government of the country. But I have no hesitation in stating my own; and as the "Impérieuse" is under orders to leave the day after to-morrow with the mail, unless a note I have just addressed to Rear-Admiral Jones may cause his detention, I must either profit by the opportunity at once, or not at all.

These alarms of a general massacre are, so to speak, periodical. Rumours of this kind have reached me, either through the Government or from other sources, many times already, even before the murder of the Regent in March last by a party of these said loonins (a name for disbanded soldiers and brigands), or the late Prince of Meto's armed followers, as is more generally asserted and believed. The Government then made very similar proposals to the foreign Representatives; and, failing in convincing us either of the necessity or the expediency of the steps recommended, they sought to induce us for a time not to stir outside our walls. Failing in this also, they took the opportunity of grafting upon the establishment of spies, watchmen, and police officers at the several Legations, a mounted escort of yaconins (officials, soldiers, &c., of indeterminate rank and function, in the Tycoon's pay) to accompany the members of the several Legations whenever they stirred out. This arrangement has continued ever since, although it has been repeatedly demonstrated, at our risk and peril, that they are in reality no

protection whatever, and look with terror themselves upon any chance of collision with these two-sworded bravos of the Daimios resident in the capital, who keep many thousands of this dangerous class as armed retainers in their service and afford them sanctuary. The Government can hardly believe, after all they have heard from us, that any protection is in effect afforded; but they cling not the less tenaciously to the appearance by sending two or three of these useless and poltroon officials with any member of the Legations who may go out. If they really saw cause of alarm, would they not take some more effective means of securing our safety?

So at the time of the Regent's death there was great manifestation of alarm and anxiety on the part of the Government, new palisades were erected round the Legations, drawing within narrower limits the ground to be watched and guarded, and the numbers of the guards were doubled at night. Precisely the same series of demonstrations appear now. A large addition has been made to-night to the officers and police on duty, and probably to-morrow an urgent request will come from the Minister that I will not venture outside the Legation until the danger be past, which I must disregard under penalty of finding myself virtually a prisoner for the whole remainder of my term of residence in the capital, be it long or short.

Under these circumstances your Lordship will readily understand how difficult it is to form a decided opinion upon the actual amount of danger that may exist beneath these manifestations of alarm and anxiety on the part of the Government. How much of this is real or what may be feigned in furtherance of a policy it is calculated to advance must remain very doubtful in a country like Japan, where it is difficult to obtain even a modicum of truth, and no efforts are spared by the same Government to keep from us all sources of exact or reliable information, and to mislead and deceive us as to the real state of things, even to throwing obstacles in the way of learning their language.

They have at present a great object to attain, and one which it cannot be doubted those who hold the executive power in their hands have much at heart, namely, the deferring of the opening of more ports, and the inauguration of a still more restrictive system, both as to intercourse and trade, than they have hitherto been able, or, perhaps, ventured upon attempting, to establish. I believe there are men among those ruling powers capable, in furtherance of this policy, if all less violent means should fail, of bringing about a simulated popular movement, in which foreign lives would be sacrificed, either those of the Legations or of the merchants at the neighbouring ports, or both.

I say simulated; for, although I know to my cost that the general dearness of every article of consumption, the alleged cause of popular discontent, exists, so far as we are concerned, I have strong doubts whether it exists for the Japanese, and if it does I should be further inclined to believe that it was artificial in its source, and brought about by the direct action of the ruling classes with a view to make out their case. And still I can see no sign of popular ill-feeling or hostility towards foreigners. If ever insult or menace is offered it comes from the bearers of two swords, and this class alone.

I believe this the more strongly, because satisfied from my own observation that there are among the body of Daimios and chief officers of State some at least who look upon all foreign trade and intercourse as containing the seeds of revolution, and rather than these should be allowed to take root and germinate they are ready to risk the chances of a rupture with all the Western Powers put together. And the whole course of the policy followed shows that these must be influential in the Great Council of State. In the first place they may argue that a revolutionary movement would be the worst evil that could happen to them, if not to the country, as it would be the knell of their existing régime, where the Daimios and officials are everything, and the people only their serfs, or voiceless. And in the second place, that after all, great and powerful as those Western nations may be by fleets and armaments, there is a limit to their ability to inflict mischief in such a country as Japan. They might destroy Yeddo and one or two other large cities, but the Daimios, the persons chiefly concerned and the real authors of the counter-movement, could all retire to their territories and inland fastnesses, where they could hardly be followed, and there remain in comparative security until the foreign Powers would be wearied out, their resources for war so far from home and their patience alike exhausted. And, finally, they had better risk this than see all the established institutions of the country over-

turned, themselves cast down from their hitherto unapproachable position, and the whole land impoverished and ruined by a foreign trade which brings an unlimited demand for articles wanted for their own consumption, and gives in exchange only silver, or things which are superfluities and better dispensed with, to the enrichment at best of the few, and the serious injury of the many. Nor are these arguments invented for them by Europeans as a mode of accounting for effects by a preconceived theory. They have at different times and piecemeal been all brought forward by the Ministers and Governors of Foreign Affairs, who are often their mouthpieces when discussing various measures with me, for arresting execution of the Treaty.

In so far as these views prevail, therefore, they who direct the government of the country have everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by throwing down the gauntlet. If ever this should be resolved on, there is little doubt that all foreigners in and about the capital will be swept away as the first step. I do not wish Her Majesty's Government to understand that I see with any certainty such an issue to the efforts now making to establish friendly and permanent commercial relations in the country. But still we are now actually threatened with a catastrophe of this kind; and I think your Lordship should know that we carry on our relations under a menace, which may at any moment be carried into execution. Nor do I see what prudence or courage can do to avert such a calamity, if it were really determined upon. In all probability we should either have no warning, or none distinguishable from those we are now receiving at this moment, in time for us to escape; or there would be no British ship of war (still less likely that of any other nation) into which we could make our escape. At this moment there is a small British squadron in the bay; and, in addition, French, Dutch, and Prussian men-of-war.

Surrounded, therefore, by menace, doubt, and suspicion—by dangers, the extent of which we are utterly without means of verifying, it is hard to determine on what course to steer, or how disastrous results may most securely be averted. But taking all the circumstances into consideration, I have not felt justified in allowing Admiral Jones to leave without taking some steps to prevent my being left without a single ship-of-war within reach at this time. And as the "Pioneer" is required to convey Mr. Eusden to Hakodadi, in order to take charge, and, indeed, to communicate with Mr. Fletcher, who has been left alone there without communication, except by a long and circuitous overland route, ever since Mr. Hodgson's departure, I have in a despatch, copy of which I have the honour to inclose, requested the Admiral to leave a second vessel on the station, until it can be more clearly ascertained what is the real amount of danger to be guarded against. I shall also give Admiral Jones perusal of this despatch, that he may more fully understand our actual situation, and my views respecting it.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Mr. Alcock to Rear-Admiral Jones.

Sir, *Yeddo, January* 1, 1861.

THE information conveyed to you in my private note of this date, as received from the Resident Minister of the United States, has since been confirmed by one of the Governors of Foreign Affairs, sent this evening by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs for that purpose.

The Japanese Government inform me they have certain information that within a few miles or leagues from Yokohama, a band of some 600 "loonins" are collected, with intent to burn the Foreign Settlement at Yokohama, and destroy at one blow both the trade and the merchants, and simultaneously or successively to attack the Legations, and murder their inmates.

It is impossible to ascertain what amount of truth there may be in this, or the foundation that actually exists for the superstructure raised; but I learn the rumour is general at Kanagawa of something of the kind impending. Under these circumstances it would hardly be prudent, I think, to remove the whole squadron; I conceive that there should be one ship at least left as a security for British subjects and property at Yokohama and Kanagawa, and another opposite to Yeddo, in communication with the Legation. If you cannot detach two

vessels from your squadron, allowing the "Pioneer" to proceed up to Hakodadi as at present contemplated, I should in that case propose, though to my regret, to defer the departure of Mr. Eusden, rather than that the Bay of Yeddo should be left with less than two ships of war, until something more reassuring can be obtained as to the reality of any existing danger.

It is my purpose to enter more fully into the circumstances connected with our position in Japan, in a despatch to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in which I shall inclose a copy of this despatch, and I will also take an early opportunity of requesting you to peruse my communication to his Lordship, that you may have fuller information on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

No. 2.

Mr. Alcock to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 16.)

(Extract.) *Yeddo, January* 4, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of a further correspondence with Rear-Admiral Jones, regarding the present aspect of affairs here.

For the urgent terms in which I have written to the officer in command, I trust your Lordship will see sufficient justification in the urgency of the circumstances. The signs of danger and alarm in the minds of the Government are too palpable to be mistaken, and of too serious a character to leave me any longer in doubt as to the reality of both. When the Regent of the Kingdom was slain in the streets of Yeddo, in the midst of his own armed retainers, the manifestations of panic and distrust of their own powers of protection were far less apparent. As regards my own personal safety, and that of those attached to me, your Lordship knows that there is no protection to be looked for from ships of war lying many miles off in the roadstead. Nothing but the landing of a force to occupy the Legation could avail, and that I have not asked, although so great is the alarm of the Government that I have reason to believe they would see such a step taken with pleasure.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

Rear-Admiral Jones to Mr. Alcock.

Sir, *"Impérieuse," off Kanagawa, January* 3, 1861.

I HAVE received your letter of the 1st instant, bringing to my notice the threatened aspect of affairs at Yeddo and Yokohama; also your despatch to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and to Admiral Hope left open for my perusal.

I have duly weighed and considered the substance of these documents, and in consequence of your representation I feel that it will be expedient to deviate in part from the instructions of the Naval Commander-in-chief, and have, therefore, determined to leave the "Encounter" at this anchorage for the present.

Captain Dew will be instructed to keep in constant communication with yourself at Yeddo, and the authorities at Yokohama, and to afford Her Majesty's subjects in particular, and the members of the foreign community generally, any possible protection in his power.

The presence of one ship of war will enable you, I hope, to send Mr. Eusden on his mission, whenever he may be ready to proceed.

The despatch for Lord John Russell is herewith returned; that for the Naval Commander-in-chief, Vice-Admiral Hope, shall be forwarded to him by the "Scout" on Saturday, on which day I purpose leaving this for Hong Kong, the "Scout" at the same time going to Shanghae, touching *en route* at Nagasaki to complete coal.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LEWIS S. JONES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 2.

Mr. Alcock to Rear-Admiral Jones.

(Extract.) *Yeddo, January* 4, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant in reply to mine of the 1st, respecting the danger alleged to exist by the Government of the country, of a simultaneous attack on the foreign community at Yokohama, the Consuls, and the several Legations in the capital.

Since my letter of the 1st, various representations have reached me from official and other sources, which leave no doubt in my mind that some serious danger does exist of a very unusual character, threatening the lives of every foreigner in the capital and the neighbouring port, and that the Japanese Government distrust their own power effectually to protect them. Not only is this the tenour of their communications to me personally, and through the Governor of Kanagawa to Her Majesty's Acting Consul, as I learn at this moment by an express from that officer, but my own observation of the measures taken by the Government here undoubtedly prove a state of the greatest alarm. The whole road from Yokohama to the Legation is kept by large patrols of armed men. A Daimio has been given charge of this Legation, and some 200 of his followers are here with two field-pieces. Some crisis is plainly anticipated, and whether the blow is to be aimed at the foreigners alone, or the Government through the foreigners, there must be danger to both of no light or ordinary character.

Under these circumstances, I should utterly fail in my duty as Her Majesty s Minister and Representative, if I allowed you to depart, leaving only a single ship of your squadron as you propose, without again calling your attention in the most urgent terms to the present aspect of affairs.

No. 3.

Mr. Alcock to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 16.)

My Lord, *Yeddo, January* 8, 1861.

REFERRING to my preceding despatches of this year, respecting the alarm given by the Japanese Government of an attack upon foreigners, I have now the honour to inclose copy of a despatch to Rear-Admiral Jones, reporting the final result of all the endeavours I have made to obtain some more determinate measure of the reality and extent of the anticipated danger, and leaving it to that officer to take such steps in the disposal of the force under his command as might to him seem best.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure in No. 3.

Mr. Alcock to Rear-Admiral Jones.

Sir, *Yeddo, January* 8, 1861.

SINCE the date of my last of the 4th instant, on the subject of insecurity to British life and property in connection with the reports made to me by the Government here, I have been anxiously engaged in the endeavour to ascertain upon what data the Japanese authorities were acting in the estimates they made of any immediate danger to themselves or foreigners, and the result has been that I am led to conclude there is no danger so determinate either in its character or as regards the time when it may be expected to be over, as any longer to justify on my part the detention of a considerable naval force for the protection of British interests.

For anything I can see to the contrary, indeed, the present state of uncertainty as to our actual position may continue indefinitely for weeks or months.

The Government certainly either cannot or does not deem it expedient to furnish any more precise information than such as I have already communicated to you respecting the true nature of the danger anticipated. I have seen all my colleagues within the last forty-eight hours, and also the Governor at Kanagawa; and I have further, by personal observation in Yeddo and the road between the capital and Kanagawa, satisfied myself that there is no evidence in the demeanour of the people indicative of their sense of any impending danger; while, on the other hand, it appears the Japanese authorities, both here for the Legations and at the port for the foreign Consuls and residents, have now taken all the precautionary measures they deem necessary for protection.

Under these circumstances, I see no alternative but to trust to the efficiency of the measures for which the Government of the country is responsible, and leave it to you to make such disposition of the ships under your command as may seem best, taking it for granted that you will not leave the port without some ship-of-war, in case of emergency, to fall back upon. As I believe one of the Prussian frigates and a Dutch vessel may also be counted upon for some time, the foreign community will not then be left entirely at the mercy of Japanese measures for their security.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

No 4.

Mr. Alcock to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received March* 28.)

(Extract.) *Yeddo, January* 26, 1861.

THE sudden departure of the Prussian ship "Elbe," with information of the signature of a Treaty between Japan and Prussia on the 24th instant, leaves me but short time to write. As it is just possible, however, that she may save the mail which leaves Shanghae on the 7th, it is important that your Lordship should at least receive a few lines on the present aspect of affairs. My previous despatches of this year will in some degree have prepared Her Majesty's Government for much that has followed. The alarm spread by the Government of an impending attack on foreigners continued, though with the usual vagueness and uncertainty as to the true source and degree of danger.

In this unpleasant state of suspense the days passed on until the evening of the 14th instant, when I received a hasty note from Mr. Harris, requesting medical aid for Mr. Heuskin, his Interpreter and Acting Secretary, who had just been brought home wounded. At midnight, Mr. Juyburgh, whom I dispatched instantly, returned, with the news that he was dead. He had been waylaid on his return from the Prussian Legation by a band of six or seven men, who fell upon him with savage yells, as is the Japanese manner, and cut at him from both sides of the road, while he endeavoured to spur on his horse. He received several wounds, but rode through them, and proceeded 100 yards, when he called to his groom running a-head to stop his horse, and as he came up he fell to the ground. He had received a mortal wound in the abdomen, through which the bowels protruded. The yaconins, three in number, who accompanied him for his protection, fled instantly, as I had told the Ministers at my last interview I knew they would, if we were in any real danger. The protection they afforded has never been otherwise than a sham. A thousand facts proved it; and I repeatedly warned the Ministers that if there were any real danger, their means were miserably inadequate for security. But it was useless; and so the system went on without material change. Mr. Heuskin was left to his fate for half-an-hour, bleeding on the ground, before his brave protectors found their way back with assistance to carry him home.

On the fourth day after, all the Corps Diplomatique and the Consular body from Kanagawa assembled at the American Legation by invitation to render the last honours to the murdered man, when they received a warning from the Government that if they persevered in their intention of following the body to the grave, they were likely to lose their own lives. No one hesitated; but the fact of such a warning seemed to indicate either an odious policy of intimidation

on the part of the Government, or such deplorable timidity and weakness as took from the foreign Representatives all security, or hope of vigorous measures for their protection. Not only were none taken on this occasion—not a soldier called out—but there was a total absence of any precautions to prevent a surprise or sudden attack along the line of road, for more than a mile by the banks of a river, and offering great facilities of attack from cross-roads leading to it, and bridges which crossed at short intervals.

The whole of the foreign Ministers, strongly impressed with the significance of these events, and the sinister rumours which continually circulated of a general massacre, met, by common consent, the next day at this Legation to consider their position, and what course it behoved them to take, not merely for their own safety, but for the honour and dignity of their respective Sovereigns, and the interests and lives of every foreigner in the country.

The American Minister alone, of the five members present, was willing to let things take their course, and confident in the good faith of the Government. Neither the assassination of his own Secretary, nor the warning at the funeral and all that followed, seemed capable of shaking his faith in their honesty of purpose, and ability to afford protection. It was in vain that the rest of his colleagues, pointing to a long series of assassinations, the constant denial of justice, and a continued system of menace and intimidation, showed the impossibility of reconciling the views he entertained with the facts. A second Conference took place, after a few days' interval, at which Mr. Harris did not attend.

A *compte-rendu* of the two Conferences was drawn up, giving a full and detailed statement of the views entertained by the several Representatives present, with the grounds for a perfect unanimity as to the most fitting course to be followed to avert a great danger to Japan, no less than to the foreigners now in the country. This bears the signature of the Ministers of Great Britain and Prussia, the Chargé d'Affaires of France, and the Consul-General of Holland, and a copy shall be forwarded by the first opportunity.

In the meantime I inclose copy of an official communication I have addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, announcing the step determined upon by common accord with my colleagues; as also a circular to the Consuls of Her Majesty in Japan. These will, I trust, suffice to prevent unnecessary alarm from partial or exaggerated accounts of the actual situation which may reach England in the first instance.

I do not yet despair, not even with the disadvantage of Mr. Harris' secession, which will do much mischief in weakening the effect of our otherwise unanimous action. We may make head still, and by peaceable means, against a persistent policy of obstruction, menace, and assassination.

In a few hours I shall embark with M. de Bellecourt on board Her Majesty's ship "Encounter," and shall take up my residence temporarily at Yokohama.

Inclosure I in No. 4.

Mr. Alcock to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yeddo, January 26, 1861.

A LONG series of assassinations, both here and at Yokohama, in which foreigners have been the victims, preclude the possibility of the lately renewed menace of a general massacre being regarded as a mere idle demonstration of ill-will. The recent murder of Mr. Heuskin, and the shameful conduct of the yaconins expressly appointed by the Japanese Government to accompany him for his defence, prove alike the reality of the danger and utter inadequacy of the means of protection.

When to these circumstances must be added the grave fact that, of all the numerous cases of assassination and murderous assaults committed on foreigners during the last eighteen months, the offenders in no one instance have been seized, or justice done, it is evident to demonstration that no reliance can be placed on the measures hitherto taken by the Government to secure, either the prevention of similar crimes in future, or the punishment of the guilty.

The past is over, and nothing the Japanese Government can now do, will

bring back the dead to life, or repair the wrong done. But it is otherwise in regard to the future; and this assured immunity of crime is fatal to our security. It is equivalent to a Royal license to kill and slay, under which all who are capable of murder (and according to the Japanese authorities the number is large in this country), may attack and kill foreigners, wherever they find them, without fear or hesitation, so perfectly are they assured of escape without damage from the law.

This is in effect to outlaw every foreigner in the Empire, and to place the Representatives of Sovereign States, no less than the rest, at the mercy of whoever may find pleasure or advantage in killing them. Under such a régime life is only held at the will and pleasure of every ruffian in the Empire!

This may well seem too monstrous and too opprobious to be possible, in the least civilized of States. Yet I have only stated in plain terms the exact truth, susceptible of proof by facts which admit of no question, facts of monthly and weekly occurrence in the actual state of affairs. I need not ask the Japanese Government if this is a position which they think is fitting for the Diplomatic Agents of the Great Western Powers in Treaty with Japan. I will not do them the injury to assume for a moment that they consider it possible for the Representatives to accept such a position. I feel sure, on the contrary, that not only your Excellencies, but the Government of the Tycoon, and I would fain hope the great body of the Daimios and governing classes in this country, regard such acts of murder, and efforts to place the Ministers of foreign Powers under a régime of intimidation, with shame and indignation. But granting this, as I willingly do, whence, then, comes this perfect impunity to criminals guilty of these acts, this continued perseverance in the same odious and disgraceful policy? It is for the Government to answer, for they are responsible by the Law of Nations. In the eyes of all the world they are responsible for the maintenance of order, and that respect for the laws which protects life and property. If they fail in this, they cease to preserve the essential characters of a Government, and lose their best title to the respect of foreign Powers, who can only treat with those who govern *de facto*, and not merely in name. This is, indeed, the very condition of their permanence as a Government, and they cannot forget it without imminent peril.

The Government of Japan is menaced, therefore, in its own existence, in such a state of misrule; and in their own interest I must urge the actual situation upon their most serious attention.

It is, or should be, unnecessary for me to recapitulate here the leading facts which, during this eighteen months past (ever since, indeed, the ports were opened by Treaty), have, in continued sequence, tended to the same end, namely, to render the position of a foreign Representative intolerable and untenable, by continual menaces, restrictions to his free intercourse, and encroachments on his independence; by insults, unrepressed and unpunished; and finally, by insecurity to life.

And a like series of events has marked our relations at the ports, exposing the foreign residents to similar grievances, with a systematic disregard of all the rights and privileges guaranteed to them by Treaty; official interference with the free sale and purchase of produce; obstructions, restrictions, exactions; in a word, all the machinery that authorities and subordinate officials, with absolute powers of control over Japanese subjects could devise, for their own profit and the injury of foreigners.

The assassination of Mr. Heuskin, following close upon menaces of a general massacre, communicated to the foreign Ministers by orders of your Excellencies, followed up again by an intimation from the same quarter on the morning of the funeral, when the Representatives of the Five Powers were all assembled to render the last honours to the murdered, that they themselves were in danger of being attacked on the way to the cemetery, if they ventured to proceed, were more than sufficient to remove the last trace of doubt or hesitation in my mind, and I think in the minds of most of my colleagues, as to the necessity of instant and decided action on their part.

But lest they should not have been enough, it would seem as if it had been determined to furnish one more conclusive evidence how little the Government could be relied upon for our defence and protection, by leaving the whole line of road, more than a mile in length, to the cemetery, open to attack. There were no guards on the ground, or extraordinary measures of precaution and

protection—I do not say to resist the attack it had sent warning was to be feared, but to prevent the possibility of the most desperate men daring to attempt it. Here were the lives of all the foreign Ministers in Yeddo, together with the whole of their respective Legations, and the Consuls from Kanagawa, declared by the Government to be in immediate danger. They were all at one spot assembled, and yet it was not deemed worth while, apparently, to adopt a single measure for their defence and protection! This, indeed, was conclusive: that the Government should allow a member of one of the Legations to be murdered, while the whole Corps Diplomatique was under menace of a similar fate, and yet consider it unnecessary, even in courtesy, to make any communication to Her Majesty's Minister at this Court, whose own safety and that of the members of his Legation were in question, could no longer be subject of surprise. The two courses were perfectly consistent with each other.

Moved by these considerations, and perfectly convinced by all the experience of the past, of the hopelessness of any further effort, by mere remonstrance on the spot, to effect the changes which it was too plain could not be deferred without risk of the gravest complications, and, it might be, national calamity, if, unfortunately, further lives should be lost, I took immediate steps, after the funeral, to communicate with my colleagues, and announce my resolution, to avert, if possible, the dangers I foresaw in the continued supineness of the Government.

I determined, with this view, to withdraw temporarily from the Legation at Yeddo, and I now write to acquaint you that I have carried this resolution into effect. I shall take up my residence, for the present, at Kanagawa or Yokohama, where I can not only command means of protection, if required, from Her Majesty's ships, but also take such steps as may be needful for the security of my countrymen. There I shall wait with calmness the result of further communication with the Government of the Tycoon, free, for the first time for eighteen months, if not from the menace of assassination, at least from any anxiety as to such threats being immediately carried into execution to the peril and disgrace of Japan.

I trust your Excellencies and the Council of State, to whom I pray you to communicate this despatch, will see in this decisive step an earnest desire to avoid to the utmost, and as long as possible, a cause of rupture or more serious complications, but also a firm resolution to insist upon such total change in the policy hitherto pursued towards British subjects, in common with all other foreigners, as shall give that security to life and property, and full enjoyment of Treaty rights, which they are entitled to demand. My long-continued personal relations with one of your Excellencies, and their uniformly friendly character, lead me to hope that, sharing in the regret I feel for these untoward impediments to a good understanding, you will see the necessity for similar decided action with your colleagues in the Government, that this standing reproach may be removed. The faction of violent and unscrupulous advocates for a system of terrorism and assassination, whom I must suppose to be the real authors of such troubles, must be controlled, whatever may be the rank or numbers of those concerned, or nothing but grievous consequences, from which Japan will be the first and greatest sufferer, can follow, in spite of the sacrifices and efforts I am now making to prevent such a catastrophe. The Government, in a word, must show that it has both the will and the ability to impose respect on all the disaffected or violent spirits who would seek, for their own ends, to disturb the good relations hitherto existing between the Treaty Powers and Japan; and which, on the part of Great Britain, the Government of Her Majesty is most anxious to maintain for the mutual advantage of both countries. They must no longer be permitted to take life with assured impunity, and follow out a system of intimidation, in the vain hope of driving foreigners out of the country by murder and terrorism. Europe united would resist the attempt, render its success impossible, and punish the authors of such an outrage on the laws and right of nations. Could they even temporarily effect their object, and murder every foreigner, Japan would be the most grievous sufferer. Were such a flagitious policy ever to be carried out, the whole country would fall under the ban of civilized nations, and be dealt with as a common enemy. I trust, for the interests of humanity, such deplorable contingencies may be rendered impossible, and that both the Government and the people of Japan will be convinced that their best policy is faithfully to fulfil their engagements and

to maintain friendly relations with a Power which has at its disposal ample means for obtaining, in case of need, full redress for injuries done to its subjects.

I have only, in conclusion, to urge upon the Government the importance of putting a speedy end to the present exceptional state of affairs. I am anxious for a peaceable and satisfactory termination; and am ready to return to the Legation, and resume my duties in Yeddo, whenever I can see such material guarantee for redress in respect to past grievances, and security for the future, as may warrant this step. I have, in the meantime, left all my property undisturbed, under the charge of the officers in my house, and for the safety of which the Government will, of course, be responsible. Whether my return be prompt or tardy, therefore, depends entirely upon the Japanese Government. It is certain, sooner or later, that the Representative of Great Britain will return to Yeddo, the place of residence assigned by Treaty; but, if speedily, there will be the less time for new complications to arise, and affairs may be more easily arranged with mutual benefit (and on a better footing than hitherto, to my regret, has been found possible) if no time be lost.

With respect and consideration,

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 2 in No. 4.

Circular addressed by Mr. Alcock to Her Majesty's Consuls in Japan.

Sir, *"Encounter," Bay of Yeddo, January* 26, 1861.

I INCLOSE, for your information and guidance, copy of an official communication I have addressed to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Yeddo, in which the Japanese Government is informed of my resolution to withdraw temporarily from the capital, and made acquainted with my reasons for this step. This resolution has been taken in concert with my colleagues the Representatives of France and the Netherlands, between whom and myself there is the most perfect accord, as the best means of averting eventualities calculated to interrupt all friendly relations. I trust, in common with them, that it may yet be possible to put an end to a system of intimidation, enforced by frequent assassinations, which must otherwise inevitably lead to great calamities, and more serious complications than those which already exist in consequence of the long persistence in so fatal a course.

In furtherance of this object, it is my purpose to take up my residence, temporarily, at Kanagawa or Yokohama, and there await the communications of the Japanese Government. On the spot, to which any danger of violence will then be narrowed, and where all British subjects in this part of Japan are collected, I shall be enabled to take more effective steps for their security, with the assistance of Her Majesty's ships. My relations with the Japanese Government will not be interrupted, nor trade interfered with, while negotiations are proceeding for the more effective maintenance of Treaty rights than has hitherto been found possible.

In this way I trust much good may ultimately be effected with the least chance of injury to existing interests; and you will in nothing alter your demeanour, or usual course of action, at the port under your jurisdiction. The object of this movement, on my own part (as, I may add, on that of my colleagues), you will explain to the Governor of Kanagawa, is not to create a rupture; but, if possible, to avert any such calamity, and by every available means, while relieving the Government of Japan from a great danger, to induce them, without further delay, to take what steps may be necessary to place their relations with foreign Powers on a better and safer footing; and, above all, to give that security to life and property which has been greatly in default from the beginning, and, latterly, wholly wanting.

You are at liberty to make known the contents of this despatch, and its inclosure, for the information of British subjects at your port.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

No. 5.

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Alcock.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 8, 1861.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch of the 26th of January, reporting the circumstances under which you had determined to take up for a time your residence at Kanagawa, and inclosing a copy of a letter which, previously to your departure, you had addressed to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

I understand from your despatch that the Ministers of the other Powers represented in Japan, with the exception of the Minister of the United States, concurred in the necessity of such a temporary withdrawal from the Japanese capital, and have, with you, recorded their opinions to that effect in a memorandum which I may expect to receive from you by the next mail from Japan.

Till I have had an opportunity of considering the statements in that memorandum, it is obviously impossible for me to enter at length into the serious questions which the events which you briefly narrate in your despatch are calculated to suggest. In the meantime I can only observe that Her Majesty's Government place the fullest reliance on your judgment and discretion, and are satisfied that you had fully weighed all the momentous consequences which may ensue from the step which your colleagues and yourself have taken, and that you were convinced that it was the one most likely to produce a salutary influence on the Councils of the Japanese Government.

Her Majesty's Government are glad to perceive that although withdrawing for a time from the seat of Government, you have made it clear to the Japanese Government that in doing so you have not broken off relations with it; and further that while calling upon the Japanese Ministers to protect the Representatives of foreign Powers, you have not coupled your demand with an intimation that their omission to do so, from whatever cause arising, may be resented by acts of hostility on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

The step that you have taken, without committing either yourself or your Government to a positive interruption of friendly relations, or to any eventual course for asserting Treaty privileges, is still sufficiently indicative of your displeasure, and of the serious light in which what has occurred may be viewed by Her Majesty's Government, to cause the Japanese Government to feel anxious as to the result. If matters should not be settled when you receive this despatch, you will be careful to say nothing to moderate that anxiety, or to lead the Japanese Ministers to suppose that the state of insecurity in which Her Majesty's Representative and Her Majesty's subjects generally are left by the remissness of the Japanese Government, in controlling the evil propensities of disorderly Japanese, is not looked upon in this country in a very serious light.

But Her Majesty's Government, as you are well aware, have no desire to quarrel with Japan. They wish that both countries should reap the benefits which the late Treaty promises to confer upon them, and they would most deeply regret to be driven by the Government of Japan to the necessity of exacting by other measures the observance of the rights secured to this country by that Treaty.

At all events, however, you will always bear in mind that except in a case where immediate action is required to preserve the lives and properties of British subjects, or of the subjects of foreign Powers in amity with Her Majesty, it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government that the employment, or even the menace, of force should not be resorted to.

I understand from the Admiralty that Sir James Hope, on receiving intelligence of the events described in your despatch, took steps for increasing Her Majesty's naval forces in the waters of Japan, and that he was prepared, if on consideration such a course seemed to him necessary, himself to proceed to that quarter. Her Majesty's Government therefore feel assured that adequate protection will be at hand to provide against any emergency that may occur; but I need not say that they look with great anxiety for your further reports. The promise of a great development of British commerce in Japan, which the results of a single year's experience hold out, and the sympathy felt by Her Majesty's Government with Her Majesty's subjects in the perilous position in

which they appear to be placed, justify this anxiety, but they are in some degree reassured by the conviction that the British interests which are at stake could not be entrusted to better keeping than your own.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 6.

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Alcock.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 10, 1861.

WITH reference to the considerations which have induced you temporarily to remove to Kanagawa, I think it advisable to caution you against appearing in any way to renounce the right of the British Minister to reside at Yeddo.

It may be more prudent for a time to abstain from exercising that right, which might bring on direct collision with the Japanese Government; but it may be hoped that the difficulties of the present time may pass away, and that Her Majesty's Minister may resume his residence at that capital. The sooner the barrier against free intercourse with the Japanese authorities and people is broken down, the more likely is it that a good understanding will be maintained, and prejudices on either side removed.

I should wish, however, to have your opinion, whether in the event of the mission being re-established at Yeddo at an early day, it is desirable to insist upon the provision of the Treaty which admits of the residence of British subjects generally in that capital after the 1st of January, 1862. In forming an opinion upon this point, the somewhat analogous case of Canton will naturally occur to your mind; and whatever course should be decided on, the expediency of guarding in Japan against similar irritating discussions on such a point as those which have prevailed in China must constantly be kept in view.

If you should decide in the negative, and time should not admit of your obtaining the judgment of the Government at home upon your decision, you would do well in the interval to pass a rule under the Order in Council, prohibiting, under penalty, any attempt on the part of British subjects to take up a residence in Yeddo under the provisions of the Treaty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 7.

Mr. Alcock to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 12.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, January* 31, 1861.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 26th instant, I have now the honour to inclose copy of the note therein referred to, embodying a Minute of the two Conferences of foreign Representatives in Yeddo, bearing the signature of all, except Mr. Harris, the Minister of the United States; I forward copy of my letter transmitting the documents for his perusal, and such addition as he might see fit to make in the form of a note as to his own views.

I now have also to report my temporary withdrawal from the Legation at Yeddo in company with M. de Bellecourt, the French Chargé d'Affaires, who embarked with me in Her Majesty's ship "Encounter" on the 26th instant. M. de Wit, the head of the Dutch Mission, had already left, and the Count d'Eulenburg followed two days later for this place, preparatory to his departure for China.

We have each, since the Conferences, and in accord with the resolutions then taken, addressed an official note to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, announcing the step taken, and the motives for it. Translations of these are herewith inclosed for your Lordship's information. To these no answer has yet been received, nor has there been time. But we have evidence that the Government viewed the

departure of the foreign Representatives with some anxiety, and were very desirous to know its true significance. A Governor of Foreign Affairs (one who had been sent to America as Plenipotentiary) was at the United States' Legation at 11 o'clock P.M. on the day of our departure, to ask what it might mean: and the Governor of this place, shortly after our arrival, sought an interview with the Consuls of Her Majesty and of France respectively, with the same object, as will be seen by the inclosed *compte-rendu* of what passed with the French, which M. de Bellecourt has been good enough to communicate to me. To Captain Vyse the Governor merely said that he had been directed to ascertain why I had left Yeddo, to express the concern of the Ministers, and their desire to know how long I proposed to remain, adding that he had been enjoined to take every care of me. The warning at the end of the interview with M. de Bellecourt's deputies, which I confess has an unpleasant if not a sinister character, was not given to Captain Vyse, it appears.

A guard of a dozen Marines was landed for the protection of the Legation during the last few days of my stay in Yeddo, and has been continued here. I had in view as much the political influence of such a step as the material protection afforded, and see reason to conclude it has not missed its aim. The sight of a British guard created a great sensation among the officials, not so much from the actual appearance of a few soldiers, as the public declaration it conveyed of a want of confidence, either in the will or the power of the Government to perform its own part in the protection of the British Representative. One of them expressed to Mr. Eusden, in private, his feeling that it was a shame for the Japanese Government that I should have felt driven to such a measure, and an open reproach to the nation. If I could hope this feeling would be generally shared by some of the higher authorities, it will have had a beneficial influence.

As to the future I can add but little to the information already given until I see what attitude the Government take on receipt of my official note announcing my departure, and the motives for it. I would fain hope it will be one of earnest desire to remove my legitimate distrust of their disposition to take effective measures for the protection of the Legations, and of life, both at Yeddo and the ports; and that propositions will be made to work such changes as may afford at least a formal assurance on their part, that they not only recognize the obligation, but pledge themselves to do all that may be needful to honestly fulfil it. If such disposition be shown I shall not hesitate to make arrangements to return to the Legation at Yeddo. The demonstration will have been made from which a change of policy was to be hoped; and it would be neither wise nor expedient, I conceive, to insist too much on redress for the past, or enter into a large field of complaints. It is the future position of foreign nations and their Representatives in Japan which it is most important to regulate and improve. Any fair guarantee for this I should gladly welcome, and trust, after my return to Yeddo, to convert what may be merely promises of improvement now, into material results. Mr. Harris himself is not more impressed than I am with the consciousness that if satisfactory relations are ever to be established with this Government and people we must be content with improvement by slow degrees, and put up, in the meantime, with many shortcomings, and not a few wrongs. The difference between us lies not in this, but in the policy by which this moderate expectation of an ultimate good may be realized, and how best to avert a danger the existence of which even the American Minister does not deny. That those in Japan who have from the beginning been inimical to the commercial and political relations he initiated by the Treaty of 1858, may be deterred from any reaction by more or less violent means directed against either the persons or the interests of foreigners, is a necessity, whatever else be done or left undone.

I shall, no doubt, hear from the Ministers in reply within a few days; and I shall then be better able to judge what are the chances of a speedy and satisfactory termination to this species of interregnum, which it is every one's interest should cease as soon as possible.

Inclosure in No. 7.

Note on the political situation and state of affairs in Japan, giving a Minute of two Conferences held on the 19th and 21st of January, 1861, at Her Britannic Majesty's Legation, Yeddo, including Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Rutherford Alcock, Esquire; the Resident Minister of the United States of America, Townsend Harris, Esquire; the Chargé d'Affaires of France, M. Duchesne de Bellecourt; the Consul-General of the Netherlands, M. de Wit.

THE Representatives of all the Treaty Powers resident in Yeddo were present at the first Conference, and all with the exception of Mr. Harris at the second. To which number was added on each occasion, by the special invitation of the several members, M. le Comte d'Eulenburg, Envoy Extarordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of Prussia, charged with the negotiation of a Treaty with Japan, and now temporarily resident in Yeddo.

The British Envoy opened the proceedings of the first Conference by stating that the Representatives of foreign Powers at present in Yeddo had come together by common consent for the purpose of taking into consideration the political aspect of affairs; and he believed, with a common feeling, that their position in the capital was becoming untenable with security to life, or a due regard to the dignity and interests of the nations they represented.

In order the better to bring under consideration the actual situation, and the measures it might be most expedient to adopt to avert the menaced dangers, not to themselves only as Diplomatic Agents on the spot whose personal security was no doubt in question, but to Japan and all the countries in alliance with it, the Minister in the two Conferences took occasion to pass in review the series of events, with the inferences to be drawn from them, that these together might form some guide for their conduct in the present critical state of affairs. This was premised by a few observations explanatory of the position hitherto occupied in a personal point of view by the speaker, in relation to the Japanese authorities. His relations with the Ministers had usually been of the most friendly character, and were so at the present moment; more especially so, perhaps, during the last few weeks than at several antecedent periods when questions of a more or less irritating character were under discussion. During more than eighteen months he had steadily observed a policy of forbearance, and had been earnest in his endeavours, by patience and conciliatory effort (ever remembering how much they had to learn and to unlearn before everything could be satisfactory), to establish relations of mutual confidence and respect.

As regards the policy and reiterated instructions of his Government, nothing could be more opposed to the whole tenour or spirit of these, or less in harmony with his own sentiments and convictions, than a policy carried out by menace and measures of coercion. Any rupture of the relations established by Treaty would be regarded by Her Majesty's Government, and by the whole nation, with equal anxiety and regret, as a calamity which no effort should have been spared to prevent; and which scarcely any future advantage could compensate. How this end was best to be attained under the present circumstances of trial and difficulty, without compromising the rights and interests of nations, was precisely the question then to be considered; and before any satisfactory conclusion could be formed, it seemed essential that some definite idea should be obtained as to what constituted the Government of the country, and what were the conditions of subordination and responsibility in its several constituent parts. For this, he conceived, would be found to be the starting-point from whence must proceed any logical sequence in their ideas, as to recent events, the responsibility of the Government, and the policy it behoved the foreign Representatives to adopt. As a contribution to the general information possessed, the following observations were submitted by the British Envoy at the two Conferences—in outline at the first, and at the second in their present form with fuller detail.

It was known there was a Titular and Hereditary Sovereign in Japan; the Mikado, who had no voice or action whatever; and a second, the Tycoon, vested with what originally was an usurped authority, though since made hereditary with certain elective limitations. The Tycoon was nominally the head of the Executive; but he, like the Mikado, had been virtually set aside,

and only held a phantom sceptre. More especially must it be so now that the Tycoon was a mere boy, who could exercise, by reason of his youth, neither weight nor influence in the Councils of the nation. Behind these shadows the true Executive and governing Power must be sought. There were first the Ministers, with two of whom the Representatives of foreign Powers alone came in contact. Behind, but above them, the Gorogio or Council of Five; Daimios in their own right, and high officers of State by election, claiming to exercise a supreme executive power under certain responsibility and control, from those from whom their powers were derived. Beyond these, again, and probably, also, the effective source of any power the Gorogio exercised, was the Great Council of the Daimios, understood to be eighteen in number; these, again, representing the power and influence of the sixty-two principal vassal Princes of the Empire, who lastly formed a part only of the collective body of some 600 Daimios possessed of territorial rights and privileges more or less considerable in the country, and a voice more or less direct and potent in its Councils, however formed or conducted. Although this left much to be desired, both as to detail and ascertainable accuracy of outline, yet in the way of positive information there was nothing more reliable to guide them. That the highest titular dignitaries in the land, the Mikado and Tycoon, had no governing power, at the present moment, might be accepted as certain. That the whole mass of the nation, consisting of unprivileged classes, had no part or voice in the Government, was also assured. There remained the class of Daimios between the two: Chiefs of Houses; vassal Princes once independent; cadet branches with their relations; officers, dependents, and retainers, in whose hands all power and administrative or executive functions appeared to be, to the exclusion of all others. But how that power was distributed and balanced, how exercised in relation to the responsibility of the several component parts to any smaller centre of concentrated action and power, there was no information attainable in the present state of foreign relations. In the injurious isolation and ignorance in which they were kept by the determined action of the Government to that end directed, no information from authentic sources was to be obtained. Anything of a reliable nature to be learned, must be sought by logical inference from isolated and often seemingly contradictory facts, reasoning up from effects to causes; of which latter they could in no other way form an idea or a valid opinion. Yet without some definite ideas on such a subject, to talk and reason of the acts of a Government, was but to cover total ignorance of the thing by a name, and grope through devious paths in utter darkness.

But taking such facts as had been observed since Mr. Harris first entered into negotiations for the Treaty he afterwards so happily and ably concluded, contrary to all expectation, might it not be possible to discover such a logical sequence and necessary relation of the one to the other, and to first causes, as should take foreign Representatives out of this disabling darkness in which it was the constant effort of the governing power to keep them, and give to those who must act, in faith or with knowledge, and that under the heaviest responsibility, a clear judgment as to the actual conditions of the present situation?

Such links of connection and logical sequence of causes and effects were, he thought, apparent, and in a great degree even susceptible of demonstration. They might be stated briefly in their order, and if, after that, the hypothesis suggested by them were found to admit whatever fact could be cited, or which from day to day might arise, giving to each and all a full and satisfactory if not exhaustive explanation, and a natural place, it could hardly be that the Ministers present would feel any hesitation in adopting it as a guide through all the dark and tortuous paths of Japanese policy.

When Mr. Harris had nearly conluded his negotiations, he found an insurmountable barrier to its final completion. What was this? He was told that serious opposition existed among the great body of Daimios to the policy such a Treaty would initiate; and that time must be allowed, and was essential, to get over this. So insuperable did this difficulty appear, that he had to acquiesce in delay, and actually returned to Simoda for a definite period, at the end of which time it was hoped the opposition might be diminished. In the meantime the allies captured the Taku forts, and from Tien-tsin dictated to the Emperor of China and his councillors their own terms. Instant news of this was brought over to Japan by an American frigate, and of the anticipated prompt

departure of British and French squadrons with Plenipotentiaries, to negotiate a Treaty with Japan.

Armed with this news, Mr. Harris suddenly returned to Yeddo, and induced the then existing Government to conclude the Treaty, which wanted only the final act to complete it.

Within one month from that date, and before either Lord Elgin or Baron Gros could arrive, the reigning Tycoon had disappeared from the scene; a youth of fourteen or fifteen (not his son) had been elected from the Royal stock, under a Regency, and the whole of those concerned in the negotiations were disgraced and removed, even down to the subordinates; and in disgrace to this day they had remained. These were all facts of sufficient notoriety to admit of no question as to their general accuracy. What did they reveal?

1. That the governing class, consisting of the whole body of Daimios in the Empire, was divided, and that there were parties and political divisions among them.

2. That one of these was favourable to the great innovation of establishing foreign relations, either, because more advanced than the rest, they saw advantage to their country in such a course, or that the time had arrived when it was no longer possible to refuse; or possibly, moved by more personal considerations, connected with internal struggles between different parties for ascendancy, and in view of an impending or existing struggle, it may have seemed to them that by introducing a new element into the field of Japanese politics by alliances with foreign Powers, they might find strength in these allies and assistance.

3. That another, and as it proved in the end the most powerful, section were as evidently hostile to this policy, either from patriotic convictions, or an insight into the game of their opponents for strengthening themselves, and by a sort of palace revolution drove them from their posts into disgrace and exile. Here, then, is gained a first starting-point.

The governing body, those who exercised more or less direct action on the State, and among them the whole power, whether the whole of the hereditary Daimios, or a lesser number, were divided among themselves, and represented, in respect to foreign intercourse, two antagonistic sections.

Passing on to the next series in the chain, there was an order of facts which for a long time bore an appearance of puzzling, if not irreconcileable, contradiction. The Government, that is, the official organs of the governing body in contact with foreign Ministers, and speaking in their name, professed the greatest amity, were full of assurances of good faith, and an earnest desire honestly to give execution to the Treaties in every particular. Nothing could be more pleasant or satisfactory, as far as professions went, had their acts in any way borne out their promises. But when the ports were opened in July 1859, an extemporised Settlement was found in an advanced state of preparation, in an isolated site, away from the main road and population of Kanagawa, contrary to the most express and determined opposition of Mr. Harris, and to his long-antecedent objections made on the spot. This was persisted in, with the aid of foreigners themselves, but contrary to the opinion of both British and American Ministers; the British Envoy entirely concurring with his colleague in the impolicy and inexpediency of the adoption of this site. Simultaneously, an attempt was made to depreciate the dollar by two-thirds, and to prevent all transit along the high road between the Legations at Yeddo and the Consulates at Kanagawa, for any members of either.

Months were spent in harassing efforts to persevere in these tactics, before even the two latter were finally abandoned; in the midst of which news was received of the assassination, or butchery rather, of a Russian officer and two sailors in the streets of the new Settlement of Yokohama, one reason alleged for the occupation of which, had been the assumed greater security of foreigners away from centres of population. This took place while Count Mouravief, Governor-General of Siberia, with a larger squadron than had ever been seen in the Japanese waters, was here. In this case, though brutally mutilated and nearly hacked to pieces (as no mere robbers take the trouble to mangle their prey), there was some pretext of robbery, for a bag or box containing money was taken from the murdered men. Nevertheless, the popular explanation of the motives for this first of a long series of equally barbarous onslaughts on individual foreigners, stretching through the whole intervening interval, between the

25th of August, 1859, to the murder of the Secretary of the United States' Legation but a few days ago, was, not that mercenary, but political inducements had been in operation. It was said to be the work of the Prince of Meto, one of the Royal brothers, the deposed head of the party in power when Mr. Harris' Treaty was concluded, and the object, to bring on a collision with a foreign Power, by which to embarrass and ruin the existing Government, to the advantage of the party in exile and disgrace.

A series of similar assassinations followed quick. On the 6th of November, the Chinese servant of the French Consular Agent (dressed like an European, and probably mistaken for one) was slashed across the body with wounds and pursued some distance in the foreigners' quarter at Yokohama in open day. On the 29th of January, 1860, the linguist of the British Legation was run through the body on a Sunday afternoon while standing at the gate. On the 26th of the following month two inoffensive Dutch captains early in the evening were butchered like the Russians, in the main street of Yokohama, and not robbed.

This for a time closed the catalogue of attacks on foreigners, and the same unrelenting purpose seemed to take another direction. On the 24th of the succeeding month of March the Regent of the Kingdom was set upon in the midst of his retinue by a band of some twenty determined men, who cut their way to him as he sat in his norimon, and struck his head off. This was done on the road to the palace, at 10 o'clock in the morning, in a great thoroughfare near the Tycoon's entrance, almost touching a guard-house, and within sight of his own residence, where probably he had armed retainers counted by thousands. The extreme audacity of this act of vengeance and political warfare seemed to have thoroughly alarmed the governing powers. It showed that they had enemies, equal to any enterprise, however hazardous or desperate.

In this case both official information and public report indicated the Prince of Meto as the author and instigator of the act, and he became a refugee in open insurrection. Assuming that this party, large or small, but counting among their number a Prince of the blood, and no doubt other Daimios commanding retainers and resources, had something to say to all the murders of foreigners up to that date; it was quite evident they had bravos in their pay, or adherents, who were ready to sacrifice their own lives in taking that of others, if necessary—thoroughly desperate and unscrupulous instruments of policy or vengeance.

Assuming also the party in power, and holding the government of the country in their hands, saw in these murders the desperate and dangerous game of political adversaries, they might very naturally fear lest they should proceed to further extremities against foreigners, and even attempt the lives of foreign Ministers, and, without any regard or interest for them, conceive great alarm, and take measures of unusual precaution for their protection. Such alarm was expressed, and certain measures were adopted, but, taking it for granted that the danger here indicated was, in their opinion, real and great, their measures furnished a means of estimating their capacity for dealing with such contingencies and dangers, when there was less reason than usual to doubt their good faith in the matter. What were these? Under the plea of zeal for the safety of the Diplomatic Agents they filled the courtyards and grounds of the Legations with watch-houses and guard-houses, and surrounded them with squads of yaconins, spies, and police of every kind, to the total abolition (always under the most specious forms) of what little shadow of free action and liberty had been left to them in the beginning.

But there was no night in which a band, either large or small, of determined men might not have penetrated at the back of the Legations and murdered every inmate; and no day that the members went out when they were not exposed to the risk of being cut down in the streets and murdered, not by such a band as effected their purpose on the person of the Regent, but by any one, two, or three men, so cowardly and utterly inefficient the yaconins appointed to accompany them proved to be. What was the inference, then, but that all this was principally to carry out a system they had much more at heart than the safety of Ministers' lives—a system of isolation, restriction, and petty tracasserie, to make the residence of Diplomatic Agents as disagreeable and hateful as possible, and as idle for any purpose of obtaining knowledge that might aid them in forming a true estimate of the condition of the country and its government. So they

took care the residence of the Ministers should alone take place under such condition.

At first it had been attempted to prevent their free circulation through the city by mobbing and pelting every member of the only two Legations then established, and no attempt whatever was made by the authorities or by the ward constables stationed at every sixty paces, either to disperse the mob or arrest the ringleaders. The Government pleaded inability to control the popular will, until an energetic protest was received from the British Envoy, warning them in very plain terms of the danger they were incurring, when within eight days—it might be twenty-four hours—all signs of turbulence disappeared as if by magic, in the very quarter where previously the entrance of a foreigner was a sure signal of mob violence.

It might by some be supposed that between the protest, with its plain warning of consequences, and the sudden cessation of these popular outrages, there was no connection; that the governing Powers, wholly foreign to such demonstrations of enmity, were, as they said, unable to prevent its offensive exhibition, but the least suspicious must confess there was (in that supposition) something equally unintelligible in the unprovoked violence and its sudden cessation: whereas, if we believe we see in the series of events proof that this was a simulated popular movement, factitious in its origin, and got up by some influence known to the Government, and not beyond its control, and for purposes of intimidation, in carrying out an odious and unprincipled policy to deter the members of the Legations from moving freely about, and make them virtual prisoners within their residence, but failing in its object, and threatening to bring some immediate complication upon the heads of the Government, it had been simply countermanded, and ceased accordingly as any movement by authority naturally ceases, when the power which sets it in motion wills that it should stop,—this, indeed, supplied an adequate and reasonable explanation, whereas the other supposition left all the facts perfectly unintelligible.

Under the new system, with its accumulated restrictions and surveillance, things were allowed to take their course during the rest of the year. Foreign Representatives saw plainly enough the tactics of the Government, and winced a little under all the petty, incessant, and only half-dissembled impertinences and vexations which a swarm of low officials were placed in a position to inflict; but the struggle to get free must evidently involve a recourse to strong, if not extreme, measures, which all were reluctant to the last degree to adopt.

Except occasional menace from retainers of Daimios, drunk and sober, with invariable inertness and manifest indisposition on the part of the yaconins, said to be for their protection, to interpose, nothing very material occurred.

Some were sanguine that all would be well with time and patience; others doubted, but waited, anxious to carry out a policy of forbearance and good-will to the last point compatible with the exigencies of their position. There was, doubtless, much to be desired, much it was difficult to reconcile with any conviction of good faith or amity on the part of those who held the reins of government, unless with such belief were coupled the further conviction of their inaptitude and total inability to perform the functions of a Government. Between want of will, or of power and ability, lay the whole question: there really could be no third postulate in the matter. Without alluding to many minor grounds of complaint,—the arbitrary detention of goods at the Custom-house, with vexatious delays and obstructions; the undoubted and continued acts of official interference with the operations of merchants and the exchange of produce, with incessant extortions on those allowed to have any intercourse; the absence of all effective measures for securing the circulation of dollars at their value, weight for weight; for the recovery of debts, or punishment of frauds and breaches of contract; the absence of all real protection from insult or violence, which continued from month to month, despite all warnings and remonstrances, under a whole system of shams, covering a real surveillance for purposes of vexation and restriction, entirely contrary both to the letter and the spirit of the Treaties;—without taking these up in detail, and allowing a large margin for misunderstandings, want of experience of European usages and feelings, good intentions ill-carried out by subordinates, and any other excuses they may be able to make with a show of plausibility, they stand as a Government condemned by the one fact beyond all question, that in all these violences,

menaces, and assassinations (and all have not been enumerated even where wounds only were received), in no one case has any the slightest redress been afforded or justice done on the assassins; even in the only case where the assailant was seized, because Englishmen coming to the rescue of their countrymen, after he was cut down and thus preventing his murder, pursued and disarmed him. It is now nine months ago and no judgment has yet been given, or no pretence of justice done, though the man was caught red-handed in the act. Is it possible to overlook what this perfect, known, and assured immunity carries with it? A premium to crime, a letter of license to every ruffian and ill-disposed assassin in Japan, of which there are, by their own showing, so many, to attack and slay every foreigner in it, could not more effectually outlaw and rob them of all protection. This, above all other injuries knowingly inflicted upon foreigners, was the most serious and the most unpardonable. It had continued as an integral part of their system from the beginning, and without change or improvement during eighteen months. To all remonstrances, warnings, and protests renewed at frequent intervals by the several foreign Representatives, they have, in effect, turned a deaf ear, while professing the greatest concern and goodwill. To every remonstrance of more urgent character, backed by any demonstrative proof in the murder or assault of a foreigner, the only practical reply has been more vexatious cumbering of yaconins, more interference with domestics and matters which in no way concern them or the safety of foreigners, and any other device for showing zeal at the expense of the foreigners, but of real effective protection none, as those who are in the habit of moving much about know too well.

Under this system of restrictions and petty molestations, on a plea of anxiety for the safety of the Legations, coupled with perfect immunity to crime and total absence of all effective protection, living under a perpetual menace, from time to time renewed, of a general massacre, a system of terrorism and intimidation, so far as it depended on Japanese to make it so, ever and anon enforced by the assassination of some foreigner, eighteen months had passed to the end of last year, without any appearance of change or improvement; the Ministers very courteous, full of assurances of anxiety to observe the Treaty, at the same time that they had shown by acts a more undoubted anxiety, for many months, to induce the foreign Representatives to obtain the consent of their respective Governments to defer the opening of all the remaining ports and places enumerated in the Treaty, on the declared ground of public opinion being so hostile and strongly opposed to any further extension of trade, and of the prevalence of general discontent, that the Government could not, and dared not, give effect to the Treaties. Nor have they hesitated in official communications, both written and verbal, to hint, in terms not to be misunderstood, that if they were finally refused consequences might ensue which the Government could not prevent and we might regret—in a word, some sort of outbreak or revolution, in which foreigners' lives would be sacrificed, their property destroyed, and the Treaties trampled under foot by those who were opposed to their execution. The non-execution, in many important particulars, of Treaties at the three ports which had been opened; this persevering and determined effort, backed by a scarcely-veiled argument of intimidation addressed to the foreign Ministers personally, to deter them from the opening of others at the time stipulated; the absence of effective protection against the designs of the ill-disposed, whether by incendiarism, of which there have been many cases, or by violence and murder, the utter denial of justice in all matters civil and criminal,—that, in so many words, was a summary of the past policy and system of the Government of this country, up to the close of last year; and it had already anxiously engaged the serious attention of more than one of the Foreign Representatives, whether, in the absence of all reliable sign of improvement, or of any change for the better, it was consistent with the dignity of a Sovereign Power, or compatible with the true interests of any nation, to continue diplomatic relations on a footing at once so derogatory, so useless, and so demonstrably unsafe to the lives and property of all foreigners in the country, from the Ministers in Yeddo to the merchants at the ports. While yet in suspense, anxious as to the future, yet unwilling to despair, "hoping against hope" almost, above all, desiring to avoid precipitation, the new year opened, and brought its greeting from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in the shape of an intimation that they had intelligence of an alarming character, of gatherings of

"loonins," for the purpose of attacking all the foreigners at Yokohama, Kanagawa, and Yeddo; and followed by a proposal that all the Consuls should leave their residences at Kanagawa, and go over to Yokohama, where they could be more easily guarded, and the several Ministers should in like manner leave the Legations, and take up their residence together within the circle of the Moats, with the same view of better providing for their security.

These propositions were both, for reasons deemed conclusive by the Ministers in question, declined; and immediately the most extensive preparations were made, apparently for the defence of the Legations against a large force. Guards were doubled, and Daimios' men, to the number of some 100 or 200, were brought into the several places, with field-pieces to support them.

Still things took their course; the Government continued to give signs of anxiety and alarm; but so far as carrying out the plan of dislodging both Ministers and Consuls (long a favourite project of theirs, it cannot be forgotten), the menace of massacre failed in its effect.

Like so many other not dissimilar alarms and menaces, many had begun to hope that the Government had, designedly or otherwise, exaggerated the real grounds of alarm and danger, whatever those might be, and matters would assume their usual course, when every one was startled out of this fancied security by the intelligence that Mr. Heusken, on his way from the Prussian Legation, had been waylaid and murdered, his yaconins running away and leaving him to his fate (as it had been so often said to the Government it was known they would, in the face of any real danger).

Why did this, one only of many equally atrocious assassinations, suddenly create in the minds of many, if not all, of the foreign Representatives, so strong and abiding an impression that the time for hesitation, for doubt and inaction, was past, and that the hour had come for some decisive policy to arrest, if possible, the Japanese in the fatal course on which they seemed to be fully launched, and to do so before the murder in detail of individuals, or a more general massacre, to which it was impossible to see any impediment, if resolved upon by the same parties who decreed those already perpetrated, had still further deteriorated and complicated the position? It might be asserted that this was no political assassination, but a mere fortuitous rencontre with a band of bravos, such as are known to haunt the streets of Yeddo, especially at night, and who took the opportunity, pluming themselves on the murder of a foreigner, of committing the crime, as anybody might have foreseen they would, for the mere pleasure of the thing and without other motive. But there were some of the members there present who were profoundly convinced of the contrary, and who saw in it such a clear connection with the inauguration of this most recent course of terrorism and intimidation, that they could arrive at no other conclusion.

Having thus passed in review all the leading features of foreign intercourse since the opening of the ports, the British Envoy begged their patience yet a few moments, while he traced in succession the results at which he had arrived by the process of inferential reasoning, and the putting together of scattered facts bearing on their position. He thought it might be demonstrated that there was no one of these facts that did not find its place and natural explanation in perfect harmony with the conclusions he had drawn.

The first of the results on which he deemed it important the attention of his colleagues should be fixed, tended to define the constituent elements of the Government of the country, limiting it in its largest acceptation to the whole body of the Daimios and privileged classes, privileged by birth, or office and position, and further subject to eliminations and selections imperfectly known, save that of the whole 600 and odd Daimios, 62 were men of great comparative weight and influence; that of these again, some 18 formed a Great Council of State apparently exercising the highest powers; within which again the Gorogio of five, were constituted as their nominees, resembling in some degree a Ministry in Europe, in their functions.

The second result served to establish several positions. First, that this larger governing body, as it might be termed, from whence were drawn the material constituents of any Government, were divided into two parties on the question of foreign relations especially, if not on others. Secondly, that the one hostile to any such departure from the ancient policy defeated the party which concluded the first Treaty, and have ever since remained in power. And,

thirdly, that it was with this party, avowedly hostile to the whole policy of Treaty relations, with whom the foreign Representatives had been called upon to treat, in seeing the Treaties carried into execution.

The next order of facts led to the further conclusion that, while these two parties still continued to struggle, the one it was alleged to the peril of foreigners, in the endeavour to embroil the existing Government with foreign Powers (and the manner and time of many of the murders went far to bear this out), there were, even among the ascendant party, whose nominees and representatives the Gorogio and Ministers, forming the ostensible Government, must be regarded, men of strong views and violent opinions, who advocated a more decided retrograde policy, and the adoption of measures which, at whatever cost, should relieve the country at once of a source of internal danger and revolution, by removing the foreigners altogether. That this should be done by intimidation, if that might suffice, by decimation or general massacre if the first failed, and then by closing all the ports, on the plea that public opinion would not tolerate either foreign trade or intrusion. And, lastly, that there were some among these (they might be many or few) who, with or without the consent of those who actually held the Executive power, had for some time been carrying out their extreme views, by creating the dangers with which the whole foreign community were then menaced. That this was more or less clearly known to the governing members and others, who saw with anxiety and regret such violent and hazardous proceedings, but felt powerless, either from timidity or the conscious futility of measuring their strength against antagonists who were too strong to cope with, and be successful. With as little regard for foreigners as their colleagues, it might be (there was little evidence on this head) they would prefer a more temporizing policy, and milder, though not less effective, methods of rendering null all the Treaties, null to any practical purpose, biding their time to sweep them away altogether, if ever safe occasion should arise. What else could be expected from men so avowedly hostile to the policy, and who came into power on that cry?

Let it then be examined and seen whether all the known facts of the past eighteen months' intercourse did not fully support that view, and receive from it a clear and satisfactory explanation; facts which otherwise lay scattered and unintelligible?

The British Envoy stated that such were his views of the policy of those who now governed Japan, and the actual position of foreigners in respect to them. He was profoundly convinced that measures were being taken which had for their object the removal of foreigners out of the Empire, either by intimidation or by murder. That how far those who more ostensibly held the reins of government were parties to this atrocious system, or only reluctant witnesses, conclusive facts were wanting to show; but that they were cognisant of some one or more of their body who had means at command, even if they did not know who the individuals were, actually engaged in carrying out this vendetta against foreigners, it was impossible for him to doubt. And with this conviction it was equally impossible he could reconcile it to his duty to stand by with folded arms and wait until so foul a conspiracy should be carried on still further to its termination; and equally impossible, therefore, to waste further time, which might cost valuable lives, in addressing mere remonstrances to the Ministers, who, as he firmly believed upon a large experience, would give him only the stereotyped assurances, which would end in nothing. He believed the Ministers had not, in truth, the power, if they had ten times the will or courage he was disposed to attribute to them, to take effective and summary steps. He believed it was only by the Representatives of all the Treaty Powers showing a resolute determination, then and there, to stop this course of terrorism and decimation; and that by some action so decided and significant that it would not only thoroughly rouse the Ministers to a sense of their danger (which he thought of minor importance), but all their colleagues, great and small, throughout the Daimio class, and possibly reach with effect those very Daimios who he believed held in hire the assassins who killed Mr. Heusken, who possibly had been the instigators of many more such atrocities, and who assuredly would not stop if by some means or other they were not alarmed for their own safety, or pressure was brought upon them; and this might come through the alarm of other less adventurous and violent spirits, who, collectively, might find both strength and courage to control—united by a common danger—even those of

their own body who were hurrying the country into conflict with all the chief Powers of Europe, in danger of being outraged by odious breach of national faith and the deliberate murder and assassination of their subjects.

The British Minister concluded by saying that to effect this he believed it essential for the foreign Representatives to withdraw at once from Yeddo, take up a position at Yokohama, where they would be protected by the foreign ships, and provide for the security of their countrymen and themselves. There, free from menace and in the independent position which alone befitted their diplomatic character, they could call upon the Government to reconsider their policy, give them such satisfaction as might be required for past disregard of Treaty obligations, and guarantees for the future, especially as to security of life and person, in which they had hitherto so completely failed. He then read the draft of a letter to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, which he had it in contemplation to send—in his own individual capacity, if necessary, as the British Envoy—still further explaining the course he believed the best calculated so to produce the desired effect: not to provoke a rupture but to avert the interruption of friendly relations, and calamities which, he firmly believed, must follow a longer persistence in a course of mere remonstrance. They had to meet by diplomatic resources a system where the assassin was called in to aid the Minister, and influence was sought to be obtained by terrorism and intimidation, perpetually addressed to them as foreign Ministers, and to every foreigner residing within the Empire on the faith of Treaties.

The Chargé d'Affaires of France stated his general concurrence with what had fallen from the British Envoy, and observed that in all essential points there was a perfect accordance in their views, both as to the policy which had been pursued by the Japanese Government and the present situation. This could not be better shown than by the communication of the paper he held in his hand, being a note prepared for the Conference, and giving, in some detail, the considerations which he deemed it most important at the present conjuncture to be borne in mind. The note was then read and left to be appended to the Minute of Conference, and will accordingly be found attached hereto, together with a supplementary note produced at the second Conference.

M. de Bellecourt further insisted upon some of the leading points in subsequent remarks, after hearing the observations of his other colleagues. He particularly dwelt upon his conviction that if the foreign Representatives hesitated at that time, and were induced by any considerations to forego the expressed intention of all the Diplomatic Agents, except the Minister of the United States, it was impossible that their position should not be still further deteriorated, and the foreign Ministers lowered in the eyes of the Japanese. He regretted that Mr. Harris should determine to isolate himself. He did not believe, any more than his colleagues, in a general danger of massacre, but in a Machiavellic combination for purposes of general intimidation, supported by partial danger, in aid of a policy wholly contrary to the spirit of the Treaties which had been entered into with Japan. In this view he could only consider that to allow the Japanese to impose a law of restrictions and intimidations was to encourage them in a crime of "lèse nation" and signal bad faith. He did not conceive that a foreign Representative was justified in submitting to this régime of terrorism and menace for the sterile honour of dying at his post. For himself he had only one fear, which he was ready to confess, and that was seeing the flag that had been confided to his hands dishonoured, if he continued to accept proofs of bad faith, and to subject himself to treatment designed to humiliate and degrade; and to this he now found himself exposed in his daily relations with the Japanese Government. He could only, therefore, persevere in his determination not to quit Yeddo permanently, but temporarily to withdraw, in order to bring the Japanese Government to some terms for improving a position he felt to be no longer tenable, and leave them the plain alternative either to do this, or accept the risk of such measures as his Government, alone or in concert with others, might at a later period deem it needful to adopt for the maintenance of Treaty rights in view of the equivocal position they would, in that case, have deliberately chosen to take up.

M. de Bellecourt concluded by observing, that although he believed Mr. Harris's isolation from his colleagues would have the effect of confirming the Japanese in their present evil course, and otherwise weaken the united action of himself and colleagues, yet he saw nothing in that act which compro-

mised the principle on which they were prepared to act, or otherwise justified any change; on the contrary, he saw reason to conclude that Mr. Harris might find his best chance of safety in the determined course of his colleagues, to which he stood opposed. As regarded the propositions which terminated his note, he was quite prepared to modify them in any way that might seem advisable in Conference, with those of his colleagues who were agreed upon the general principle which should guide their course of action.

The Consul-General of the Netherlands observed that he had listened attentively while the Minister of Great Britain had reviewed the present political state of Japan, expressing his conviction that, under existing circumstances, the Diplomatic Agents were no longer justified in residing at Yeddo.

The danger attendant on a residence in Yeddo, as explained to the United States' Minister when in making his Treaty he stipulated for the right, the insults and indignities offered to the first-comers in the public streets in Yeddo, the succession of murders since perpetrated, and especially the fact of the perpetrators remaining unpunished, all this had produced upon him the conviction that there existed a strong hostile party against foreigners in Japan, which the Government lacked force or energy to repress. After the occurrence of these events had led him to this conclusion, he was informed officially, by order of the Government, that it was dangerous for the Diplomatic Agents to remain in their residences in Yeddo, and that it was advisable for them to take refuge inside the limits of the Imperial castle. Twelve days after this warning, the Secretary of the Minister of the United States was murdered by an armed band in one of the streets of Yeddo; and three days after this another official warning was given that the Diplomatic Agents would endanger their lives if they carried out their intention of attending the funeral of the victim.

Subsequently, he had seen at the funeral, which was attended by all the Representatives of the foreign Powers at Yeddo, no precautionary measures whatever had been taken by the Japanese Government along the road to avert the danger, the real existence of which was pointed out by its own Ministers. These facts led him irresistibly to the conclusion that the Government had no power to prevent the murder of the Secretary of one of the Legations at Yeddo, and had taken no measures to insure even the lives of the Ministers. Either they had not the will or the power to take satisfactory measures for that purpose, unless their condition were complied with, that all should take refuge within the limits of the Imperial castle.

He, as Consul-General of the Netherlands, could not accept that condition, because he deemed it inconsistent with the dignity of his Government, which had not entrusted the protection of its Representative to the Japanese Government in such a manner.

He would not accept it, moreover, because no decided intimation was given from whom the danger was to be feared, and no information that any proceedings had been instituted which could lead to the apprehension and punishment of the criminals. And, lastly, because neither such communication nor such result was to be expected, as the latter was still wanting in all the former successful attempts on life. It would be impossible to know, therefore, at what distant period he might venture out of his place of security, and deem himself safe.

For these several reasons, he concluded by observing that he should not consider himself justified in remaining in his present residence, knowing that there he could not rely upon the protection of the Japanese Government in difficulties, if the danger were to be realised which, by the admission of the Japanese Government, threatened him.

As long as this state of affairs should last, therefore, he should feel bound to withdraw from Yeddo, and bring the circumstances to the knowledge of his Government, with whom a final decision would rest.

The Minister of the United States regretted that he was unable to concur in the view entertained by his colleagues, from whom, indeed, he differed on many essential points. He was the oldest foreign resident in Japan; he had enjoyed long and intimate relations with the Japanese authorities and Government, and he still retained his faith in their goodwill and desire to carry out honestly the Treaties they had entered into. But they had many difficulties to contend with, and the foreign Representatives could not desire them to do impossibilities. They had shown no backwardness in taking measures of precaution for the protection of all; but it was out of their power to prevent

such murders as that of Mr. Heusken, who had exposed himself by going out at night, contrary to the repeated counsels and remonstrances received both from the Government and himself. He, for his part, felt perfectly safe, so long as he complied with the conditions which circumstances imposed, and could not agree in the policy of leaving Yeddo. On the contrary, he thought such a step fraught with danger, that if they once left it they would never return, and that an attempt to occupy any portion of Yokohama with foreign troops would create such an alarm and outburst of national feeling that conflict and war would be inevitable. He recommended that they should unite in urging upon the Government more vigorous measures, and trust to their good faith to give effect to these.

M. le Comte d'Eulenburg observed that the opinions of the Representatives of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands, on the one side, and the Minister of the United States of America, on the other, were divided. The first three regarded the danger menacing the members of the Legations as imminent. Taking their departure from this point of view, they considered that in the interests of the Governments they represented, they were not permitted to incur this danger, because the assassination of a Minister or any member of the several Legations might oblige their respective Governments to demand a serious satisfaction, which could not fail to create the most grave complications with the Japanese Government. In order, therefore, to spare, if possible, their Governments such embarrassment, but also to prove to the Japanese Government at the same time that the actual situation was untenable, they proposed to withdraw temporarily to Yokohama, and to address them a note in which the motives for this proceeding should be fully explained, and in which the Ministers would insist upon the Government adopting immediate and efficacious measures to change such a state of things.

On the other hand, the Minister of the United States did not concur in these views. Notwithstanding that he did not deny Mr. Heusken had been assassinated for a political object, he was of opinion that if the deceased had followed the advice that had been given him very frequently, both by the Government and by Mr Harris himself, not to go out at night, he need not have met his death in the way he did. The Minister of the United States declared that he did not believe in any danger to the members of the Legations, provided they conformed to the measures and precautions commanded by the circumstances; and he believed it his duty, therefore, to remain in Yeddo, and from that resolution nothing would turn him. Mr. Harris had further stated that he greatly feared if the foreign Ministers once withdrew from Yeddo, they would never return, and foresaw that the disembarkation of any troops for the protection of the Legations at Yokohama would lead the Japanese to believe that there was a design for the occupation of Japanese territory, and it would create such an outbreak of national feeling as to render a conflict, if not war, inevitable. Mr. Harris gave it as his final opinion, that all the Representatives should remain in Yeddo, and confine themselves to energetic representations on the actual situation, which he himself considered anything but satisfactory.

The Minister of Prussia, after this résumé of the respective opinions of the Members of the Conference, expressed a hope that they would perceive his position was altogether exceptional. He had just concluded the negotiation of a Treaty with Japan, which he hoped would within a very few days be signed. For him to retire either to Yokohama or on board one of his ships, would be to defer the signature of the Treaty indefinitely, and to compromise the success of his mission, which had already encountered so many difficulties. To which also must be added, that he had at his house a guard of Marines sufficient to protect him from attack. Upon these grounds he was determined to remain in Yeddo until he had obtained the signature of the Treaty. But he had no hesitation in declaring that if he were in the place of the Ministers of England, France, and Holland, he would act as they proposed to act, that is, he would temporarily withdraw from Yeddo. Only as regarded the note to be addressed to the Japanese Government explaining the motives for such a step, he would be careful to express himself with great calmness. Persuaded as he was that the Japanese Government had no part in the assassinations during the last two years, but that it was too weak to take any effective steps against those who might be the real culpables, he believed that what was above all things needful, was to rouse the Government from its torpor. The time to declare war upon them

was not yet arrived, but the time had come for representing to them in terms at once calm and energetic, the danger they ran if they did not rouse themselves to a vigorous effort, and prove by conclusive acts that they had both the power and the firm determination to make respected in Japan the first principles of the rights of nations. If three foreign Representatives withdrew temporarily and simultaneously, that would better serve than any other action to impress upon the Japanese Government the necessity for reflection, without in any way provoking a rupture. The disembarkation of a guard sufficient for the protection of the foreign Ministers at Yokohama could not give any umbrage either to the Government or the people, for he himself as the Minister of Prussia had latterly caused a guard of thirty men to be disembarked for his protection without any objection being taken. The resolution which the Minister of the United States of America had announced, of remaining at Yeddo, need not be conceived to weaken the action of his colleagues. Mr. Harris had somewhat of an exceptional position also in his relations with the Japanese Government. He was the oldest resident among the foreign Ministers, and had negotiated the first Treaty. The Japanese Government would assuredly make every effort to protect him, and so much the more if his colleagues withdrew. The Minister of Prussia then summed up, by observing that he thought the divergence of opinion as to the measures to be adopted did not constitute a dissension between the Ministers then present at the Conference, but rather that the steps which both the one and the other conceived necessary could very well be carried out, without either being compromised by antagonism, provided on each side they were fully penetrated with the sentiment that each and all were acting in the sole view of bringing about such a change as would render the position tenable, and not to provoke a rupture.

The Minister of Prussia finally declared his intention to address to the Japanese Government a note, in which he should state his perfect accord with the Ministers of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands; at the same time that he justified a different course of action by his exceptional position.

The Conference having been adjourned to the 21st of January, the same Ministers and Representatives of foreign Powers being present as on the previous occasion, with the exception of Mr. Harris, the Minister of the United States, M. de Bellecourt read an additional note on the political situation, which he desired to add to that he had already left to be annexed to the *compte-rendu* of the Conferences.

The British Minister read to his colleagues the revised note prepared in the interval (already inserted), giving a general *aperçu* of the position they had been called upon to consider, with fuller details as to the course of events, and the inferences that he had brought under their notice, in the general outline given at the first Conference.

And after a further interchange of opinions on many of the subjects discussed at length in the *aperçu* above referred to, it was agreed that a summary of the proceedings and opinions should be prepared for the signature of the several Representatives, as an authentic document, which each might forward to their respective Governments, as embodying not only their opinions on the spot, but all the information bearing upon the actual situation which it was possible to obtain.

The British Envoy, after hearing the opinions of his colleagues, begged to offer one or two concluding remarks; and first, as regarded the exposition of the Count d'Eulenburg's views of the actual situation, as well as the course of action to be followed. He could not but feel it a subject of congratulation that these so entirely coincided with his own in every point, because the Prussian Minister, while he had been quite long enough in the country to form a correct judgment upon Japanese affairs and the position of foreigners, had the great advantage of arriving fresh from Europe, and free from the disadvantage that besets all old residents in Eastern countries, of constantly revolving the same ideas and the same impressions, until they became fixed, and could not be got out of an accustomed rut. With a fresh mind, large European experience, and a judgment warped by no foregone conclusions, a temporary resident also, and, in a certain sense, an impartial observer, without personal interests, he, of all present, perhaps, was in the best position to arrive at a right conclusion. For this reason especially it was gratifying to him, and he thought it would be to his colleagues the Representatives of France and the Netherlands, that the judgment formed by

the Minister of Prussia so entirely accorded with those which they had each and all expressed.

There was, in fact, no difference whatever in any essential particular in these several expressions of opinion; for if the Count d'Eulenburg seemed to lay more stress upon the importance (while carrying out the resolution of withdrawing from Yeddo) of carefully avoiding, in the note to be addressed to the Government explaining the motives for such a step, anything calculated to give the impression of a desire to provoke a rupture, and, on the contrary, of clearly conveying to them the truth, that it was to prevent such a calamity, if possible, and save them from so great a danger, that they temporarily withdrew from the capital to give them time to amend what was amiss, and cause the law to be respected, in their own interest, not less than that of foreign Powers,—he had merely more fully developed the prevailing sentiment of all. The Prussian Minister might feel perfectly assured that he, and he thought he could as certainly answer for his two colleagues, had solely in view, in any steps they were now prepared to take to bring about "such change as would render the position tenable," and avert the calamity of a rupture, to which things were otherwise tending with an increasing impetus.

As regarded the Prussian Envoy's view of the effect and tendency of the isolation of the American Minister in this otherwise unanimous movement, there might, indeed, be some difference of opinion; but this was comparatively unimportant.

The British Minister still thought that this separation of the Representative of the United States from his colleagues in so grave and important a crisis was a misfortune, and would tend, to a certain extent, to compromise their action, as it would undoubtedly be construed by the Japanese Government into an antagonism, from which they were likely to draw encouragement to resist the pressure about to be brought upon them; and so far as it had this effect, it would be an injury to all; to the country Mr. Harris represented, no less than to Japan. But in regard to their colleague's safety in remaining, the Japanese Government would naturally look to him as an ally, and take every possible care of so valuable an accession of force.

He must repeat, then, what he had already stated in part, that he had no anxiety for Mr. Harris' personal safety, which would be secured by their withdrawal and attitude, giving to the Government many additional motives to take care no harm befell him.

The danger would be in all remaining, and the absence of such a check upon this course of assassination and intimidation which, if allowed to continue, could only end, according to all appearance, and he would add probability, in the murder of one or all of those now in Yeddo; the signal, in all likelihood, of a still larger loss of life and destruction of property elsewhere among their countrymen. He felt it was his duty, as the British Minister, to avert this at all risks and all costs, and if he believed that could be better done, or done at all, by remaining in Yeddo, most assuredly he would not leave it. But believing, and being profoundly convinced that this course would leave the sinister influences which had been so long, so manifestly, and deplorably in action without check or hindrance, to consummate their work of decimation and murder, no fear of being supposed capable of flying from a post of danger for his own personal security should deter him from carrying out the only policy which seemed to him calculated to prevent great national calamities.

The Minister of the United States had other convictions, and undoubtedly was bound in like manner to act upon them. And as, to their common regret, Mr. Harris had not been present at this last Conference, he should propose that the note now to be prepared, should be forwarded to him for his approval and signature in common with all the Ministers, and that he should be invited, if he deemed it desirable, to furnish a note, giving more fully his own opinions and views, in order that the same might be attached, and form a part of the record of their proceedings on this occasion.

The Minister of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands, then having agreed to prepare each an official communication to be made to the Japanese Government, to be delivered only when they had effected their withdrawal from Yeddo, and sent in simultaneously, the Conference broke up.

We, the Undersigned Ministers and Representatives of foreign Powers now resident in Yeddo, having perused the note, with supplementary documents

hereto attached, accept it as a true and satisfactory *compte-rendu* of the opinions exchanged at the two Conferences held at the British Legation on the 19th and 21st of January, 1861.

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, *Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan.*
COMTE D'EULENBURG, *Ministre de Prusse.*

Approuvé le présent *compte-rendu* des deux Conférences tenues à la Légation de Sa Majesté Britannique les 19 et 21 Janvier, 1861.

(Signé) DU CHESNE DE BELLECOURT, *Chargé d'Affaires de France.*
J. K. DE WIT, *Consul-Général des Pays Bas.*

Annex 1.

Note submitted by M. de Bellecourt at the Conference held January 19, 1861.

Yédo, le 18 *Janvier*, 1861.

DANS les premiers jours de ce mois, le Ministère Japonais a fait part aux Représentants étrangers accrédités à Yédo, des dangers qui les menacent eux et leurs nationaux, tant dans la capitale qu'à Kanagawa; il les a même engagés à venir habiter dans l'enceinte du Palais et à faire retirer les Consuls de Kanagawa à Yokohama ou à bord des batiments de guerre de leurs nations respectives ou des vapeurs Japonais.

Les délégués du Gouvernement Japonais, interrogés sur les causes et l'étendue du danger, ont évité de se prononcer catégoriquement; ils se sont contenté de dire qu'une grande quantité d'officiers déclassés (vulgairement appelés "Lônines") parcouraient Yédo et les environs, avec l'intention de mettre à mort les étrangers, d'attaquer les Légations et les Consulats, et de brûler les établissements formés par les Occidentaux à Yokohama.

Ils ont ajouté que leur Gouvernement se préoccupant vivement de cette situation avait fait appel à plusieurs Daïmios sur lesquels il croit pouvoir compter, et que ces Princes s'étaient chargés du soin de défendre, les uns les Légations étrangères, les autres les établissements de Yokohama.

On a remarqué avec étonnement que parmi les noms de ces Daïmios ne figure celui d'aucun des Princes puissants qui semblent avoir une grande part d'influence dans les affaires du pays, tels que les Princes de Kanga, Satsuma, Mito, Owari, Xendaï, &c., &c., qui sont cependant représentés à Yédo par de nombreuses cohortes d'officiers.

On a remarqué aussi que les forces militaires particulières du Taïcoun n'ont point été dénommées, ce qui donne à supposer que le Gouvernement de ce Prince ne disposerait d'aucune force militaire spéciale, à l'aide de laquelle il pourrait assurer la protection des étrangers au Japon.

Les Représentants étrangers ont néanmoins persévéré à rester à leur poste, ainsi que les Consuls que le Gouvernement Japonais avait fait prier de se retirer à Yokohama.

Le Gouvernement Japonais n'a donc pas encore réussi dans les tentatives d'intimidation qu'il a fait donner aux étrangers, par tant d'avertissements sinistres, et tant de fois, depuis les mois d'Août et Septembre, en vue, sans doute, de faire renoncer les Puissances Occidentales, soit à certains bénéfices des Traités conclus, soit à la conclusion de nouvelles Conventions.

D'autre part, la mollesse du Gouvernement Japonais à assurer la sécurité des étrangers autrement que par des semblants de mesures, le peu d'énergie des défenseurs auxquels il prétend avoir confié l'existence des Représentants des Puissances Occidentales, avaient été déjà manifestes, à la fin du mois d'Octobre dernier, lors de l'assassinat du gardien de pavillon de la Légation de France, qui n'a dû qu'à son sangfroid et au secours de l'arme-à-feu dont il était porteur, d'échapper à une mort certaine et de ne recevoir qu'une blessure heureusement peu grave. Dans cette circonstance, le Gouvernement Japonais n'a pas craint de témoigner plus d'empressement à embarrasser l'action de la justice, qu'à lui donner tout concours et lumières. Une correspondance écrite sur ce triste procès, met complétement à jour la timidité du Gouvernement Japonais, pour ne pas dire sa connivence, forcée ou non, avec les auteurs de ce crime. En effet le nom

du Prince auquel appartient l'assassin du Sieur Natal a été dans toutes les bouches parmi le peuple de la capitale, et des preuves suffisantes, dans tout autre pays, démontreraient que l'opinion publique ne s'est pas trompée, si le Gouvernement n'avait pris soin d'étouffer sa voix par les moyens machiavéliques qui lui sont familières et qui nous ont été dévoilés.

Il fallait qu'un nouveau crime vint donner une captieuse raison d'être à ce système d'intimidation mis en avant par un Gouvernement pusillanime, sans force par lui-même, et dominé évidemment par une faction hostile à toute fusion avec les étrangers.

Ce n'est plus un officier subalterne des Légations qui vient d'être immolé hier par ce fanatisme, que bien des Princes Japonais réprouvent sans aucun doute dans leur foi intérieur, sans oser témoigner des sentiments que la saine raison inspire toujours à quelques hommes, même dans les sociétés à l'état le plus complet de barbarie ! C'est un Secrétaire de Légation aimé des indigènes comme de tous les siens, qui vient de tomber victime de ce brutal aveuglement de quelques retardataires orgueilleux qui regrettent que le Japon soit sorti de l'état d'isolément dont l'énergie plus encore que les représentations des Puissances Occidentales l'ont fait sortir en 1854 et 1858.

Cette politique aveugle ne doit pas être celle de la majorité des Daimios Japonais ! Le Gouvernement en a fait l'aveu récemment en déclarant que la moïtié d'entre eux est favorable aux étrangers. Un haut fonctionnaire Japonais, intelligent et éclairé, vient de mourir il y a quelques jours, d'une mort toute mystérieuse. A coup sûr, cet esprit élevé avait probablement compris quelle devait être la véritable politique du Japon, bien qu'il servit la cause même des influences actuellement régnantes. Qui sait même s'il ne s'en expliquait pas avec trop de franchise dans les conseils de son Gouvernement ?

La victime qu'on vient d'égorger sans défense ces jours derniers, était-elle d'avance désignée au fer de spadassins politiques, ou bien n'est-elle tombée toute pleine de verdeur et de jeunesse que sous les coups nocturnes de quelques furieux avinés comme il s'en rencontre malheureusement parfois sur le chemin des casernes de Daimios Japonais ?

Pour ma part, je ne puis croire à cette dernière hypothèse ! Toutes les circonstances de ce meurtre exécrable prouvent à l'évidence qu'il y a eu préméditation et guet-à-pens froidement combinés et exécutés en pleine conscience !

Quels sont les coupables ? Qui l'avouera jamais ? Qui rendra jamais compte de ce sang innocent, comme de celui qui a été versé si souvent depuis dix-huit mois, tant que durera l'état actuel des relations équivoques du Gouvernement Japonais avec les étrangers ?

Les auteurs du dernier crime, que nous déplorons, étaient nombreux, préparés et déterminés, et plus encore, la voix populaire affirme qu'il ne s'en trouvait pas seulement sur la place où le meurtre a été commis, mais qu'un autre chemin conduisant également à la demeure de la victime était occupé aussi par des malfaiteurs armés ! Qu'il en fut ainsi ou non, on attendait évidemment dans une rue étroite et sombre le Secrétaire de la Légation Américaine, l'interprête intelligent des Traités conclus avec les Puissances Occidentales !

Quelle a été l'attitude de ceux qui représentent le Gouvernement Japonais dans cette circonstance ? Au moment du crime, un seul officier d'escorte a-t-il degainé son arme pour défendre le malheureux étranger qui lui était confié ?

Ils l'ont laissé lâchement mourir seul ! ou du moins ils l'ont abandonné le laissant seul sous le prétexte d'aller chercher du secours !

Ces gens ont eu peur. Le Gouvernement Japonais tel qu'il est actuellement organisé a peur lui aussi. Si on ne peut en vouloir à des cœurs timides lorsqu'il s'agit de leurs personnes, il ne peut en être ainsi envers ceux qui ont accepté un mandat public, car tout mandataire doit compte de sa gestion ; or en fait de sécurité diplomatique, le Gouvernement Japonais est le mandataire des Gouvernements étrangers qui lui confient en dépôt leurs pavillons, leurs Représentants, et leurs nationaux.

Mais le Gouvernement Japonais fait plus que d'avoir peur ! il cherche à faire peur ! En ce cas du moins il est coupable !

Convient-il à des Gouvernements tels que les nôtres de se laisser traiter en timorés par ceux-là qui tremblant aujourd'hui devant quelques-uns de leurs Princes, trembleront aussi devant nous, si nous leur demandons de quel droit ils prétendent diriger nos impressions, modifier à leur gré leurs obligations envers nos Gouvernements, et nous laisser égorger impunément un à un.

L'essai d'intimidation qui a été tenté sur la tombe du Secrétaire de Légation Heusken, est une nouvelle injure dont le Gouvernement Japonais nous doit compte.

Au lieu de faciliter à la douloureuse cérémonie que nous accomplissons, son caractère de calme, de regrets et de dignité, il l'a troublée par ses ridicules communications. Ce dernier essai d'une politique inacceptable rend une leçon sévère indispensable ; car il constitue une insulte sérieuse aux pavillons réunis, autour de la tombe de la victime.

En conséquence je formulerai la proposition suivante sauf autre avis résultant de la Conférence:—

Le Gouvernement Japonais s'étant déclaré lui-même incapable d'assurer la sécurité des Légations étrangères à Yédo, autrement qu'en les confinant dans l'intérieur du Palais, les Représentants étrangers ne peuvent accepter cette proposition, qui aurait pour résultat de les priver de toute communication avec les nationaux qu'ils ont à protéger.

Les Légations étrangères accepteront temporairement la résidence à Yokohama, où elles transféreront leurs pavillons jusqu'à ce que la réinstallation de ces pavillons puisse avoir lieu à Yédo de la manière jugée convenable, et sous les conditions qui seront posées ultérieurement au Gouvernement Japonais.

Yokohama devenant la résidence temporairement des Représentants étrangers, sera déclaré point commun ou neutre et défendu par des forces mi-partie Japonaise mi-partie Européenne. La ligne de défense par terre s'étendra du pont du Tokaido, qui gagne la route de Yokohama jusqu'à "Treaty-point" et aux collines environnantes.

Le Commandant des forces navales Européennes assurera la ligne de défense sur mer, et prendra toutes mesures jugées nécessaires à l'égard des bâtiments de guerre Japonais.

Les rapports avec le Gouvernement Japonais et les relations commerciales ne seront point interrompues; le Gouverneur pourra résider à Yokohama, mais ses officiers seuls porteront les deux sabres et des marques distinctives apparentes.

Leur nombre sera réduit au strict nécessaire.

Nul homme armé ne pourra franchir la ligne de défense. Tous les armes saisies seront mises sous scellés.

La garde Japonaise portera un costume spécial.

A la première alerte tous les négociants occidentaux seront embarqués.

Une indemnité proportionnée aux pertes matérielles qu'ils éprouveraient comme aux bénéfices auxquels ils devaient s'attendre leur sera assurée en ce cas.

Le Gouvernement Japonais sera responsable de toute incendie dans les maisons des étrangers, tant à Yédo qu'à Kanagawa, Yokohama, et autres ports.

Le dollar devra être reçu partout à 3 itzebous.

Les droits de douane seront garantis au Gouvernement Japonais, mais une Commission Européenne en dirigera les opérations.

(Signé) DU CHESNE DE BELLECOURT,
Chargé d'Affaires de France.

Annex 2.

Note submitted by M. de Bellecourt at the Conference held January 21, 1861.

Yédo, le 20 *Janvier*, 1861.

LES dangers qui, d'après l'aveu même du Gouvernement Japonais, menacent les étrangers dans la capitale, ne sont peut-être pas aussi généraux ou permanents qu'on pourrait le supposer par l'exemple frappant des deux assassinats qui ont atteint nos Légations à si peu de distance l'un de l'autre ; on ne saurait dire, il est vrai, avec raison, que tout étranger doit s'attendre inévitablement à une attaque, lorsqu'il franchit le seuil de sa demeure.

Toutefois l'attitude actuelle et les démarches du Gouvernement Japonais ne tendent-elles pas à nous persuader, même malgré nous, de la permanence de certains dangers ? Ce Gouvernement nous en avertit lui-même par l'organe de

délégués spéciaux; il nous entoure de renforts considérables, de gardiens, de canons, de cavaliérs ; il invite nos Consuls à se retirer sur les bâtiments de guerre de leur nation ou sur les siens propres. D'autre part, malgré tout ce luxe apparent de précautions, nos protecteurs officiels sont notoirement incapables d'assurer notre sécurité lorsqu'elle est compromise. Ainsi la mollesse de nos défenseurs constitue un danger,

N'est-ce pas avec un profond sentiment de notre responsabilité que nous nous resoudrons désormais à laisser sortir, de nos demeurs diplomatiques, nos employés ou nos courriers Européens, même sous l'escorte des yakounines Japonais ?

Il y a donc danger pour notre liberté d'action, et si ces deux meurtres récents, sans parler des autres démonstrations hostiles dont quelques uns d'entre nous ont été plusieurs fois l'objet dans les rues de Yédo, ne prouvaient qu'il y a réellement parfois insécurité pour les existences, le peu de confiance que nous avons en l'efficacité de la protection officielle que nous doit le Gouvernement Japonais, serait un danger moral permanent, qui joint au système d'intimidation mis en avant par les autorités indigènes, aurait pour conséquence inévitable l'affaiblissement de l'action diplomatique, tant dans la forme qu'au fond même, si l'état des choses n'était modifié.

Sans doute, il n'y a pas à redouter à Yédo un massacre général des étrangers, bien que le Gouvernement ait eu la coupable pensée de présenter ce fantôme à l'esprit des Représentants étrangers, dans la communication qu'il a faite à son Excellence le Ministre des Etats Unis au moment où le Corps Diplomatique se disposait à rendre les derniers devoirs au Secrétaire de Légation, Hesuken, assassiné au milieu de ceux qui devaient le protéger !

Mais si un massacre général n'est pas à redouter, grâce au respect qu'inspirent encore les pavillons des Puissances Occidentales flottant à Yédo, des attaques partielles toujours impunies pourraient décimer un à un, et par intermittence de temps, ceux que nos Gouvernements confient à notre protection.

On n'oserait sans doute pas attaquer un Représentant étranger. Toutes précautions doivent être prises à cet égard par le Gouvernement dirigeant, tant est grande la responsabilité qu'il encourerait ; mais on croira peut-être pouvoir laisser atteindre impunément, comme jusqu'à ce jour, ceux qui ne sont pas des Ministres, dans la supposition que de telles atteintes ne font à nos Gouvernements que des blessures trop légères pour qu'ils les ressentent !

Il y a donc un double danger, et matériel et moral.

Le danger matériel est prouvé tant par les aveux du Gouvernement que par deux crimes successifs ! Que dire donc de l'attitude passive de ce Gouvernement et du défaut de précautions prises aux funérailles de M. Heusken, alors qu'on nous menaçait d'une attaque si nous persistions à accompagner la victime à sa dernière demeure ?

Devous-nous attendre un nouvel assassinat de ce genre, pour demander compte au Gouvernement Japonais des meurtres commis sous les pavillons de presque toutes les Puissances représentées à Yédo, meurtres toujours impunis comme le sera sans doute encore celui qui vient d'être commis sous le pavillon des Etats Unis.

Le danger moral réside dans le défaut de liberté que laisse à notre esprit ces continuelles perturbations qui nuisent à l'accomplissement de nos devoirs !

Le Gouvernement Japonais est en ce moment en crise. Il flotte entre deux courants contraires. Malheureusement il est impuissant à remonter celui qui représente la partie la plus ardente de la réaction contre les étrangers.

La faiblesse du Gouvernement Japonais est un danger ! Nous lui avons laissé le temps nécessaire pour se fortifier. Comment a-t-il employé ce temps ? Les relations commerciales témoignent autant que les relations politiques d'une stagnation décrétée, pour ainsi dire, par des manœuvres occultes. Cette situation ne peut être modifiée que par d'énergiques représentations, par une démonstration de nature à faire impression sur les ennemis des Puissances Occidentales et à raviver la foi que met vraisemblablement en elles la partie éclairée, et peut-être plus nombreuse que nous ne supposons, de la nation Japonaise !

(Signé) DU CHESNE DE BELLECOURT,
Chargé d'Affaires de France.

Inclosure 2 in No. 7.

Mr. Alcock to Mr. Harris.

Sir, *Yeddo, January* 22, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a note, embodying a complete *compte-rendu* of the Conferences which took place on the 19th and 21st January, at Her Britannic Majesty's Legation, according to previous arrangement, between the Representatives of foreign Powers now here.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my regret, in common with that of all the other Representatives taking part in the last Conference, that we had not the advantage of your presence on that occasion.

This note having been approved and accepted by the Diplomatic Agents of the four Powers who were actually present, as a true and satisfactory account of the opinions and views expressed at the Conferences, it is proposed that it should be made an authentic document by the signature of the several Representatives attached to the Protocol, in the form of a declaration, which you will find annexed; and I am charged with the communication of the desire, also expressed in the closing paragraph of the aforesaid *compte-rendu*, that you will attach such further statement of your own views and opinions on the subjects discussed at the Conferences as may seem to you necessary or desirable.

I have only further to invite you to attach your signature to the inclosed note, with its annexes, after which it will be forwarded to each of the other members of the Conference in succession, for their signature in like manner, and certified copies can be made for communication to their respective Governments. As, however, it is needful that it should first be completed by the signatures, I beg that it may be returned as soon as it has been signed by yourself, that the same form may be accomplished by the rest; after which it will again be forwarded to you, for a copy to be made in your Chancellerie.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 3 in No. 7.

Mr. Alcock to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yeddo, January 26, 1861.

A LONG series of assassinations, both here and at Yokohama, in which foreigners have been the victims, preclude the possibility of the lately renewed menace of a general massacre being regarded as a mere idle demonstration of ill-will. The recent murder of Mr. Heusken, and the shameful conduct of the yaconins expressly appointed by the Japanese Government for his defence, alike prove the reality of the danger, and utter inadequacy of the means of protection.

When to these circumstances must be added the grave fact, that of all the numerous cases of assassination and murderous assaults committed on foreigners during the last eighteen months, the offenders in no one instance have been seized, or justice done, it is evident to demonstration that no reliance can be placed on the measures hitherto taken by the Government to secure either the prevention of similar crimes in future, or the punishment of the guilty.

The past is over, and nothing the Japanese Government can now do will bring back the dead to life, or repair the wrong done. But it is otherwise in regard to the future, and this assured immunity of crime is fatal to our security. It is equivalent to a Royal license to kill and slay, under which all who are capable of murder (and according to the Japanese authorities the number is large in this country) may attack and kill foreigners wherever they find them, without fear or hesitation, so perfectly are they assured of escape without damage from the law. This is in effect to outlaw every foreigner in the Empire, and to place the Representatives of Sovereign States, no less than the rest, at the mercy of whoever may find pleasure or advantage in killing them. Under such a régime, life is only held at the will and pleasure of every ruffian in the Empire.

This may well seem too monstrous and too opprobrious to be possible, in the least civilized of States. Yet I have only stated in plain terms the exact truth, susceptible of proof by facts which admit of no question; facts of monthly

and weekly occurrence in the actual state of affairs. I need not ask the Japanese Government if this is a position which they think fitting for the Diplomatic Agents of the Great Western Powers in Treaty with Japan. I will not do them the injury to assume for a moment that they can consider it possible for the Representatives to accept such a position. I feel sure, on the contrary, that not only your Excellencies, but the Government of the Tycoon, and I would fain hope the great body of the Daimios, and governing classes in the country, regard such acts of murder, and efforts to place the Ministers of foreign Powers under a régime of intimidation, with shame and indignation. But granting this, as I willingly do, whence then comes this perfect impunity to criminals guilty of these acts, this continued perseverance in the same odious and disgraceful policy? It is for the Government to answer, for they are responsible by the Law of Nations. In the eyes of all the world they are responsible for the maintenance of order, and that respect for the laws which protect life and property; if they fail in this, they cease to preserve the essential character of a Government, and lose their best title to the respect of foreign Powers, who can only treat with those who govern *de facto*, and not merely in name. This is, indeed, the very condition of their permanence as a Government, and they cannot forget it without imminent peril. The Government of Japan is menaced, therefore, in its own existence, in such a state of misrule; and, in their own interest, I must urge the actual situation upon their most serious attention.

It is, or should be, unnecessary for me to recapitulate here the leading facts which, during this eighteen months past—ever since, indeed, the ports were opened by Treaty—have, in continued sequence, tended to the same end, namely, to render the position of a foreign Representative intolerable and untenable, by continual menaces, restrictions to his free intercourse, and encroachments on his independence; by insults unrepressed and unpunished; and, finally, insecurity to life. And a like series of events has marked our relations at the ports, exposing the foreign residents to similar grievances, with a systematic disregard of all the rights and privileges solemnly guaranteed to them by Treaty: official interference with the free sale and purchase of produce; obstructions, restrictions, exactions; in a word, all the machinery that authorities and subordinate officials, with absolute power of control over Japanese subjects could devise, for their own profit and the injury of foreigners.

The assassination of Mr. Heusken, following close upon menaces of a general massacre, communicated to the foreign Ministers by orders of your Excellency, followed up again by an intimation from the same quarter on the morning of the funeral, when the Representatives of the Five Powers were all assembled to render the last honours to the murdered, that they themselves were in danger of being attacked on the way to the cemetery, if they ventured to proceed, were more than sufficient to remove the last trace of doubt or hesitation in my mind, and I think in the minds of most of my colleagues, as to the necessity of instant and decisive action on their part. But lest this should not have been enough, it would seem as if it had been determined to furnish one more conclusive evidence how little the Government could be relied upon for our defence and protection, by leaving the whole line of road, more than a mile in length, to the cemetery, open to attack. There were no guards on the ground, or extraordinary measures of caution and protection, I do not say to resist the attack it had sent warning was to be feared, but to prevent the possibility of the most desperate men daring to attempt it. Here were the lives of all the Foreign Ministers in Yeddo, together with the whole of their respective Legations, and the Consuls from Kanagawa, declared by the Government to be in immediate danger; they were all at one spot assembled, and yet it was not deemed worth while apparently to adopt a single measure for their defence and protection! This, indeed, was conclusive. That the Government should allow a member of one of the Legations to be murdered while the whole Corps Diplomatique was under menace of a similar fate, and yet consider it unnecessary, even in courtesy, to make any communication to Her Majesty's Minister at this Court, whose own safety, and that of the members of his Legation were in question, could no longer be subject of surprise. The two courses were perfectly consistent with each other.

Moved by these considerations, and perfectly convinced, by all the experience of the past, of the hopelessness of any further effort by mere remonstrance on the spot to effect the changes which it was too plain could not be deferred without risk of the gravest complications, and, it might be, national calamity, if unfor-

tunately further lives should be lost, I took immediate steps, after the funeral, to communicate with my colleagues and announce my resolution to avert, if possible, the dangers I foresaw in the continued supineness of the Government.

I determined, with this view, to withdraw temporarily from the Legation at Yeddo; and I now write to acquaint you that I have carried this resolution into effect, and I shall take up my residence, for the present, at Kanagawa or Yokohama, where I can not only command means of protection, if required, from Her Majesty's ships, but also take such steps as may be needful for the security of my countrymen. There I shall wait, with calmness, the result of further communication with the Government of the Tycoon, free, for the first time for eighteen months, if not from the menace of assassination, at least from any anxiety as to such threats being immediately carried into execution, to the peril and disgrace of Japan.

I trust your Excellencies and the Council of State, to whom I pray you to communicate this despatch, will see in this decisive step an earnest desire to avoid to the utmost, and as long as possible, a cause of rupture, or more serious complication, but also a firm resolution to insist upon such total change in the policy hitherto pursued towards British subjects, in common with all other foreigners, as shall give that security to life and property, and full enjoyment of Treaty rights, which they are entitled to demand. My long-continued personal relations with one of your Excellencies, and their uniformly friendly character, lead me to hope that, sharing in the regret I feel for these untoward impediments to a good understanding, you will see the necessity for similar decided action with your colleagues in the Government that this standing reproach may be removed. The faction of violent and unscrupulous advocates for a system of terrorism and assassination whom I must suppose to be the real authors of such troubles, must be controll[e]d, whatever may be the rank or number of those concerned, or nothing but grievous consequences, from which Japan will be the first and greatest sufferer, can follow, in spite of the sacrifices and efforts I am now making to prevent such a catastrophe. The Government, in a word, must show that it has both the will and the ability to impose respect on all the disaffected or violent spirits who would seek, for their own ends, to disturb the good relations hitherto existing between the Treaty Powers and Japan, and which, on the part of Great Britain, the Government of Her Majesty is most anxious to maintain, for the mutual advantage of both countries. They must no longer be permitted to take life with assured impunity, and follow out a system of intimidation, in the vain hope of driving foreigners out of the country by murder and terrorism. Europe, united, would resist the attempt, render its success impossible, and punish the authors of such an outrage on the laws and rights of nations. Could they even temporarily effect their object, and murder every foreigner, Japan would be the most grievous sufferer. Were such a flagitious policy ever to be carried out, the whole country would fall under the ban of civilized nations, and be dealt with as a common enemy. I trust, for the interests of humanity, such deplorable contingencies may be rendered impossible, and that both the Government and people of Japan will be convinced that their best policy is, faithfully to fulfil their engagements, and to maintain friendly relations with a Power which has at its disposal ample means for obtaining, in case of need, full redress for injuries done to its subjects.

I have only, in conclusion, to urge upon the Government the importance of putting a speedy end to the present exceptional state of affairs. I am anxious for a peaceable and satisfactory termination, and am ready to return to the Legation and resume my duties in Yeddo whenever I can see such material guarantee for redress in respect to past grievances, and security for the future, as may warrant this step. I have, in the meantime, left all my property undisturbed, under the charge of the officers in my house, and for the safety of which the Government will, of course, be responsible. Whether my return be prompt or tardy, therefore, depends entirely upon the Japanese Government. Sooner or later it is certain that the Representatives of Great Britain will return to Yeddo, the place of residence assigned by Treaty; but, if speedily, there will be the less time for new complications to arise, and affairs may be more easily arranged, with mutual benefit, and on a better footing than hitherto, to my regret, has been found possible, if no time be lost.

With respect and consideration,

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 4 in No. 7.

M. de Bellecourt to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Excellences, *Yédo, le* 26 *Janvier*, 1861.

LES relations diplomatiques, ce gage certain de la bonne entente des nations que de sérieuses et solennelles Conventions unissent entr'elles par des obligations réciproques, exigent, vu leur importance pour ceux qui sont appelés à les suivre, des conditions d'indépendance, de sécurité, et de liberté d'esprit comme de considération personnelle bien assurées.

Ces conditions ne me paraissent pas garanties en ce moment assez complètement à la Légation de Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français à Yédo pour qu'il me soit possible de poursuivre avec tout le calme nécessaire les travaux que le Gouvernement de mon auguste Souverain m'a chargé d'accomplir de concert avec le Gouvernement Japonais en vue de la bonne entente que la France a toujours eu le sincère désir d'entretenir avec le Japon.

Je m'expliquerai. Vos Excellences m'ont fait entrevoir plusieurs fois que les tendances de l'opinion publique au Japon sont opposées aux rapports amicaux que le Traité de 1858 a eu en vue d'établir entre nos deux Empires. Vos Excellences avaient promis, sur ma demande, de tout mettre en œuvre pour triompher de ces tendances. Où en sommes nous ? et peut-on constater avec raison une amélioration quelconque dans une situation qui atteint à mon sens les Représentants étrangers et par conséquent leurs Gouvernements dans leur considération et leur dignité.

J'ai invoqué plusieurs fois et en plusieurs circonstances la justice du haut Gouvernement Japonais à l'occasion de diverses attaques contre la sécurité de ceux que les pavillons de la France et du Japon doivent protéger contre toute atteinte. J'attends encore depuis plus d'une année les réparations qui m'avaient été promises solennellement.

Dans ces derniers temps une tentative d'assassinat a mis le trouble dans le service de la Légation de l'Empereur à Yédo ; j'avais espéré une satisfaction d'autant plus prompte qu'elle était toute facile à obtenir.

Dans le courant du mois de Septembre vos Excellences ont demandé aux Représentants étrangers qu'il fut fait, à l'exécution des Traités, des concessions d'une haute portée, à peine de voir surgir de grands dangers autour de leurs nationaux. J'ai demandé à cette occasion à vos Excellences des explications, qui m'ont été promises mais non fournies. J'ai dû dès lors considérer la démarche de vos Excellences comme le résultat d'un plan d'intimidation gouvernemental peu conforme aux relations courtoises et de bonne harmonie que je me suis toujours efforcé de maintenir entre nos deux Empires.

J'ai eu bien des fois l'occasion de faire remarquer à vos Excellences, indépendamment des différentes matières formant l'objet de nos travaux, que la dignité et la considération des Représentants officiels de mon Gouvernement avaient à souffrir trop souvent des restrictions sans nombre apportées à leur liberté d'action par les tracasseries habilement déguisées d'agents subalternes indigènes placés auprès des Légations sous le prétexte de veiller à leur sécurité, mais bien plutôt pour exercer sur leurs membres une surveillance trop étroite pour être acceptable.

Mes observations n'ont pas porté de fruit, et le système de protection adopté pour la sécurité des Missions Diplomatiques n'a cessé jusqu'à ce jour de présenter toutes les apparences d'une contrainte de nature à déconsidérer les agents étrangers aux yeux des indigènes, au lieu d'inspirer à ceux-ci le respect dû aux hôtes du Taïcoun, aux Représentants des plus grandes Puissances du monde.

Bien plus, j'ai eu plusieurs fois l'occasion de signaler à vos Excellences l'inefficacité complète des mesures prises pour la protection des étrangers et la mollesse que montraient leurs défenseurs officiels en présence des attaques de certains adversaires ! Les circonstances de l'attentat commis le 30 Octobre, contre mon gardien de pavillon, ont ajonté une preuve de plus aux constatations nombreuses recueillies dans plusieurs autres Légations.

Cet état de choses appelait d'urgence un remède ; mais dans mon désir de me montrer patient et de ne point froisser le haut Gouvernement Japonais autant de fois que j'avais lieu de l'être moi-même, j'avais pris le parti de lui éviter ces plaintes dont la fréquence aurait dû donner la mesure de mes légitimes susceptibilités tant aussi bien que mon attitude personnelle, lorsque des agents subal-

ternes se laissaient entrainer à méconnaître ou mes droits ou les égards dûs soit aux miens soit à moi-même.

C'est pourquoi je me suis borné, dans la question de l'attentat commis contre mon gardien de pavillon, à une correspondance écrite où tous les points saillants de ce mystérieux procès ont pû être établis avec beaucoup plus de netteté que dans une série de conférences semblables à celles qui avaient eu lieu plusieurs fois déjà sur des sujets analogues sans produire aucun résultat satisfaisant.

Dans la plus récente de nos conférences où l'un des hauts Représentants du Gouvernement Français a eu l'occasion de renouveler à vos Excellences les assurances de sympathie sincère et de désir de bonne entente qui animent le Gouvernement de la France envers celui du Japon, quelques allusions du caractère le plus amical ont été faites sur la nécessité de cimenter les bons rapports par d'utiles concessions sur lesquelles il est d'ailleurs aussi facile que désirable de s'entendre.

Vos Excellences ont paru dans cette séance apprécier le langage amical et digne de M. l'Amiral Page. Elles ont paru réprouver le mauvais accueil fait à Osacca par les autorités indigènes au Général-en-chef de l'armée Française en Chine visitant en touriste une des villes d'un pays ami.

Vos Excellences ont donc ainsi témoigné ce jour-là du plus sincère désir d'entretenir avec la France de bonnes et sincères relations. Quelques jours plus tard, j'ai crû un moment trouver une preuve de ces sentiments dans l'avertissement que le Gouvernement Japonais fit donner aux Représentants étrangers sur les graves dangers qui menacaient au Japon leur sécurité et celle de leurs nationaux. Cependant en allant au fond des choses je ne me trouvai pas satisfait, je l'avoue, des réponses qui furent faites aux demandes que je formulai en cette circonstance au nom de mon droit et de mon devoir sur l'étendue, la cause, aussi bien que sur le foyer de ces dangers. Il me parût que ces explications, toutes vagues d'ailleurs, m'avaient été données plusieurs fois déjà en diverses circonstances, et que ces nouveaux avertissements n'étaient autre chose qu'une répétition des tentatives d'intimidation politique dont j'ai donné plus haut les motifs probables.

Mais je ne puis cependant pas m'empêcher de faire la part du vraisemblable dans ces sinistres tableaux à l'aide desquels on cherchait à nous effrayer!

En effet ces fréquents assassinats, ces insultes et ces provocations grossières qui atteignent ici constamment les étrangers, acquièrent par l'impunité qui les couvre toujours ou par la mollesse de la protection officielle qui devrait les prévenir les proportions de véritables dangers publics et de sérieux attentats contre le droit des gens.

J'ai déjà dit à vos Excellences, et verbalement et dans ma volumineuse correspondance avec elles, qu'il était de leur devoir de maintenir partout le respect dû à la législation nouvelle que le Japon s'est créée en contractant un pacte avec l'Occident. Si certains personnages indigènes invoquant leurs privilèges d'indépendance et de juridictions spéciales, croient encore pouvoir trouver dans les anciens errements des coûtumes Japonaises de plausibles raisons pour absoudre les coupables et cruels égarements de leur domesticité militaire, ceux qui se donnent comme les représentants de l'autorité centrale doivent tenir une toute autre ligne de conduite et prouver que le Gouvernement qui a contracté avec les Puissances étrangères a la force suffisante pour tenir ses engagements; sinon ce Gouvernement signerait lui-même son abdication, à moins que son but ne fût de servir aveuglement une politique astucieuse et consistant à se soustraire par la ruse ou par la violence aux engagements souscrits au nom de tous les membres de l'Empire, et par conséquent d'attirer par sa propre faute des malheurs incalculables sur un pays avec lequel les Puissances étrangères n'ont voulu établir que de cordiales et durables relations.

J'étais dominé par ces impressions lorsque les circonstances incroyables de l'assassinat du Secrétaire de la Légation des Etats Unis est venu les raviver bien douloureusement. Non seulement un des membres du Corps Diplomatique a été attaqué et mis à mort au milieu de ceux qui devaient le défendre et qui l'ont abandonné pour le laisser mourir sans secours, mais encore des communications officielles ont cherché, jusque sur sa tombe, à dégrader le caractère des Représentants étrangers réunis sous leur pavillons pour rendre les derniers devoirs à cette victime d'un fanatisme occulte. Il a fallu qu'à ce moment solennel on essayât d'ébranler le moral de ces quelques hommes qui ont été confiés par leurs Gouvernements à la loyauté du Gouvernement Japonais!

Vos Excellences savent comment les Agents Diplomatiques des Puissances Occidentales ont accueilli cette nouvelle tentative d'intimidation ; ils ont accompli le devoir que leur dictait le sentiment de leur honneur personnel et de celui des nations puissantes qu'ils représentent.

Vos Excellences ne trouveront pas surprenant maintenant qu'on leur demande aujourd'hui quelles peuvent être les raisons de ces procédés, et qu'on réclame d'elles le redressement des griefs qui se sont accumulés depuis dix-huit mois, ainsi que de solides garanties pour l'avenir des relations avec le Gouvernement du Japon. Pour arriver à ce résultat sans compromettre les bons rapports établis entre les deux Empires, il est nécessaire de s'entendre sur les moyens d'assurer les positions établies par les Traités. Ce travail ne pouvait avoir lieu sous la pression continuelle du système de politique extérieur qui prédomine à Yédo et que les nations Européennes condamneront comme complètement contraire à leur dignité ; c'est pourquoi j'ai pris la détermination de me retirer temporairement à Yokohama et de confier la sécurité de la Légation de l'Empereur et de mes nationaux à la courtoisie des Représentants des Puissances amies de la France. Son Excellence M. le Ministre de Sa Majesté Britannique a bien voulu, en l'absence de bâtiments de guerre de ma nation, donner au pavillon de mon Souverain la protection qui lui est nécessaire.

Je trouverai dans cette retraite temporaire le calme qui m'est indispensable pour accomplir l'œuvre qui m'est confiée par Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, c'est-à-dire, de maintenir avec le Japon des rapports de bonne et sincère intelligence, sans oublier jamais que le rang que la France occupe dans le monde fait à son Représentant, en quelque circonstance qu'il se trouve, un devoir de lutter avec énergie contre tout ce qui tendrait à placer son Gouvernement dans des conditions inacceptables et indignes d'une nation forte et puissante.

Cette retraite momentanée n'est pas une rupture de relations j'espère ; qu'elle ne sera que de courte durée si vos Excellences parviennent à faire comprendre à ceux qui dirigent les Conseils du Gouvernement de l'Empire Japonais que la marche suivie jusqu'à présent est incompatible avec des engagements solennellement conclus, et dont aucune Puissance hûmaine ne peut se faire un jeu sans encourir une responsabilité des plus graves.

Je m'efforcerai donc encore comme par le passé de concourir autant qu'il dépendra de moi à une solution pacifique de l'état actuel des choses, et je n'ai plus qu'un désir à exprimer à vos Excellences, c'est que le Représentant de la France, allégé des pénibles préoccupations qui l'ont éloigné de Yédo, puisse y revenir bientôt dans la capitale du Japon, poste que lui assigne le Traité, pour occuper la position qui convient et à son caractère et au rang de sa nation dans le monde civilisé.

Vos Excellences me trouveront donc tout prêt à entrer avec elles en matière sur les points qui peuvent faire l'objet de nos divergences de vues et dont le réglement sera facile, si elles sont disposées, comme moi, à apporter dans ce travail la plus grande loyauté et le plus sincère esprit de conciliation.

Avec une respectueuse considération,

(Signé) DU CHESNE DE BELLECOURT,
Chargé d'Affaires de France au Japon.

Inclosure 5 in No. 7.

M. de Wit to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

(Translation.) *Kanagawa, January* 26, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellencies that, under the present circumstances, I felt myself bound to leave Yeddo for some time, rather than take up my residence within the walls of the Imperial Palace, as was proposed by your Excellencies.

I considered it beneath the dignity of my Government, which did not entrust the protection of its Representatives to the Japanese Government on such a condition, to accept that place of refuge ; I also considered that the Japanese Government ought to have the means, and to use them, in order to secure me in my dwelling from the dangers of which I was warned by your Excellencies.

The murder, however, committed on the Secretary of the American Legation, without an attempt being made to defend him by the officers furnished by the Japanese Government for his protection, convinced me that I could not depend for protection upon such persons, placed for that purpose in my residence.

Three days after the murder, another warning was given by your Excellencies, that the Diplomatic Agents would be in danger of their lives if they carried out their intention of attending the funeral of the victim.

The danger was, therefore, according to your Excellencies' statement, permanent; and as I could not consider myself safe in my dwelling, and as it was impossible to accept the proffered place of refuge, the only course left open to me was to quit Yeddo for a time.

The Vice-Consul of the Netherlands will also leave Kanagawa temporarily, and take up his residence at Yokohama, while I report the circumstances to my Government, with whom the further decision of this matter will rest.

Further, I trust that the property which has been left behind by me at Yeddo, and by the Vice-Consul at Kanagawa, will remain there in safety until demand is made for it.

The Consul-General for the Netherlands,
(Signed) J. K. DE WIT.

Inclosure 6 in No. 7.

The Comte d'Eulenburg to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

(Translation.) *Yeddo, January* 26, 1861.

IN consequence of the events which have taken place during the last three weeks I send you the following communication.

When I was sent, at the beginning of last year, by His Royal Highness the Prince of Prussia to Japan, it was already known in Europe that several times already foreigners had been murdered at Yokohama, and that the Japanese Government had declared that they had found it impossible to discover the murderers.

Shortly after I arrived here, the captain of one of the Prussian men-of-war was insulted in the street by one of the Daimios' retainers; and, on my complaining about this, I received for answer that the yaconins who accompanied him would be punished for not protecting him properly; but no mention was made of reprimanding the Daimios' retainer.

A few weeks later an official attached to the French Embassy was attacked in the gateway of the Legation, and wounded. Hitherto the Japanese Government has neither punished nor discovered the criminal.

On the 1st of January of this year the Governors for Foreign Affairs were sent to all the Ministers in Yeddo, to inform them that 500 loonins had conspired to attack the Legations, and to kill the Ministers. The Governors begged of me to take up my abode in the castle, or to retire to a man-of-war, because the Government found it impossible to protect me in the house I was staying in. After this avowal I was compelled, for my own safety and that of my staff, to send for an efficient guard from my ships, and to station it in my house.

On the 15th instant the Secretary of the American Legation, Mr. Heuskin, in returning home from me, was attacked in the street, and foully murdered. Although he was accompanied by three yaconins they did not exert themselves to protect him, neither did they arrest one of the assailants.

On the morning of the 18th instant, when we wished to attend the funeral of the said Mr. Heuskin, the Governors for Foreign Affairs waited on the American Minister and said that the Government feared that the funeral procession would be attacked, and that for this reason they thought it better if the Ministers did not attend the funeral.

As it was our duty to accompany the victim to his last resting-place, we did not allow anything to deter us from doing so. But how surprised we were to perceive that the Government had not taken the least precaution to protect us against an attack! Had we been attacked we should have been compelled to defend ourselves.

Many Europeans in Japan begin to think that the Government does not wish to protect the foreigner; and when the news of these occurrences reaches

Europe the European Governments will suppose that their Embassies, and their subjects in Japan, are not in safety. What effect this will have, if the European Governments come to this conclusion, I need not explain to your Excellencies. With regard to myself I believe that the Japanese Government is desirous to protect the Ministers and subjects of those States with whom she has made Treaties, and that she deplores the crimes that have been committed, and wishes to punish them. But as I perceive that these crimes remain unpunished, and that even when it is known to the Government an attack is contemplated, that she does not take efficient precaution to prevent it, I must come to the conclusion that the Government lacks strength to execute her wish.

If this be so, namely, if the Government be unable to protect foreigners, it is quite as bad for her as if she did not wish to protect them.

Your Excellencies have no doubt heard that the English and French Ministers, and the Dutch Consul-General, intend to leave Yeddo, and are temporarily going to Yokohama, because they no longer consider themselves in safety here.

I have determined to stay in Yeddo until my mission is accomplished, but I am bound to tell your Excellencies that if I were in the same position as the English and French Ministers, and had not sufficient power to protect myself and my staff, I would have acted just as they have done, and would have absented myself temporarily from Yeddo, not to break off relations with the Japanese Government, but to give her time to take vigorous measures for the protection of the Ministers and all foreigners.

Your Excellencies have lately perceived that the foreign Governments have the will and the power severely to punish their subjects if they transgress the laws. In like manner, foreigners have a right to expect from the Japanese Government similar justice and severity against her own subjects. In Europe the indignation will be great when the number of crimes committed against foreigners within the last eighteen months is known, and that not in one single instance the culprit was punished; and it will be considered unpardonable that on the day when all the Ministers wished to pay the last honour to the murdered Mr. Heuskin, and that the Government considered their lives in danger, it did not take the least precaution to protect them. I can only urgently request your Excellencies, and advise you to put a stop to this state of affairs. Extraordinary circumstances demand extraordinary measures, and it is necessary that the Government of His Majesty the Tycoon give a distinct proof that it is strong enough to carry this desire into execution. The Ministers will not return to Yeddo before this proof has been given. Should they have to leave Japan altogether, the consequences would be incalculable.

I am about to leave Yeddo, and a long time will elapse before another Diplomatic Agent will come here; consequently I am quite impartial, but for this very reason I beg of your Excellencies to believe me and to follow my advice.

With respect and consideration,

(Signed) GRAF. ZU EULENBURG.

Inclosure 7 in No. 7.

Report of a Conference between the French Consul, &c., and the Governor of Yokohama.

Kanagawa, Yokohama, le 28 *Janvier*, 1861.

NOUS Soussignés, &c., après avoir donné communication au Gouverneur du document du Chargé d'Affaires de France, nous avons été interrogés par le Gouverneur, qui nous a demandé pourquoi les Ministres étaient venus à Yokohama, puisqu'il n'y a pas de danger pour les Légations à Yédo, attendu qu'elles sont maintenant gardées par des Daïmios et qu'un Gouverneur y séjourne, à demeure, pour leur protection.

Réponse.—Il ne peut être encore donné d'explications sur ce point.

Le Gouverneur.—Le Chargé d'Affaires de France compte-t-il résider à Yokohama ou à Kanagawa ?

Réponse.—La question de résience sera résolue de concert avec les autres Ministres.

Le Gouverneur.—Il serait préférable que le Chargé d'Affaires de France habitât Yokohama, où il y a moins de dangers qu'à Kanagawa, qui se trouve sur une grande route très fréquentée ?

Réponse.—Cet avis sera communiquée.

Le Gouverneur.—Veuillez bien aussi prier M. le Chargé d'Affaires de France d'engager ses nationaux résidant à Yokohama à ne pas sortir le soir de leurs demeures parcequ'il peut y avoir du danger. Vous avez entendu parler de la déplorable affaire de M. Heuskin ? Il pourrait arriver de semblables malheurs à Yokohama aussi bien qu'à Yédo.

Réponse.—Cet avis sera communiqué au Chargé d'Affaires.

Certifié le présent compte-rendu, exact et conforme à ce qui a été dit dans la séance de ce jour, avec le Gouverneur de Kanagawa.

Yokohama (Kanagawa), ce 28 Janvier, 1861.

Le Chancelier Provisoire de la Légation de France,
(Signé) A. MONORY.

L'Agent Consulaire de France à Kanagawa,
J. LOUREIRO.

Le Secrétaire Particulier et Interprète,
H. WEUVE.

(Le sceau de l'Agence Consulaire de France à Kanagawa.)

Le Chargé d'Affaires de France au Japon,
(Signé) DU CHESNE DE BELLECOURT.
(Le sceau du Consulat-Général.)

No. 8.

Mr. Alcock to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received April* 18.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, February* 4, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch which I have deemed it expedient to address to Her Majesty's Acting Consul at this port, and of a Circular he has issued in consequence.

There are doubtless many wrongs to be redressed in regard to official interference and obstructions of all kinds, devised by the Japanese authorities, partly for their own advantage, and partly as the means of carrying out a system opposed to the free development of trade and extended intercourse in any shape. This is the more to be regretted, as each day's experience tends to prove the correctness of my former anticipations, of a large and profitable trade being rapidly developed, if only the Japanese Government could be induced to act up to the letter and spirit of existing Treaties. More than 1,000,000*l.* sterling of export trade has been done this last year at this port alone; and there is promise of a large import trade in Chinese raw cotton to supply means of barter, tending to render the foreign merchant more independent of currency. Even this is an impediment to trade less real than apparent. The dollar is now current at $2\frac{1}{2}$ itzeboos; whereas, by weight, it should be equivalent to 3 and a small fraction (311 per 100 dollars); but still the merchant, of course, only buys and sells produce at such rate in dollars, whatever be the nominal value in itzeboos, as will repay him in the final out-turn. He might buy more, if the exchange were in his favour, but that is all. Whether the dollar exchanges for one itzeboo or three, he will not give more for his silk in dollars than the chances of profit in its export will justify. In the meantime when he has to sell, the advantage is the other way; and, doubtless, the nominal cheapness to the Japanese of our manufactured goods, estimating the dollar at $2\frac{1}{3}$ or $2\frac{1}{2}$ itzeboos, tends to force their sale.

Something may perhaps be effected in various directions, however, to improve the position of the merchants and our trade, in the desire to induce the foreign Representatives to return to the capital, and relinquish their present attitude of distrust and protest.

Since the date of my last despatch, I have only to report the arrival of two Governors of Foreign Affairs, sent to communicate with my colleagues and myself, to express generally the concern of the Gorogio at our withdrawal, and

tell me they had read and understood my official communication, but waited to have a written translation before they answered. The object was evidently to see me, if possible, and ascertain what I required. I declined receiving them; and on my own part and that of M. de Bellecourt, who happened to be with me at the moment, they were informed by Mr. Eusden, in our joint names, that we could enter into no personal communication until a written answer had been received from the Ministers, and then only with one or more members of the Second Council of State, who must be sent down for that purpose. Mr. Eusden was further instructed to tell them, as from himself, that what it behoved the Government to do, was to put an end, as quickly as possible, to this exceptional state of affairs which was not without its dangers; and that the first step towards this end would be the Ministers placing before the foreign Representatives distinct propositions as to the measures they were prepared to take for the better security of life, and at the same time to put an end to the system of alternate assassination and intimidation, which could no longer be tolerated. They intimated the impossibility of giving any greater security; but I trust they will be better advised. Mr. Eusden reports that they seemed evidently uneasy, and not free from anxiety at the position taken up by the foreign Representatives. I hear from Yeddo that the Legation is guarded with the greatest display of vigilance in respect to the property left in the house.

From Mr. Harris I have received nothing; but I hear he wrote yesterday to his Consul stating he was well and undisturbed.

Inclosure 1 in No. 8.

Mr. Alcock to Acting Consul Vyse.

Sir, *Yokohama, February* 4, 1861.

IN my circular No. 1 of the 25th ultimo, I informed you of my resolution, in concert with my colleagues the Representatives of France and the Netherlands, to withdraw temporarily from the capital, and take up my residence at Yokohama, pending further communication with the Japanese Government, for the better security of life and property, and the improvement of our position generally in Japan. I have reason to hope that these objects may at no distant period be more or less completely attained; and, in order that advantage may be taken of the circumstances to remedy whatever may be most prejudicial to the position of the merchants at this port more especially, I have to instruct you to take such steps as you may deem most fitting to obtain from British subjects, resident at Yokohama, a fair statement of grievances in regard to the action of the Government authorities. I am, of course, aware, from your frequent communications on this subject, that there is something very like a general system of obstruction and interference on the part of the Japanese officials, which is both prejudicial to our trade by restricting its development, and vexatious in its application to the merchants. But it is also known to you that any such authorized and systematic action is unvaryingly and emphatically denied by the Foreign Ministers as often as the subject is brought under their notice.

On one occasion, in your presence, you will remember they professed, as they had often done before, the most earnest desire to carry out all the stipulations of existing Treaties in good faith. Any obstruction encountered, therefore, is covert, not avowed; and, if these impediments are ever to be removed, it can only be by aid of distinct and definitive statements on the subject from those who are the actual sufferers. They, only, are in a position, from actual experience day by day, to indicate in the clearest manner what the principal grievances are; how they are practically made to bear upon them; and, in some instances at least, by what special agencies.

It is not enough to say (with a view at least to practical measures of improvement) that in everything, whether in the currency, the occupation of land, or the buying and selling, or landing and shipment of goods, there is a general system of restriction, extortion, and obstruction. This may be perfectly true, and yet the general assertion will be of little service in pressing the subject upon the Government in such a manner as to obtain effective measures of redress. This has already been tried long enough to prove the hopelessness of further effort, unless backed by specific facts, clearly stated and well-authenticated.

Looking forward to the possibility, in the negotiations now pending with the Government, of stipulating for some decided improvement, it is above all-important that any efforts should be directed to certain definite ends. It may then be possible to exact specific pledges of change, the fulfilment of which, within a limited period, will admit of verification by tangible results.

I would recommend, therefore, in view of the present circumstances, that you should either call together the British community at a public meeting to furnish a statement of their principal grievances and subjects of complaint in precise terms, or otherwise require them collectively to furnish you with such a statement in writing. And in order that you may be furnished in one form or other with the practical data essential, avoiding mere vague generalities or discursive complaints of minor annoyances, it is desirable that the facts produced should be carefully classed under a few heads, referring only to objects more especially important, and specifically provided for by Treaty stipulations. Such, for instance, as :—

The currency, and obligation to facilitate the exchange of foreign coins, weight for weight, with Japanese coins of similar description ;

The free exchange of produce, without arbitrary restrictions or official interference ;

Facilities for the occupation of land and houses, in sites agreed upon by the Japanese and foreign authorities.

These, together with security to life and property, and a Custom-house system calculated to facilitate and not to obstruct trade, will be found, I think, to embrace all that is most essential to discuss, in reference to Treaty rights or privileges and the interests of commerce. And if it were possible to obtain from the British community a clear and temperate statement of the chief grievances under each of these heads, together with practical suggestions as to the precise measures which their daily experience and local knowledge might well enable them to make for the diminution, if not the total removal, of these impediments to the free development of trade and the security of the merchants, something might be effected at this particular moment of permanent advantage to all. Whatever may be the result, I am ready and anxious to make the attempt, and the opportunity is more favourable than any which may again occur for a long time.

I leave it in your hands to make this known to the community under your jurisdiction, and to promote the object desired as you may deem best.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 2 in No. 8.

Notification.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Consul at Yokohama, has received a despatch from Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan, copy of which is annexed for general information.

The Undersigned will be glad to receive from the British community either a statement of the kind indicated by Her Majesty's Envoy, or to call a public meeting for the purpose of considering the subjects referred to in the despatch, if this course should be preferred.

(Signed) F. HOWARD VYSE,
Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Consul.

British Consulate, Yokohama, February 4, 1861.

No. 9.

Mr. Alcock to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 26.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, February* 19, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, at the request of Mr. Harris, the Resident Minister of the United States of America in Japan, copy of a letter he has

addressed to me on the subject of two Conferences of the foreign Representatives at Yeddo, and their subsequent action in retiring to Yokohama, and which he begs may be added to the *compte-rendu* transmitted with my despatch of the 31st ultimo.

As Mr. Harris' letter contains much that is erroneous in the facts referred to, and he attributes conclusions and grounds of action to his colleagues which they felt called upon to repudiate, I have replied to his letter, and forward a copy, together with copies of letters from the French Chargé d'Affaires and the Consul-General of the Netherlands, trusting that, should the documents connected with these transactions in Japan be laid before Parliament, the one will not be produced without the other.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have received a second letter from Mr. Harris on the Conferences, and I now have the honour to inclose to your Lordship copy of the same, with my reply thereto.

R. A.

Inclosure 1 in No. 9.

Mr. Harris to Mr. Alcock.

Legation of the United States in Japan,
Yeddo, February 12, 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note dated the 22nd ultimo, transmitting a *compte-rendu* of the Conferences held on the 19th and 21st January, at Her Britannic Majesty's Legation in this city, by the Representatives of the foreign Powers then here.

The *compte-rendu* correctly states that the American Minister was not present at the Conference of the 21st January, but it fails to state that he was not invited to assist at that meeting.

You request me to sign a Protocol to the effect that the *compte-rendu* is a correct record of the Conferences above referred to.

You must be aware that it is not in my power to certify to the correctness of the report of the Conference held on the 21st January, as the only knowledge I have of that Conference is derived from the *compte-rendu* itself.

The conclusions at which you and my other colleagues arrived may be stated as follows:—

That no confidence can be placed in the good faith of the Japanese Government;

That the members of the different Legations are exposed to assassination by remaining in this city, and that for the double purpose of securing personal safety, and to produce a sensible effect on the Government, it is advisable that the Legations should retire to Yokohama.

It is my misfortune to be of a different opinion, and I will briefly state my reasons for that difference.

The Japanese Government has continually warned the Diplomatic Representatives of existing dangers from the first day of their arrival in this city, and shown its anxiety to secure their protection.

It was only desired that the foreigners should use the same means of protection and precaution which the Japanese invariably use among themselves; it is well known that those of a rank corresponding to that of foreign Ministers have their houses surrounded by large numbers of guards, and that they never go out without being accompanied by a numerous train of armed attendants.

Is it just, therefore, to require the Japanese to protect us with other appliances than those used for their own security?

If the Japanese were acting in bad faith, if they really desired the assassination of foreign Representatives, a simple expression of such a wish would be sufficient, and the work would be done in a single hour.

We have lived in Yeddo about nineteen months in safety, and this fact is

proof of the desire and ability of the Government to give us efficient protection. The murder of Mr. Heuskin, the able and faithful interpreter of this Legation, which all lament and I deplore, was owing to his disregard of the reiterated warnings of the Japanese Government against his constant exposure of himself at night, and his death was the consummation of the fears that I have felt ever since my first arrival in Yeddo.

In judging of the acts of this Government it is of importance that the political antecedents be taken into consideration. For more than two centuries this country was hermetically closed against foreigners; this barrier, so rigidly maintained, is suddenly removed, and the country opened to foreign intercourse. It is well known that a large party of men of high rank are opposed to the new order of things, and that in this city, that opposition is concentrated and felt in its greatest intensity.

The manifestations of ill-will are principally confined to the followers of the Daimios, who present a reflex of the opinions of their Chiefs.

It is unquestionable in my mind, that the enormous enhancement of prices on articles of general consumption, consequent upon the admission of foreign commerce, has intensified their feelings of opposition.

A Government may make Treaties and observe their stipulations, but it is beyond the power of any Government to control public opinion.

It strikes me that all the arguments at the Conferences referred to, are based upon the assumption that the Japanese Government represented a civilization on a par with that of the Western world; this is a grave error. The Japanese are not a civilized, but a semi-civilized people, and the condition of affairs in this country is quite analogous to that of Europe during the middle ages.

To demand, therefore, of the Japanese Government the same observances, the same prompt administration of justice, as is found in civilized lands, is simply to demand an impossibility; and to hold that Government responsible for the isolated acts of private individuals, I believe to be wholly unsustained by any international law.

This principle is not acted on in the Western world.

Not long ago a London jury exultingly acquitted a conspirator against the life of the Emperor of the French. I did not learn that the French Legation retired to Dover in consequence of this failure of justice.

Again, in one of the greatest thoroughfares of Naples the French Minister was savagely assaulted at midday, and although hundreds of people witnessed the assault, the would-be assassins effected their escape, and to this day they have not been arrested.

Did the French Legation retire from Naples in consequence of the failure to arrest the criminals?

In March last the Regent of Japan was assassinated; only part of the murderers have thus far been arrested, and of those not one has been punished yet.

This delay in inflicting punishment on the assassins of one so exalted in rank as the Regent shows that the Japanese mode of procedure is different from that of the Western world.

I desire to put on record my firm belief that so long as I observe the precautions recommended by the Japanese Government and used by the Japanese themselves, my residence in this city is a perfectly safe one.

To retire to Yokohama with the intention of producing an effect upon the Japanese Government, will, I think, prove a mistake; there was not one Article of the American Treaty more difficult to obtain than the one securing a residence in Yeddo of the Diplomatic Representative of the United States. The Japanese Commissioners on that occasion warned me of the grave difficulties which a residence of foreign Ministers was sure to create in Yeddo; and they were very solicitous that I would accept a permanent residence in Kanagawa or Kawasaki, with the right to come to Yeddo whenever my duty required.

This retirement of the Foreign Legations to Yokohama is exactly what the Government desire, as it relieves them from great anxiety, responsibility, and expense; and they state that the Legations can be more conveniently protected at Yokohama than in Yeddo.

Instead, therefore, of the retirement giving a *secousse* to the Japanese Government, it will be held by them as a very desirable result, and I apprehend that a residence there will lead the Japanese mind to confound the foreign

Representative with the foreign trader, an effect which cannot fail to injure both his prestige and his influence.

For the reasons thus briefly set forth, I deprecate the action of my colleagues, believing, as I do, that it will not produce any beneficial effect, and that it is an important step towards a war with this country.

The people of Japan cannot be raised to our standard of civilization by the stroke of a diplomatic pen, nor even if they have 50,000 soldiers for their schoolmasters. It is only time, patience, and forbearance, that can produce this most desirable result.

I had hoped that the page of future history might record the great fact that in one spot in the Eastern world the advent of Christian civilization did not bring with it its usual attendants of rapine and bloodshed; this fond hope, I fear, is to be disappointed.

I would sooner see all the Treaties with this country torn up, and Japan return to its old state of isolation, than witness the horrors of war inflicted on this peaceful people and happy land.

Permit me to request you to transmit a copy of this note to your Government to be annexed to the *compte-rendu* of the Conferences held on the 19th and 21st of January.

I have, &c.
(Signed) TOWNSEND HARRIS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 9.

Mr. Alcock to Mr. Harris.

Sir, *Yokokama, February* 16, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, which reached me on the 14th, in reply to my letter of the 22nd ultimo, transmitting a note embodying a *compte-rendu* of the Conferences which took place on the 19th and 21st of January, at Her Britannic Majesty's Legation in Yeddo.

I have perused with attention the various remarks on the subject of these Conferences, and your views on the policy you conceive to be most fitting, in the present conjuncture, on the part of foreign Representatives in Japan; and I have weighed them the more carefully, that receiving them three weeks subsequent to the Conferences, I conclude they must be the result of mature deliberation on your part, and entitled to corresponding consideration on the part of your colleagues, to whom you have forwarded copies.

Conceiving it could answer no useful purpose now to discuss with you all the arguments advanced in support of your views, I should simply acknowledge receipt of your letter, were there not certain statements contained in it erroneous, I believe, as to the facts; and various inferences which, besides being incorrect, tend to cast unmerited aspersions on myself and the colleagues acting with me, and to misrepresent alike their motives and grounds of action. As I am unwilling to believe such could have been your intention, it seems but fair to both parties to point out the passages referred to as sources of error. But in addition to this very sufficient motive, you have supplied another, still more imperative, in requesting that the letter containing them should be forwarded to my Government, and be appended to the *compte-rendu* of the Conferences. It is likely, therefore, to come under the notice of many besides the members of the Government, too far removed from Japan and authentic sources of information, as to the actual circumstances, to avoid being misled, and by such statements, if left uncontradicted. I am thus compelled to go over so much of the ground you traverse as may be essential to refute what I conceive to be erroneous and injurious, either in the facts or the inferences, and with the same explicitness and unhesitating frankness you have yourself shown in dealing with these questions.

You state that you were not invited to the second Conference. This allegation is so completely at variance with my impression, and a very clear recollection of all the circumstances, that I deemed it only fitting to obtain the evidence of those of my colleagues yet on the spot, as to the facts. I inclose

my letter to the French Chargé d'Affaires, and its counterpart sent to the Consul General of the Netherlands, together with their answers, which I think must suffice to set all questions at rest in your own mind, and prove to any third party that this statement was made under a total misapprehension as to the facts. It is clear that you had precisely the same invitation that every other Representative had, only enforced by arguments not required to secure the attendance of the rest. You had, moreover, a private note from me the intervening day, which may probably have escaped your recollection, inviting you to furnish me with a Memorandum or Minute of the views you might especially desire to see correctly embodied in the *compte-rendu*, having reference, therefore, to the second Conference, for which it was being prepared. This note you neither acknowledged nor answered. In common with the rest of my colleagues, I was left in doubt, therefore, to the last moment, whether you would attend or not; so much so, that we waited nearly an hour beyond that fixed for the meeting. If any want of courtesy, consideration, or due notice could be shown to have existed, it could not certainly, under these circumstances, be laid to the charge of your colleagues.

In reference to the reason giving for not signing the note embodying the *compte-rendu*, I will merely remark, to prevent a further misconception which the tenour of your remarks might otherwise create, that the document was sent to you with an invitation from all your colleagues to make any addition you might see fit, explanatory of your part in the first Conference and of your own views, to be appended in the form of a note; and thus completed, you were further invited to add your signature, not with a view, as you incorrectly assume, of pledging you to the accuracy of a *compte-rendu* of the Conference at which you did not assist, but in token of your cognizance of all the views of your colleagues, and as a correct statement of these and your own on a subject of deep importance, and of interest to all in common. The Protocol did not preclude your limiting attestation of your signature to this much and no more, if you felt any scruples as to endorsing the declaration of the Representatives of four Treaty Powers, that the *compte-rendu* was, in effect, a faithful and satisfactory account of the views put forward in the Conferences by all the parties assisting.

It was considered an act of loyalty and courtesy on the part of your colleagues, due to your position as Resident Minister of one of the Treaty Powers who had joined the first Conference, and which could not fitly have been omitted, to send the document to you; while it remained perfectly open to you to decline adding your signature, as you have finally decided, or, signing, to refuse in any way to identify yourself with their subsequent proceedings and general policy. Having seen fit, in the legitimate exercise of your discretion, not to sign, I should have deemed it quite unnecessary to make any remark on the subject, had not your mode of accounting for this decision seemed to imply that your colleagues had the absurd pretension of making you responsible for the accuracy of a report of what passed when you were not present.

These two misconceptions as to matters of fact cleared away, I may proceed to the remarks, in which a series of conclusions are attributed to your colleagues, as matters of inference, which I must utterly disclaim as erroneous, and especially calculated to mislead any one not thoroughly conversant with the circumstances and the political situation—to mislead, both as regards the conclusions at which I and my colleagues did actually arrive, and the grounds of action which have been put on record. Those conclusions you state were, first, that no trust could be placed in the good faith of the Government; secondly, that the members of the different Legations were exposed to assassination by remaining in the city; thirdly, that, for the double purpose of securing personal safety and to produce a sensible effect on the Government, it was desirable that the Legation should retire to Yokohama. And having framed these premises for the foreign Representatives from whom you differ, you proceed to point out, at some length, all the arguments and objections which preclude your accepting them as grounds of action. But these conclusions are not those of your colleagues, although there is such a curious admixture of truth and error in the propositions they involve, that, short as they are, some analysis is required satisfactorily to separate the two, and show the total fallacy of all that rests upon their combination. This is the more essential, because there can be no doubt they are better calculated to mislead in this form than if the proportions of either element were larger.

I believe, in respect to the first, that no foreign Representative present

shared in your declared reliance and perfect trust in the good faith of the Japanese Government. But there were various shades of divergence; and probably the Representatives who doubted the most, rather distrusted the effective action of those who might be regarded as the Government than their good faith, and this distinction is broadly marked on the face of the record.

In regard to the second proposition or conclusion, that the members of the Legations were exposed to assassination by remaining in the city, if nothing were attempted or done by the Representatives calculated to arrest the action of those who were carrying out a system of intimidation and murder, they were unanimously of opinion that a policy characterized by passive endurance, unlimited forbearance, and a blind trust in professions constantly belied by events, if longer persevered in, would lead to the most fatal result. This was the conclusion at which all your colleagues arrived; something very different, as you will observe, from the conclusion you have attributed to them, divested of the additional clause essential to its completeness. You state, in connection with this part of the subject, that you have lived more than nineteen months in Yeddo in safety; and add, that you firmly believe, as long as you observe the precautions recommended by the Japanese Government, and used by themselves, your residence in the city is a perfectly safe one. And as this appears to involve many grave errors, both of fact and inference, to which may be attributed not a little of the divergence of opinion between you and your colleagues, I trust you will permit me, without offence, to state what I conceive those errors to be, and the grounds of my conviction.

In my humble opinion, you cannot, in any ordinary use of the terms, be said "to have lived in safety," for you have lived under a continued menace of violence and assassination. Granting to the fullest extent your argument that, had the Government wished it, we might all have been swept off in an hour, and the proof this may be taken to afford that they never had wished, or, in other words, decreed it, it leaves the conclusion of a real and *bonâ fide* danger existing untouched. How many powerful Daimios are there, resident in the city of Yeddo, with hundreds, not to say thousands, of devoted retainers at their back, who are known to be hostile to foreigners, and the whole policy initiated by the Treaties? Are there no grounds for believing that even the party which these have displaced seek, by the murder of foreigners, to create a danger to their triumphant adversaries? Does it admit of question, that if any one of these rulers of the land (for such they are in effect, but call them Daimios and feudal Chiefs only if you will) had, any time in those nineteen months, given the signal for your murder, or that of any other Representative, to his own followers, or other bravos always available, that he could not have secured it, as certainly as that of your Secretary (all measures, or shams of protection, by whichever name most fitly characterized, to the contrary notwithstanding), and that, too, either in the streets, by daylight, or in your own residence; or is it at all doubtful that it would have been accomplished with perfect immunity from punishment or pursuit on the part of the Government? I, too, have lived nineteen months in Yeddo; and the only difference between us is, that I have gone much more abroad in the city and surrounding country—more exposed, perhaps, but also with larger means of observation—and I have seen enough to satisfy me that neither you nor any member of the several Legations ever left their residence, in all that period, without risk of being insulted by these same Daimios' retainers, and other two-sworded gentry—insulted, cut down, or murdered, in the public thoroughfares and in the light of the sun, without let or hindrance from the Government or the laws. Is this matter of question? How stand the facts in support? I will not speak of a series of assassinations, by daylight or by night, at Yeddo and at Yokohama during the nineteen months of safety, up to the end of last year, and preceding this last combination of murder and intimidation, inaugurated on the 1st of January by a formal announcement of the fact by the Government to you while at Kanagawa, and subsequently to your colleagues; but in that interval had your unfortunate Interpreter and Acting Secretary not often been the subject of insult and assault in the streets, and by day? Have not you, yourself, been assaulted by one of these two-sworded retainers in your own courtyard, and placed in bodily fear of your life; compelled to cry aloud, and cry in vain, for assistance from the yaconins attached to the Legation for your protection, though several were close at hand? Were you not warned by the Government that, if you prosecuted your assailant, you would be in danger

of a vendetta from him or his companions which would very likely cost you your life? Can this be rightly called living in safety? and may I not say, with truth, that this conviction of perfect safety is scarcely consistent, or indeed to be reconciled, with facts in your own experience?

And again, when you admit that this safety (such as it is) must be contingent upon the adoption of all the precautions recommended by the Japanese Government, can you have forgotten what these have, at various times, amounted to? After the Gotiro's death, were not the Legations requested, "while danger lasted" (a particularly indefinite term in Japan), to confine themselves within the walls of their residences? More recently still, that we should all take refuge in one building, within the Castle precincts? Where their precautions and restrictions would stop, could any one say? Such as had already been proposed were deemed inadmissible by you, in common with your colleagues. And can a residence under such multiplied and increasing restrictions, obviously destructive of all free intercourse with the people, and liberty of circulation, be reconciled with the conditions of freedom and independence, not only due by the common law of nations to a Diplomatic Agent, but essential to any influence of the Representative, or respect for the nation he represents? I think not; nay, I am sure of it, and so are all your colleagues, upon very sufficient experience of the past.

Let us pass on to the third of the propositions you attribute to the foreign Representatives not in accord with you.

You state that for the double purpose of securing personal safety, and to produce a sensible impression on the Government, it was deemed advisable that the Legations should withdraw to Yokohama. This is true, as far as it goes; but totally misrepresents the truth, if other essential particulars are omitted.

Certainly, in any measures to be adopted, greater security to life was contemplated as a necessary result; and if security generally, the Ministers must of necessity share in the benefit. But it is strangely to misrepresent the objects of your colleagues, as these were declared and made known to you, and as they stand distinctly recorded in the Note, which, if you did not sign, it is at least to be presumed you must have read, to state or imply that it was their own personal safety, either mainly or exclusively, that was the object of any proposed course. The withdrawal from a false and derogatory position as Diplomatic Agents—one rendered untenable with due regard to the interests and dignity of their respective nations; the improvement of this position, and among the first conditions of such improvement, the greater security of all whose lives and property were threatened at the ports, not less than in Yeddo, and more especially at the neighbouring port of Yokohama, where an attack was menaced,—these were the real, the principal, and the declared objects of the foreign Representatives; and I protest, in their name and my own, against your assuming and attributing to them, as a leading, if not the sole motive, a regard for their own personal safety. I deny your right to draw such inference, in contradiction to the views stated at the conferences, and recorded in the *compte-rendu*. I say, for myself, it is unfounded in fact; and I firmly believe it is equally untrue as regards my colleagues. The life of a public servant is not, I conceive, altogether at his own disposal. He is bound either to risk or secure it, according as his line of duty and the interests confided to his charge may demand; and assuredly the life of a foreign Minister and Representative in Japan becomes a serious charge, and a responsibility not to be lightly dealt with in either direction. If his presence at a particular post is required to vindicate the rights secured by Treaty, or affirm a principle, and this can only at best be done by risk to his own life, and more especially if the abandonment of such rights or principle must be the consequence of retiring from the port assigned him by Treaty, there he must be found: his retirement under such circumstances would be an indelible disgrace. Yet assuming the premises you do, this is what you lay to the charge of your colleagues, so far as your opinion goes, though I cannot think this was your intention. On the other hand, if loss of life threatened a greater danger to the national interests at stake, than the temporary change of position of a Minister, it is very evident that the same sense of duty which would retain him in the one case would compel him to withdraw in the other; not for the sake of his personal security, but as a means to the defence or advancement of the interests confided to him. And it was in this position that your colleagues conceived themselves placed, and

bound to withdraw. To attribute this step to a regard for their own personal safety, I think you must see is to take it from its proper ground and shift it to one infinitely lower, if not wholly unworthy, and an act of which they may very reasonably complain.

In conclusion, then, your colleagues were of opinion that life was insecure, their own and everybody else's, both in Yeddo and at the ports; that this insecurity could only be expected to increase unless measures were taken by the foreign Representatives calculated to arrest the course of assassination, and rouse the Executive to a sense of the danger which menaced the country in the persons of those who were menaced with massacre; and that safety was not to be secured by complying with the restrictive measures sought to be imposed by the Japanese Government as its condition; because, while ignorant of what the extent of these might be, those already proposed were inadmissible, consistent with a due regard for the interests and dignity of the nations they represented, and incompatible with any influence or usefulness on the part of Diplomatic Agents thus circumstanced.

When you state, as the second part of this proposition, that it was deemed necessary to produce some sensible effect upon the Government—a Government which so far had proved insensible alike to remonstrance, protest, and persuasion —it should also have been stated that it was very emphatically and distinctly declared, as one of the conclusions arrived at in connection with this view, that the means adopted for the specified end should be such as should involve neither menace nor violence; and above all, that the whole object and policy of the Representatives, then agreed upon, was to avert the chances of a collision or war, by every means in their power.

How is it possible, with these opinions, objects, and views, all distinctly enumerated by your colleagues, that you could proceed to characterize them and their proceedings as promoters of "war, and its attendant rapine and bloodshed?"

There may be a difference of opinion as to the means best adapted to avert such calamities, or to attain any specified end; but such difference can, in this instance, afford no justification for your attributing to them something directly the reverse of what they declared to be their object. And this, in effect, you do; for although it may be true you merely speak of war and its attendant calamities as the results of the action taken, yet you speak of them as so obvious and certain that colleagues with any degree of intelligence cannot be supposed so utterly blind as not to see such very manifest consequences. So far as I myself am concerned, however, I yield to no one in the earnestness of my desire to prevent the infliction of war on a peaceful people and a happy land, and I agree with you in so regarding Japan as a whole. I am possibly more ready than you yourself to advise a renunciation of all Treaties and intercourse with this country, and probably see more reason to doubt the wisdom, and question the policy, which dictated measures for opening it to foreign nations, ill prepared as it is for such changes and sacrifices as this necessarily and obviously must entail.

If, then, there were but two alternatives, war or withdrawal—one or the other being inevitable—I repeat there is much that would recommend the latter to my conscience and my judgment as the lesser of two evils. But while I question your right to any monopoly of such feelings and opinions, I do not feel at liberty to charge you with being animated by their contraries, even though you are following out a policy and a course of action which is, of all others, in my humble opinion, most calculated to bring matters to that pass where foreign Powers, one or several, must make their election, and either fight or retire altogether.

I believe firmly, after more than eighteen months' trial of what patience, a large consideration for inherent difficulties, something that may even have been mistaken for a tame submission to wrong (or, at all events, a policy of endurance and non-resistance which had no limit), that we have abundant evidence of such persistent encroachments on the rights of nations, in the person of their Diplomatic Agents in the country, such systematic resort to intimidation and violence, and general tendency to grave deterioration, in the position of foreigners, and the policy pursued towards them, either by the Government or with its cognizance—above all, as regards the one condition on which all others hang—of security to life and property, that nothing but further loss of life, and destruction to all the interests at stake, and at no distant date, can be reasonably anticipated, unless

means are found to modify that policy, and improve our position in Japan, that of merchants and Representatives alike.

I believe no less firmly, that a longer perseverance in fruitless protests, unheeded remonstrances, and claims for redress, to which no attention is ever paid—redress and protection always demanded with more or less of unanimity and urgency after each outrage and assassination, and always in vain, to be met only with hollow professions and empty promises, or by such shams as the whole system of yaconins has proved, in all that concerns effective protection, though sufficiently real as a means of interference and espionage—I say continued perseverance in this course, which, as I understood you at the Conference, was all you had to recommend, would, in my conviction, directly tend to precipitate the catastrophe you, and not you more than others, so earnestly deprecate.

And this is the conclusion at which all your colleagues arrived, with a perfect unanimity and accord as to the result, the more convincing that it was the result of independent processes of deduction and argument, drawn from facts in their own experience. Who may be right, you or your colleagues, is not exactly the question here, but the obligation on all between whom there is a difference of opinion not to attribute views or conclusions which are not theirs, or to deny to them the same earnest desire to promote peace and the best interests and well-being of the people of Japan which you claim for yourself.

In truth, I feel constrained to say, this sort of sweeping charge against your colleagues of a tendency to provoke war comes the less happily from the Minister of the United States, that I believe he is the only foreign Representative who, during the past eighteen months, has ever directly menaced this Government—not only with war, but a war that should strike at the root of all existing institutions and relations of society, by attacking the Daimios, and calling in the people, or restoring the Mikado to a real supremacy. I have it from yourself, as had one other, at least, of your colleagues, that, in an interview with the Foreign Minister, not so many months ago, and in the presence of all his officers, you declared to him, with every emphasis of word and gesture, that unless their policy were altered, they would provoke such a war on the part of the United States.

You evidently saw reason then, to be exceedingly dissatisfied with the progress of affairs, and the execution of the Treaties, in which I entirely agreed; and I confess I am at a loss to conceive in what matters can be held to have materially improved. I have certainly never gone so far myself; though about the same time I gave them plainly enough to understand that a continued and systematic violation of Treaty-rights, and especially a denial of justice, and protection to life and property, must inevitably lead, sooner or later, to war. I merely cite this to prove that when you were not so thoroughly satisfied as you appear to be now with the march of events, and the conduct of the Government, you contemplated war as a justifiable means to the end—war *à l'outrance*—a war of a servile and revolutionary character, superadded to the horrors of a foreign war; and therefore, though far from questioning the perfect sincerity of your present declaration, that you would "sooner see all the Treaties with this country torn up, than witness the horrors of war inflicted on this peaceful people and happy land," I cannot help remarking that you have not always entertained these views, or acted quite in accordance with them.

If you see reason to be quite satisfied with your position, together with that of foreigners generally in Japan, and of the relations of the Government towards them at the present moment, as your letter would seem to indicate, you must nevertheless admit there was a time, not very remote, when your views much more nearly accorded with those now held by your colleagues, and you were prepared to invoke those very horrors you now so feelingly deprecate and denounce.

I think I am entitled to conclude, therefore, that if we have the misfortune to differ on the present occasion, it is rather you who have changed views previously entertained and acted upon; not I or your colleagues. I can see no change in the circumstances, except for the worse.

There has been more of that patience and forbearance you so earnestly recommended; and, also, more intimidation, assassination, and incendiarism; more attempts at restrictions, official interference with the trade of the merchants and the independence of foreign Representatives; more promises and profes-

sions; and, also, more emphatic evidences of their hollowness in the passing events.

There are many other points in which you, either directly or by implication—no doubt unintentionally, but not the less plainly and essentially—misrepresent the views or misconstrue the action of the foreign Representatives from whom you differ; while, even in matters of fact bearing upon these, I cannot help concluding your information is at fault, and has greatly misled you.

You state, for instance, that it strikes you all the arguments used at the Conferences are based upon the assumption "that the Japanese Government presented a civilization on a par with that of the Western World," which would be, as you observe, "a grave error." An utterly unaccountable error, I will add, in Representatives having daily before them the evidences of a very different state, and scarcely less absurd than the demand for "the same observances and prompt administration of justice as in other more civilized lands," which you also attribute to my colleagues and myself; or the pretension to hold them responsible, in a way utterly unsanctioned by Western international law, for isolated acts of private individuals. I feel strangely at a loss to conceive from whence you have drawn these conclusions. They are certainly not to be found in the official "Note" to which you are referring.

So far as my own arguments or line of conduct are concerned, I have simply to assure you they are founded on none of these hypothetical assumptions. But that the rulers of Japan should be made to respect the stipulations of Treaties, and not deliberately or systematically violate them; that they should cause life and property to be respected, and secure both by means not less prompt and effective than they adopt when they themselves are concerned, may reasonably, I think, be required; nay, must be required, if any relations, diplomatic or commercial, are to be maintained. I think they may reasonably be required, because whatever may be our respective opinions on the kind or degree of civilization, it is impossible to doubt that it is such as to furnish the means of meeting these equitable requirements.

But you think they have done all that is necessary, or otherwise possible, to shield them from reproach or further pressure; and instance the escape of the assassins of the Gotiro to prove that they are as powerless to insure the apprehension of murderers, when they themselves, the rulers of the land, fall victims, as when foreigners are selected. I read this statement with great surprise.

I have it from officers, high in the service of the Government, that not one escaped; and I believe within six weeks of the crime, all not killed on the spot, had been seized, judged, and executed. Such, also, is the popular belief, universally spread so far as we can judge.

As to the responsibility of the Government, therefore, in regard to the isolated acts of individuals, I deny, in the first place, that the murders and outrages against foreigners are the isolated acts of individuals, or can be so regarded in the face of the evidence of a political bearing, and a sequence in these various crimes which link them together. I do not deny that you may be right in your view; I merely speak of what is the conviction under which I and my colleagues are acting. So, in reference to their powers of repression and punishment, I think the case you instance is one in point to prove the opposite conclusion.

As to the responsibility of the Government for these acts of murder and successive outrages, be they isolated or a part of a series perpetrated in furtherance of a policy, and the application of international law, I think you are mistaken in assuming that a principle has been invoked, not recognized in the comity of Western nations, nor habitually acted upon in the most normal state of society, there is a generally recognized doctrine that people ought to guarantee to each other the enjoyment of life and property, against the attacks to which private passions usually expose them. And although there is a considerable difference between the morality of different ages and nations, there is a sufficient degree of resemblance in these broad principles to justify an appeal to them in Japan. Let us see then, how this bears upon the present argument: first, as to what I and my colleagues contend for; and secondly, as to the application of the two examples you cite as instances in point. I claim, on the art of the Japanese Government, all the efforts in their power to repress and

to punish crime directed against the life or property of foreigners. And as the lowest estimate of what this should be, I take their action, when Japanese are the parties menaced or injured; I say the lowest, for I am by no means prepared to admit that they may not be rightfully compelled to make greater efforts, should these prove habitually inadequate. And when I find, that in no one instance, out of more than a dozen cases of assassination, or murderous assault and incendiarism, they have taken effective steps for tracing the criminals, and bringing them to justice, I doubt their having, in good faith, employed all the means at their command; or if they have, I see the necessity for improvement, and do not see its impossibility.

In any case, I presume you will admit they are responsible in some sense, and in some degree, both for repression and punishment. When you instance the case of a Frenchman in England, tried on a charge of plotting against the life of a Sovereign, whose residence was in another country (cited to prove that Western Governments do not hold each other responsible for isolated acts of individuals), I cannot help observing, you seem to me to have been singularly infelicitous in the choice of your example. When you say, a London jury "exultingly acquitted a conspirator" against the life of the Emperor of the French, you beg the question, and assume the very fact which was before the jury; who acquitted him, permit me to remark, not as a proved conspirator in the evidence brought before them, but as an individual against whom no sufficient evidence of his having violated the law of the land had been adduced. To make the case in the slightest degree parallel, or bearing upon the present argument, the Frenchman should in the first place have been a native, and at all events the personage whose life was menaced should have been in the country, and living under the protection of its laws (for laws are not usually made to reach offences contemplated by aliens against the lives or property of those who do not live within the territorial limits to which such municipal laws apply), and the Government should have taken no step, in so far as the laws would sanction, either for repression or punishment. But so far from this, they not only prosecuted, but, subsequent to the trial, brought into Parliament a new law, of wider reach, and the Ministers of the day went out of power in consequence. Again, in the case of an assault on the French Minister at Naples, true the assailant escaped; but you forget to add that so far from the Government being held irresponsible, or denying its responsibility, it immediately declared its readiness to give whatever satisfaction France might deem it right to require.

Again, as to the degree of civilization and the observances to be expected or exacted, I cannot but feel surprised at the reproach your letter would affix in others of an overstrained estimate of what is due or could reasonably be asked of the Japanese. This might surely have been more naturally attributed to the only foreign Minister who has ever felt called upon, since the Treaties came into operation, to enter into long and irritating discussions (prolonged through several months indeed) with this Government about etiquette and observances omitted or violated at an audience of the Representative of the United States with the Tycoon, and the only Representative who, in an interview with the Foreign Ministers at Yeddo, has had to complain of what he deemed an insult offered to him in their presence by one of the Governors; so grievous that he felt compelled, in vindication of his position and the respect due to his nation, to threaten to withdraw, if the officer was not made to retire. These are all facts I have from yourself, some formally and officially communicated, and none under any seal of secresy. There is, I conceive, no indiscretion or breach of confidence therefore in my appealing to them as proofs that some kind of civilized usage and attention to observances you have insisted upon, as due to your position and needful to its maintenance. You are certainly more open than your colleagues, then, to whom such painful experiences have never occurred, to a charge of exacting observances out of keeping with the civilization of the people; which I am very far from bringing, let me add, for I believe you were perfectly justified in all you did, in both cases, and that thanks, not reproaches, were due to you from your colleagues. I merely refer to the circumstances to show that the facts ill suit with your theory that your colleagues, instead of yourself, entertain such notions as are attributed to them in respect to the observances to be expected or required from the Japanese. Other points yet remain, to which I might advert, as being, in my opinion, more or less erroneous; but I prefer closing a discussion the prolongation of which is

unnecessary for the purpose I had in view, and which was simply to vindicate myself and the colleagues with whom I am acting from charges and misconstructions of an injurious character. You and I unfortunately, as I conceive, for the general interests, hold different, and, to all appearance, irreconcileable opinions. But facts generally admit of being tested and proved by something in the way of evidence, while conclusions, based upon them, can be satisfactorily dealt with as borne out or otherwise fallacious; and it has been my wish to refer to both, merely so far as might be essential, to show where error or injustice existed, and not to call in question your intention or motives, or to expose your action to misconstruction. Having done this, I have only to add that your letter, as you request, shall be forwarded by an early opportunity to Her Majesty's Government, that it may be attached to the *compte-rendu*, together with a copy of this, my reply.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 3 in No. 9.

Mr. Alcock to Messrs. De Bellecourt and De Wit.

Sir, *Yokohama, February* 14, 1861.

I HAVE received to-day an official communication from Mr. Harris, the Resident Minister of the United States of America at Yeddo, in which he states that "he was not invited to assist" at the second Conference of the Representatives of foreign Powers, held at Her Britannic Majesty's Legation on the 21st ultimo.

This is so strangely in contradiction to my own clear impression of the facts that I cannot even understand how Mr. Harris should have fallen into such an error. I think it due, however, to all my colleagues who acted with me on that occasion, as well as myself, to obtain their evidence on the subject. I shall be obliged, therefore, by your informing me whether it is or is not in your recollection :—

1st. That it was agreed at the first Conference, in the presence of all—Mr. Harris of course included—that a second Conference should take place at the same place and hour on the 21st ultimo.

2ndly. That Mr. Harris said he feared he might be unable to attend, as he hoped on that day to succeed in inducing the Ministers of Foreign Affairs to call upon him; but that in any case he begged his absence need be no impediment, as he had already heard the opinions of his colleagues, and expressed his own, from which nothing should (or could) move him.

3rdly. Whether on my own part, and that of others, an earnest desire was at once expressed that he would favour us with his presence.

4thly. Whether upon this clear understanding that a second Conference would take place on the day mentioned the Conference broke up, and without further communication with you on the subject, you attended, and met all the parties to the first Conference, except Mr. Harris.

5thly. Whether the whole of the members were left in doubt whether it was Mr. Harris' intention to be present or not; and in consequence the Conference was deferred for the space of nearly one hour waiting for his appearance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 4 in No. 9.

M. de Bellecourt to Mr. Alcock.

Légation et Consulat-Général de France,
M. le Ministre, *Yokohama, le* 15 *Février*, 1861.

J'Ai reçu la lettre que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire en date d'hier, et je dois à la vérité de dire que les cinq points posés dans cette lettre

concordent parfaitement avec les souvenirs exacts que je conserve de la Conférence tenue à Yédo le 19 Janvier, à la Légation de Sa Majesté Britannique, et à laquelle ont pris part avec votre Excellence et moi, MM. les Représentants des Etats-Unis, de Prusse, et de Hollande.

Ainsi, toutes les opinions ayant été exprimées dans cette conférence (M. le Ministre des Etats-Unis ayant également donné la sienne), il s'est agi d'en rédiger un procès-verbal, et après diverses propositions il a été convenu que l'exposé présenté avec tant de lucidité par votre Excellence sur l'état anormal des choses au Japon serait consigné dans un compte-rendu dressé par vos soins, M. le Ministre, et où vous reproduisiez les propositions émises par les cinq Représentants ; il a été en outre convenu que ce compte-rendu serait présenté à notre adoption dans une nouvelle réunion qui aurait lieu le 21 à la même heure. Lorsque vous avez demandé à son Excellence le Ministre des Etats-Unis si ce jour et cette heure lui convenaient, Mr. Harris a répondu qu'il ne voyait pas que sa présence fut nécessaire à cette conférence, son opinion ayant été nettement émise dans la séance du jour ; et que d'ailleurs, comme il avait l'espoir d'amener les Ministres des Affaires Etrangères Japonais à lui faire une visite officielle ce jour-là même, il ne lui serait peut-être pas possible d'assister à la séance projetée, mais qu'il recevrait volontiers communication du compte-rendu s'il ne pouvait se rendre lui-même à l'invitation de ses collègues.

Je me suis retiré avec la conviction que chacun de nous était dûment convoqué à la réunion indiquée, et c'est dans cette pensée que j'ai préparé une note pour la seconde Conférence, note ayant pour objet, non pas de renouveler une discussion épuisée, mais d'établir que les quatre Représentants qui s'étaient trouvés d'accord sur l'opportunité de quitter momentanément Yédo, n'agissaient pas sous une impression produite par la crainte de dangers personnels, mais bien dans l'intention de faire sentir qu'ils redoutaient à la fois et de dangers matériels pour les leurs et un certain danger moral pour la dignité de leurs Gouvernements, tant que le Gouvernement de Yédo ne se montrerait pas disposé à se départir de ce système d'intimidation continuel qu'il a mis en pratique jusque sur la tombe du Secrétaire de la Légation des Etats-Unis.

Il était donc bien entendu que la seconde Conférence aurait lieu sans autre convocation, non pour discuter de nouveau mais pour entendre la lecture du compte-rendu de votre Excellence et y apposer nos signatures.

C'est ainsi que nous nous sommes réunis chez votre Excellence, MM. les Représentants de Hollande et de Prusse, et que nous avons en effet attendu inutilement pendant une heure l'arrivée de Mr. Harris avant de commencer la lecture du procès-verbal de la séance du 19, dont nous n'avons eu qu'à approuver l'exactitude parfaite.

Tel est, M. le Ministre, le résumé de mes souvenirs, et M. de Wit, que je viens de voir, m'a déclaré qu'ils sont entièrement conformes aux siens.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) DU CHESNE DE BELLECOURT.

Inclosure 5 in No. 9.

M. de Wit to Mr. Alcock.

Consulate-General of the Netherlands in Japan,
Yokohama, February 15, 1861.

Sir,

IN answer to your letter of the 14th February instant, I have the honour to state :—

1st. That at the first Conference all the Diplomatic Agents, Mr. Harris included, were invited by you to meet again at the British Legation, on Saturday, January 21, at 1 o'clock P.M.

2ndly. That all agreed to come, except Mr. Harris, who said he expected that on that day the Ministers of Foreign Affairs would call upon him, adding that, moreover, his resolution was fixed, from which nothing could move him.

3rdly. That when, by all present, a doubt was expressed as to the realisation of this expected visit, and an earnest desire was shown for his being present, Mr. Harris replied that he firmly believed the Ministers of Foreign Affairs would

really call upon him; and that, therefore, if he did not come, the reason was known why.

4thly. That, without any further communication, I came at the appointed time and place, and met all the parties to the first Conference, except Mr. Harris.

5thly. That the Conference was deferred till near 2 o'clock (when there was no sufficient reason to wait any longer for Mr. Harris), when it could not be reasonably expected that Mr. Harris would come.

With these statements I hope to have given satisfactorily the asked-for evidence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. K. DE WIT.

Inclosure 6 in No. 9.

Mr. Harris to Mr. Alcock.

Legation of the United States in Japan,
Sir, *Yeddo, February* 23, 1861.

I HAD the honour to inform you, in my note of the 20th, of the receipt by me, on the night of the 18th, of your letter of the 16th instant.

I have given it that long and careful consideration which its great length required and its importance demanded.

I do not see that any good can arise from a prolonged discussion of the grounds of the difference of opinion which unfortunately exists between us, and I, therefore, with all due respect to you, leave that part of your letter unanswered.

There remains, however, one point of fact and various references to my personal action, to which I feel constrained to reply; but before entering on these I desire to disclaim, in the broadest manner, any intention to reflect on the action of my colleagues, or to cast any aspersion on their motives. Differing widely from them, it was incumbent on me not only to state my opinion, but also to point out the inconveniences that I believed would attend their course of action, and I had no thought of reflecting on their motives or their action.

In my note to you of the 12th instant I stated that the *compte-rendu* of the Conferences held in this city on the 19th and 21st of January failed to state that the American Minister was not invited to attend the latter Conference.

In answer to this statement you reply, that an invitation was given, and in proof of the correctness of your recollection you transmit copies of letters from M. de Bellecourt, the French Chargé d'Affaires, and M. de Wit, the Netherlands Consul-General.

At the close of the Conference of January 19 you suggested the propriety of drawing up a *compte-rendu* of the Conference, and kindly undertook the labour; you further suggested that a meeting be held on the 21st of January to consider the *compte-rendu*, and to verify it by a Protocol to be signed by the foreign Representatives. Not one word was said in my hearing of an intention to reopen the discussions at the next meeting; had any such intimation been given to me I should have deferred a meeting with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs which had been appointed for that day, and would have attended the new Conference.

That my view of the nature of the intended meeting was correct is fully borne out by M. de Bellecourt in the following extracts from his note to you, dated the 15th instant:—

"Il s'est agi d'en rédiger un procès-verbal, et après diverses propositions il a été convenu que l'exposé présenté avec tant de lucidité par votre Excellence sur l'état anormal des choses au Japon, serait consigné dans un compte-rendu dressé par vos soins, M. le Ministre, et où vous reproduisiez les propositions émises par les cinq Représentants; il a été en outre convenu que ce compte rendu serait présenté à notre adoption dans une nouvelle réunion qui aurait lieu le 21, à la même heure."

And, further:

"Il était donc bien entendu que la seconde Conférence aurait lieu sans autre convocation, non pour discuter de nouveau, mais pour entendre la lecture du compte-rendu de votre Excellence, et y apposer nos signatures."

No reference is made to anything to be considered at the meeting to be held on the 21st, beyond the adoption of a *compte-rendu* to be presented for approval.

The note of M. de Wit states the admitted fact that a meeting was to be held on the 21st January, but, less explicit than M. de Bellecourt, he does not state the declared object of the meeting.

I am willing to believe that the reopening of the Conference was an afterthought, and that there was no original intention of excluding the Minister of the United States from the discussions then held.

Had I been informed of the intention of continuing the discussions, I should have felt it my duty to attend, and my presence might have prevented the utterance of the peevish remark recorded in the *compte-rendu* to the effect that the action of the American Minister would lead the Japanese Government to resist the pressure about to be brought upon them by his colleagues.

On folios 39 to 41 of your letter, you state that I threatened the Japanese with war on the part of the United States, "a war that should strike at all existing institutions of society." You add that "I contemplated a war *à l'outrance*, a war of servile and revolutionary character, superadded to the horrors of a foreign war."

A very few words will be sufficient to ventilate this absurd charge.

Up to the month of December 1859 the clauses of the Treaties granting freedom of trade were virtually in abeyance. Finding our written remonstrances did not produce any effect on the Japanese Government, it was agreed by you, M. de Bellecourt, and myself, that we should have interviews with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, at which we should point out to them the inevitable consequences that must follow the policy they were then pursuing. You had the first interview, but nothing was accomplished. On the 13th December, I had an interview with the Ministers. On that occasion I pointed out to them their infractions of their Treaty stipulations, and I concluded by warning them that the various Treaty Powers would not permit them to trample on their Treaty obligations; that war would be the inevitable consequence of their present policy. I also warned them that if a war did take place, the Representatives of the foreign Powers would only negotiate with the Representatives of the Mikado, and that this would overthrow the governing power then exercised by the Daimios, with the Tycoon as their Representative.

I aver that I never used any of the expressions you attribute to me, and I also declare that I never, either in writing or orally, either officially or privately, informed you, or any one else, that I had used threats such as you attribute to me, or anything analogous to them.

I beg to add, for your information, that the Representatives of the United States have not the power of making war (that is wisely placed in the hands of the President and Congress), nor can they so embroil their country that it must either prosecute an unjust war, or submit to a loss of honour.

From folio 57 of your letter, I make the following extract:—

"You are certainly more open than your colleagues to a charge—which I am very far from bringing, let me add—of exacting observances out of keeping with the civilization of the people."

In this you refer to the discussions which were had on and after the 7th December, 1859, on the subject of the ceremonial observed at my second audience.

My first audience of His Majesty the Tycoon took place on the 7th December, 1857. All the ceremonial then observed, save one point, the manner in which I should salute His Majesty, was settled by the Japanese themselves.

At my second audience, which took place on the 5th November, 1859, there was so marked a difference in the ceremonial, and so wide a departure from that observed at my first audience, that I had no doubt of its being intentional on the part of the Government, and that they meant to place the Representative of the United States in a humiliating position in the eyes of the Japanese people.

Acting on this belief, I demanded as a redress for the slight put upon me that I should have a new audience, at which the same ceremonial should be observed as that used at my audience of the 7th December, 1857. This was all I ever demanded, and it was conceded to me.

Your insinuation that I endeavoured to "exact observances out of keeping

with the civilization of the people," being without any foundation, it falls to the ground.

I am the more surprised at your failure of memory in relation to this matter, when I call to mind the fact that you were consulted by me in every step which I took in this behalf.

You endeavour to impugn my statement "that we have lived in Yeddo about nineteen months in safety," by asking the following questions:—

"Have not you yourself been assaulted by one of those two-sworded retainers in your own courtyard, and placed in bodily fear of your life? Were you not warned by the Government that if you prosecuted your assailant, you would be in danger of a vendetta from him or his companions, which would very likely cost you your life?"

A drunken yaconin did jostle me as I was proceeding to my house on the 29th December, 1859, and it was, no doubt, a technical assault, for which a jury in my country would have awarded me a farthing damages, had I applied for redress.

To admit that a man in the last stage of intoxication put me "in bodily fear of my life," would be to impeach my own manhood.

The "warning of the Government" finds a ludicrous answer in the fact that the "warning" was simply the volunteer advice of an interpreter. My assailant was promptly arrested, and speedily punished.

In my answers to the personal attacks on me, I have not been compelled to trust to my unaided memory, as all the material facts I have used are contained in the archives of this Legation.

I have read with great surprise and deep regret your declaration that you feel authorised to make use of my private conversation with you, because you were not placed under the seal of secresy.

I must decline following your example, believing, as I do, that it is calculated to destroy all confidence between man and man, and to make social intercourse impossible.

I am fain to believe that the expression escaped you in a moment of excitement, and that cool reflection will cause you not only to regret but to retract it.

I have transmitted a copy of the *compte-rendu* to my Government, and I shall also transmit a copy of your letter of the 16th instant.

Permit me to request you to forward a copy of this note to your Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) TOWNSEND HARRIS.

Inclosure 7 in No. 9.

Mr. Alcock to Mr. Harris.

Sir, *Yokohama, February* 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd instant.

Further discussion on the points which are at issue between us would, I conceive, be both endless and profitless. Were the language in which you have seen fit to couch your answer not such as to justify my declining all further correspondence with you on the subject, I have simply to inform you that I adhere to the statements already made, and formally deny the correctness of your allegation that I have made use of any conversation that could fairly be considered private between us—referred to any acts not more or less officially communicated to me as the British Minister and your colleague.

As you desire the whole correspondence to be transmitted to Her Majesty's Government, and have already sent my letter of the 16th to your own, I have to request this may be added.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

No. 10.

Mr. Alcock to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received April* 26.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, February* 21, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose some correspondence which has taken place between the Acting Consul here and the British residents, together with the Minutes of two meetings to consider the grievances of the latter, as to the interference of Japanese officials in the trade of the place, contrary to Treaty, and to the manifest injury of foreigners generally. A statement of the grievances was, at the invitation of the Consul, who acted upon my suggestions, conveyed, in the first instance, by a letter to his address. The report of the Committee of the British residents, their grievances, and the subsequent review of the grounds of complaints and the action of the British authorities for their removal (which Captain Vyse, as Chairman, took occasion to make), will be found in the printed Minute of proceedings at the public meeting. These documents give a full and fair view of the whole state of the case on both sides, and the present position of affairs.

I am actively engaged in the endeavour to effect some amelioration, thus fully informed; and if I succeed in removing the existing obstacles to my resuming residence at Yeddo, I do not despair, on my return, of success in this direction also.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 10.

[See Inclosure 1 and 2 in No. 8.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 10.

Extract from the Supplement to the "Overland China Mail" of March 16, 1861.

Public Meeting of Foreigners at Yokohama.

Minutes of a Meeting held at Mr. W. Keswick's on the 7th of February, 1861.

Present:

F. H. Bell, *in the Chair.*

H. E. Bush, *Secretary.*

W. G. Aspinall.	F. Moffat.
T. Tatham.	J. Loureiro.
W. Keswick.	H. J. Hooper.
J. B. Ross.	A. J. Macpherson.
G. Henderson.	C. T. Elmstone.
W. Marshall.	W. Macdonald.
J. Birdseye.	S. Maine.

THE Chairman stated that the meeting had been called to take into consideration a despatch from Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy respecting irregularities in the transaction of business at the Custom-house, and official interference with native merchants, contrary to Treaty, and other restrictions and obstructions to trade on the part of Government.

Moved by Mr. Keswick, and seconded by Mr. Marshall,—That, viewing the present state of the currency as assisting, in a very marked degree, the growth of an import trade, and not as an arrangement in its effects altogether one-sided and prejudicial to foreigners, we are of opinion that, in the interests of trade generally, the dollar had better be left, as decided upon by our Minister some

time since, to find its own value; and in furtherance of this we beg that Her Majesty's Minister will use his best endeavours to secure for the dollar unrestricted circulation, not only in Yeddo and Yokohama, but throughout the Empire. (Carried, 9 to 5.)

Proposed by Mr. Elmstone, and seconded by Mr. J. Loureiro,—That Her Majesty's Minister be requested to secure, if practicable, the exchange of our coin by the Government at weight for weight, we paying a fair per-centage for recoining; as, from the well-known duplicity of the Government, and with the example of the stamped dollar before us, it appears foreign coin cannot be made current as provided for by Treaty.

Mr. Keswick moved, and Mr. Marshall seconded,—That Mr. Elmstone's motion be not put to the meeting. (Carried, 9 to 5.)

Moved by Mr. Tatham, and seconded by Mr. Macpherson,—That with respect to the non-fulfilment of contracts entered into between foreign and Japanese merchants, instances be obtained, and embodied by the Committee in their report. (Carried *nem. con.*)

Moved by Mr. Macpherson, and seconded by Mr. Aspinall,—That any member of the community who is acquainted with the fact of Japanese officials having in any way interfered with native merchants in buying and selling, be requested to furnish particulars of same. (Carried unanimously.)

Moved by Mr. Macpherson, and seconded by Mr. Macdonald,—That there are at present many restrictions to business arising from the manner in which the Custom-house is managed, viz., from want of sufficient interpreters, the frequent change of these and other officers, the insufficient accommodation afforded by the present cargo-boats and landing-place, and the high charges made for boat and coolie-hire. That to remedy these grievances jetties be established at the new concession, and other places when requisite, the supplying of coolies and cargo-boats thrown open to competition, or increased facilities given by the Government for hiring of them, and that a fixed and equitable tariff be established instead of the present exorbitant rates. (Carried unanimously.)

Moved by Mr. Keswick, and seconded by Mr. Hooper,—That there be recorded in the Minutes the thanks of this meeting to Her Majesty's Minister and Consul for the opportunity afforded of expressing an opinion on the restrictions and obstructions under which trade labours at this port, and of suggesting how, in some measure at least, they may be removed. (Carried unanimously.)

Moved by Mr. Marshall, and seconded by Mr. J. B. Ross,—That a Committee be appointed, and be composed of Messrs. Bell, Keswick, Bush, and Marshall, to draw up a statement in accordance with the Resolution of this meeting, and wait upon Her Majesty's Consul with the same. (Carried unanimously.)

Moved by Mr. Keswick, and seconded by Mr. Macpherson,—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman and Secretary. (Carried unanimously.)

Sir, *Kanagawa, February* 9, 1861.

We have the honour to wait upon you with Minutes of a meeting held to take into consideration a reply to the despatch of Her Majesty's Minister and Envoy Extraordinary, requesting to be placed in possession of particulars of restrictions to trade, contrary to Treaty, and we trust the following statements will be of use to Her Majesty's Envoy in freeing the trade of this port from many of the obstructions commerce has hitherto laboured under.

1. *The Currency.*

It is beyond all question that restrictions are put upon the circulation of the dollar, but it does not appear that in any direct way is its current value now controlled by officials. The Government is not anxious that foreign coin should be introduced into the country, and therefore prohibits its circulation elsewhere than in Yeddo and at the open ports, and the consequent demand for itzebues with which to purchase the products of the country suitable for export has raised the value of the native coin to a premium of about 30½ per cent. In September the premium was nearly 50 per cent., but the large purchases made by Government to supply the Mint, and a rapid development of an import trade, brought about a considerable decline. Since this improvement in the dollar

took place, Government has confined its purchases of silver more to the product of its own mines, the proprietors of these being obliged to dispose of the metal at an arbitrary rate.

The revenue derived from the Mint is very large, and it is clearly the desire of Government to protect it by prohibiting a foreign coin from becoming current, and displacing in a great measure the native.

It is certainly not to the prejudices of the people the depreciation is attributable, for the experience of the last nineteen months shows that the natives approve of the dollar as a coin.

We are therefore of opinion that the unrestricted circulation of foreign coins throughout the Empire, if it can be secured (and it is stipulated for in our Treaty), would gradually restore the dollar to its legitimate value, and that, too, at no very distant period.

The working of the currency during the past four months cannot be regarded as having been very seriously against us, as to it is due, in a very marked degree, the development of a large import trade.

The export trade is certainly checked by it, but there is no reason to doubt that the free and unrestricted circulation of the dollar, by adding to the metallic currency of the country, will lead to a mutual and rapid development of both an import and export trade.

2. *Apparent Breach of Treaty by Government in not enforcing the observance of Contracts.*

The non-fulfilment of contracts by merchants in a position to carry out their engagements, appears to us in the light of a grievance against the Government, as it is in its power to enforce their observance.

It is needless to recapitulate cases, as the archives of the Consulate can furnish you with abundant proof of how constantly and shamelessly the native merchants break faith with foreigners, and depart from their engagements, with the apparent approval of their rulers. One case, however, may be mentioned, which was brought before your notice by Mr. Keswick on the 17th February, 1860. The contractor was Mi-tsu-i Haizen, a large merchant of this place, and said to be the wealthiest in Japan, connected with the Government, and acting as its banker throughout the Empire. The produce contracted for was silk and oil, but only the most trifling quantity of each was delivered.

This case has been in your hands for nearly a year, and you are doubtless well aware what steps the Japanese Government has taken to enforce the observances of mercantile engagements upon its subjects.

3. *Official interference with Merchants in disposing of Produce.*

Official interference with the sale of produce to foreigners we believe to be systematic, though difficult of proof. We all know that every sale and every purchase effected by a Japanese merchant has to be reported to officers specially appointed to keep a record of every transaction, and a note of the price. We cannot assert that a system of extortion exists, but as evidence of the fact that there is interference with trade, contrary to Treaty, we conceive the two following statements will suffice:—

Mr. H. J. Hooper can assert that within the last two months he has been desirous of contracting for manufactured copper, and was unable to do so in consequence of the native merchants assuring him, that although on their own part willing and anxious, they were not allowed in consequence of the Government having on the nineteenth month of the present Japanese year called in all outstanding contracts, and given the merchants warning not to enter into any new ones. This he can prove by a gentleman who was present when he sought to make such contracts, but in the interests of his business he cannot of course give up the names of the merchants who for the reasons above stated, and these alone, refused to contract.

Messrs. Tatham & Co. bought ten piculs awahi from Tchkawayah. It was delivered, but upon examination four boxes were rejected. On inquiring why these four boxes were not taken away, their godown coolie said the merchant was in prison, whereupon his house was visited, and the shop found shut up. The head-man was confined in the house, and he stated that all his servants

were in prison. Captain Vyse spoke to the Custom-house officials, who promised to release the prisoners, but the shop is still closed, and the merchant is thus debarred from delivering other produce purchased from him.

4. *Want of System at Custom-house, and inadequate Wharfage accommodation, &c.*

Under this head we have most serious obstructions to trade to complain of, in the want of all system in transacting business at the Custom-house. It may be, and we believe it is the case, that there are a sufficient number of interpreters to transact all business with promptitude and despatch, but they do not appear in the room for granting permits and receiving duties when they are most required. Occasionally there are two, but more frequently only one interpreter to attend to this department. And from the not unusual absence of interpreters altogether, foreigners experience most vexatious and unnecessary delays.

We have also to complain of the course adopted with permits, which the Custom-house grant indiscriminately, and not according to priority of application. It does not unfrequently happen that one man has to wait for hours, while another who has come after him is attended to first, and this without the application of the one being more difficult to grant than that of the other.

For remedying these evils we would beg to suggest that there should be a greater number of interpreters placed in the outer room for the special purpose of translating permits, and that all such be granted according to the order in which they are received.

Another point to which we would call your attention is the frequent change of interpreters and other officers connected with the Custom-house, the present system appearing to be, that as soon as an officer becomes at all acquainted with the routine of the particular department under his charge, he is removed and replaced by one totally ignorant of his duties, and the inconvenience of this is especially felt at the examination-house.

With respect also to the examination-house it is frequently the case that produce remains for hours uninspected, waiting for the permit to ship. We would suggest, in order to facilitate the shipment of produce, that so soon as brought to the jetty, it should be inspected, weighed, and put into boats, to be detained until production of the permit.

At the present time the supplying of cargo-boats is entirely in the hands of the Custom-house, and though we are of opinion that it might be beneficial to allow of public competition, we do not wish the system changed, provided the Government is prepared to furnish boats sufficient for the requirements of the port, such boats being covered and constructed so as to protect the goods they are intended to carry.

Owing to the state of things in China, for some months past, the export trade at this port has been restricted in a great measure to tea and silk; and the inconvenience arising from an insufficient supply of cargo-boats has not been felt to any great degree; but looking forward to the probable revival of the trade in general cargoes, we would suggest that either the Government allow the supplying of cargo-boats to be open to public competition (in which case special stipulations for obtaining boatmen would have to be made), or that it should guarantee to keep up a sufficient supply of boats, properly built, with a view to protecting the goods shipped in them, from rain, and that an equitable scale of charges be agreed upon.

On the 9th of September, 1860, several of the Government cargo-boats were wrecked, and we believe we are correct in stating that none of the boats then destroyed have yet been replaced.

Another evil is the coolie system. At present two coolie-masters, authorized by Government, have the supplying of coolies, and they fix what scale of charges they think proper, as it is impossible for foreigners to obtain labour except through them. The injustice attending such a system is great, and we would suggest that either foreigners be allowed to employ coolies irrespective of the masters, or that a scale of charges be agreed to more in accordance with the wages paid to the coolies, and made binding upon the masters.

Daily experience proves that the present wharf for landing and shipping cargo is totally inadequate to the business requirements of the port, and as trade increases this inconvenience must be more and more felt; we would,

therefore, suggest that three new wharves be constructed, and that at each of these there should be an examination-house and proper officers to inspect the goods.

5. *Occupation of Land.*

We are not aware that any complaint of not affording facilities for the occupation of land and houses on sites agreed upon by the Japanese and foreign authorities can be made against the Government. Unaccountable and to many of us most vexatious delays have been experienced in obtaining land, but you are probably better informed than we are with whom the blame rests.

6. *Security of Life and Property.*

Under this head we have little to say, as it is needless now to dwell on the sacrifices that have already taken place. Apparently the Government is anxious to protect us, and if we may judge from the precautions taken to secure life and property, we should also say it could do so effectually. We feel a certain amount of reserve, however, in speaking on this subject, as doubtless you are in possession of more reliable information than we are.

We have, &c.
(Signed) W. KESWICK.
&c. &c. &c.

Inclosure 3 in No. 10.

Extract from the "North China Herald" of March 16, 1861.

Minutes of a meeting of British residents at Yokohama, on the 19th February, 1861, convened by Her Majesty's Acting Consul, for the purpose of taking into consideration a Report and the proceedings of a preliminary meeting on the subject of existing grievances and obstructions at this port.

Captain F. Howard Vyse, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, *in the Chair*.

THE Chairman having explained the object of the meeting in the terms of the circular of the 14th instant convening it, said he would be glad to receive any proposition, or hear any explanation bearing on the subjects for discussion.

Mr. Edward Clarke begged the Chairman to read the Report of the preliminary meeting referred to, as he (Mr. Clarke) was yet ignorant of what was embodied in that Report.

The Report being read—

Mr. Clarke said: Mr. Chairman, I rise to claim the privilege of addressing this meeting on behalf of myself, and also those parties present who may not have had an opportunity afforded them of reading the reply sent to Her Majesty's Consul by those merchants of Yokohama who received invitations to to attend the private meeting held, at Mr. Keswick's parlour, on the 7th instant, and I beg to take this occasion of heartily thanking you, Sir, for the kindness and consideration which you have shown this meeting, by reading the contents of that document, with which I am now made acquainted for the first time, barring what I have learned by hearsay: and I must now claim the indulgence and patience of you, Sir, and also of this meeting, if, in my attempt to criticise portions of a document with which I can only be very imperfectly acquainted I may unintentionally commit some errors, arising chiefly therefrom, and partly also to the short space of time during which I have been resident in Japan.

Without wasting the valuable time of this meeting on minor topics of grievances which others are, or have been, so much better able to deal with, I will now venture to approach at once what I consider to be of the pith and marrow of that which concerns this meeting; I allude, Mr. Chairman, to the currency question, and, however simple it may appear in the abstract, to hear that a resolution was carried by a majority, at the preliminary meeting held on the

7th instant, to the effect "that the Mexican dollar be allowed to find its own level, &c., &c.," still I humbly think that it will be trenching too much on the good sense and patience of this meeting to suppose for one moment that the Mexican or any other dollar or coin whatsoever could ever find its own level, so long as the Japanese Government, for obvious reasons, is determined that it never shall. It is, nevertheless, quite true that Article X of Lord Elgin's Treaty apparently tends somewhat in support of that resolution; but if, Mr. Chairman, we give to this Article the careful consideration and interpretation which it deserves, we shall find that it is subject to the same rules which guide the Queen's Judges in giving interpretation to clauses in Acts of Parliament, which, however well framed at the time of being enacted, are sometimes found in practice to be almost inoperative: in these cases, the Judge is permitted to take upon himself the responsibility of interpreting the meaning of the Act, and the motives of the law-makers for framing the clause. Following out this principle in its integrity, I will, Mr. Chairman, with your permission, endeavour to elucidate to this meeting what I take to be the meaning and intention of Article X of the Treaty with Japan, or rather such portions of that Article as appear to me to bear practically on the aforesaid resolution.

In the third paragraph of Article X, it reads thus:

"As some time will elapse before the Japanese will become acquainted with the value of foreign coin, the Japanese Government will, for the period of one year after the opening of each port, furnish British subjects with Japanese coin, in exchange for theirs, equal weights being given, and no discount taken for recoinage."

I am of opinion, Mr. Chairman, that nothing can be clearer than the intention and meaning of the third paragraph of Article X, and I think also that it is quite competent to this meeting to interpret it in a large sense. It was self-evident to the framers of the Treaty (and the foresight displayed does them infinite credit) that some time must elapse before foreign coin could become current in this country, but, as it was desirable to fix a definite period, twelve months was the short space accorded for the exchange of weight for weight coins, and, doubtless, the framers (for the major part at least) thought such a period ample; but unfortunately the contrary is the fact—a twelvemonth has not been enough—and such being the case, I humbly think, Mr. Chairman, that we have a right to fall back upon the meaning and intention of Article X of the Treaty, and in accordance with this I beg, Mr. Chairman, to put the following resolution to this meeting:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is desirable that Her Majesty's Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary be humbly requested to take such steps as he may see fit and desirable to obtain from the Japanese Government a fresh grant of time for the exchange of Japanese for foreign coins, less the deduction of such a per-centage as will be found to remunerate the Japanese Mint, but which, in the opinion of this meeting, should not exceed a maximum royalty of 4 per cent."

Mr. W. Keswick begged that before pronouncing on the currency question, the meeting would well consider whether the exchange system would, in the end, be to the advantage of foreign trade. He (Mr. Keswick) was of opinion it would not; and certainly thought it wiser, with a view to the future, to abide by the Treaty, and to endeavour to make the foreign coinage take up a position and find its way here as elsewhere. Where a large trade had to be conducted, the expense of coinage and the delays that would attend in every stage of such a system in Japan, and the evident impolicy of such a step in its future consequences—all spoke strongly in favour of abiding by the Treaty stipulation on this head.

Mr. Clarke again rose and made the following rejoinder:—

At the risk of repetition he must beg to remind Mr. Keswick that he was but very imperfectly acquainted (for reasons already stated to the meeting) with what was termed the chief point at issue, but in reverting to that portion of the currency question which tended in the direction of making a legal tender of the Mexican or any other dollar, in what he believed to be an independent State, populated by a people of high spirit, and who, moreover, possess a coinage superior in some important respects to that of the States of Central Europe (more particularly those composing the Zollverein), to wit, the admirable bron-

coin of one tempo, which he then held in his hand, and he must beg to record it as his deliberate conviction that the French might with equal justice insist on the five-franc piece being made a legal tender tender in England.

Mr. Clarke's motion, seconded by Mr. Elmstone, was then put to the meeting—for the motion, 10; against it, 24—Resolution carried by 14.

No other motion being put, the Consul then addressed the meeting, stating that he was very glad to meet so large a body of the British residents at this port, not only to hear what observations they might wish to make on the several matters to be taken into consideration, but on his own part to give them such information as might be in his power, to assist them in coming to a right conclusion. In furtherance of this object there were some data in respect to the steps which had hitherto been taken by the British authorities that he would avail himself of the present occasion to put them in possession of, the better to enable them to deal in a practical manner with the question to be discussed. To prevent doubt or misapprehension as to the details he had committed them to paper, and before proceeding to read them he would further say that he not only was glad to have this opportunity of meeting them for the purpose of taking into consideration many questions directly affecting their interests,—because the full and fair discussion, with a free interchange of opinions, was, he thought, one of the best modes of arriving at the truth,—but he hoped the proceedings of that day might go far to remove many misconceptions, and prepare the way for a better understanding in future in all that concerned their mutual relations and the position of residents in the country. The following statement was then read by the Consul:—

I ought in the first place to inform you that the letter of the Committee nominated at a preliminary meeting, and which was addressed to me on the 15th instant, inclosing the Minute of the proceedings, was duly laid before Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, and I am directed to inform you that he read the whole with great interest, and observed with satisfaction the excellent spirit in which you had set about the consideration of the grave matters brought under your notice. I am further to assure you of his earnest desire to contribute by every means in his power to the improvement of your position generally; and the removal of any grievances that can be shown, upon full information of all the local conditions, to admit of a practical remedy.

He has instructed me accordingly to afford you every information as to the steps which have hitherto been taken by the Japanese Government and authorities towards the improvement of trade, the security of life and property, the Custom-house system at this port, and the occupation of land for building purposes; and to enable me to do so more effectually I have had access to all the sources of information the Legation affords. I think you will see in what I shall now lay before you abundant evidence of watchful regard for every legitimate interest, and that no efforts have been spared by Her Majesty's Envoy, in communication with the Government at Yeddo, to advance these interests and avert the dangers which have menaced both you and them. It will probably best promote the objects of the meeting if, in the data I now wish to lay before you, I follow the order observed in the despatch of Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, and subsequently in the proceedings of the preliminary meeting and the letter of the Committee.

The Currency.—The Treaty stipulates, that "all foreign coin shall be current in Japan, and shall pass for its corresponding weight in Japanese coin of the same description." That has not hitherto been the case, and while there is no dispute about the obligation of the Government of this country to do all that is in its power to give effect to this clause there is a question, and a difficult one, as to how far it is in the power of this, or any other Government, to force a foreign coinage into general circulation, and at a fixed rate or valuation. The Japanese Government say it cannot, and even in the case of a single coin—the dollar—that it has already, as a Government, done all it can do, and failed; that it has issued an Edict throughout the Empire making all foreign coins legal tenders, weight for weight—that it has even attempted, with the concurrence of the foreign Representatives, to secure the circulation of the dollar (at something less than weight for weight, in view of the facility of exchange) and stamped a certain number with a Government stamp of three itzebus, but still they only find circulation at the ports, and that varying at a depreciated rate of two, or

two and a half itzebus, while in the interior there is reason to believe they have no currency.

Is there any remedy for this?

That is the question for consideration. Because it is to remembered that no Treaty can be invoked to effect an impossibility. Many may believe that the Japanese Government are not acting with good faith in the matter, but are themselves the chief impediments to the free circulation of the dollar at its full value, and that in any case they have the power if they had the will to secure their currency both at the open ports and elsewhere. But it must be remembered, on the other hand, that the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of forcing a foreign coinage on a people, is of universal experience, however despotic or absolute the government. In China, where they have no coinage to displace, where a coinage of any kind is a great desideratum, and where dollars of Spain and of American States, all of the same (or nearly the same) intrinsic value, have for the last twenty years been in circulation at five ports on the coast, with the Government of the country passive in the matter, having no obvious interest one way or the other, this free circulation throughout the country is as far as ever from being attained. Even in the case of those districts where our large dealings in tea and silk have, so to say, forced foreign specie into circulation, the result was not the general circulation of dollars bearing all a pretty equal value, but an unmeaning preference for the only one of those that was absolute and could not be reproduced—the Carolus dollar—to which obsolete coin an entirely fictitious value was attached by the Chinese, continually increasing until they were at last used up, and not to be had at all, to the depreciation of all other dollars some 30 or 40 per cent. The circulation of a Western coinage in an Eastern country must then be admitted to present great difficulties, and some that may be quite insurmountable, even where there is no active influence of a Government to prevent its currency, or even no want of good faith to help. On the other hand, although it is to some extent an evil to the foreign merchant not to be able to circulate the coinage of his own country, and buy produce with it, weight for weight, against native coins, the Committee have rightly shown it is not so great an evil as has been often represented, nor is it altogether unmixed with good.

If it tends to restrict the export trade of Japanese produce, it certainly no less serves to increase and develop a trade in imports. And again whether the dollar be nominally rated by the Japanese at two and a-half itzebues, or at two, it does not follow that more dollars must be paid for a chest of tea or a bale of silk than if they were rated at three or more; because it is to be assumed that the foreign merchant will only give as many dollars as he calculates it is worth, to leave him a fair profit; and if they were to circulate at their weight-value of 311 or 312 per 100 dollars, competition would still keep up the price of Japanese produce to the same margin of profit.

Lastly, no large trade could be conducted by means of this coinage only, any more than it could by shillings and sixpences. Such, at least, are some of the considerations which it appears desirable should be carefully weighed, and kept in view, before any proposals are made, by means of more or less determined effort and action upon the Japanese Government, to alter what actually exists; and which perhaps may only be altered by risking some greater or unforeseen derangement in monetary and commercial relations. These suggestions are thrown out in view also of a considerable diversity of opinion among the community here, which is at all times an additional reason for caution, and for mature deliberation in any steps recommended. It may true that the Government does in effect prohibit the circulation of the dollar in the interior, and will only give two and a-half itzebus in exchange when Japanese take their dollar to the Mints (or that there are extortions or bribes which bring it down to that), but we shall never be in a position to prove it; and Her Majesty's Envoy, I know, believes it a very profitless, and not a very dignified or politic course, to persist in assertions reflecting on the character of the Government, which he cannot support by proof, and they meet by a flat denial.

It seems probable that they have the means of purchasing the produce, or otherwise working the silver mines in Japan, so as to obtain the bullion at a less rate than two and a-half itzebus for a dollar weight. Of course, by so much less as they can thus obtain it, the exchange of dollars is a dead loss of revenue. If this be the fact, it is vain to hope the Japanese Government will frankly and

honestly subject themselves to this loss, whatever Treaty stipulations may require to the contrary.

The second subject for consideration has relation to the various impediments traceable, more or less distinctly to Japanese officials, in the way of trade; and restrictions not in accordance with the Treaty, or the free sales and purchase of goods.

The non-observance, or enforcement of contracts, the Committee place at the head of these, and, no doubt, it is a serious grievance. Within the last month, it is true, greater efforts have been made by the Japanese authorities here to fulfil this obligation than in all the antecedent period; yet this, I fear, is rather to be traced to circumstances connected with the present political situation than any settled determination to give effect to contracts.

But in reference to a practical remedy being found, I confess, I am not sanguine. In China, I am told—after twenty years of effort and experience—little progress has been made in this direction, though precisely the same grievance exists; so much so, that a mode of transacting business has grown up, which, except in the case of Chinese of well-established character, rarely leaves it in the power of the native dealer to inflict loss upon the foreign merchant. In exceptional cases, where this has not been done, an appeal to the native authorities, in nine cases out of ten, leads but to one of two results. If the Chinese dealer is a man of means, and only dishonest, he is squeezed as long as he has anything squeezable, for the benefit of the mandarins and their subordinates; if poor, he may get a bambooing or imprisonment: but in neither case does the creditor get anything for his pains.

Something may be done by persistent representations and remonstrances; but I fear it will be long before either my best exertions on the spot, or those of Her Majesty's Envoy at Yeddo, will remove all cause of complaint under this head. It is true the Governor, upon more than one occasion, has proposed to take off the head of the defaulter by way of a caution to others—and possibly it might be effective—but I confess to some scruples in accepting such composition for the payment of debt; and some doubt whether it would be as satisfactory to the plaintiff as even a small dividend.

The official interference with the sale of Japanese produce is, I conceive, a much more serious evil. I wish I could honestly tell you I thought it easier of remedy. I have not the slightest doubt in my own mind that the grievance exists to the full extent stated, but the evidence is unproducible, and were it otherwise in any one or two cases, the only result would be a more secret and astute mode of going to work for the same end. The spirit of official meddling and restriction seems a part of the very constitution of Japan. The Government and whole class of officials seem incapable of abstaining, or even understanding how the country could be governed without it. The ruling classes believe the country is being ruined, as it is, by too large and unrestricted foreign trade. The Ministers tell Her Majesty's Envoy this nearly every time he sees them. They have long been urgent, on the alleged ground of public opinion and general discontent from the enhanced price of everything (attributed exclusively to foreign trade) for the deferring of the opening of any other ports. And they urge it on the double ground of a necessity for the country and to prevent a revolution or sanguinary outbreak, which would be fatal to foreigners themselves and possibly put an end to all relations. The late menace of general massacre was referred to by them as a proof of the truth of their statements on this head. Whether this restrictive and retrogade policy is founded on Japanese views of political economy, combined with the hostility, on other purely political grounds, of a large party among the ruling classes, or the result of a hostile public opinion and general discontent, with a view to prevent a catastrophe, is open to question. Whether, in fact, the repeated menace of attack and series of assassinations have a political origin, and are to be taken as part of a policy which has been carried out either by the Government of the country, or in spite of it, by those who wish to create political troubles, is matter for grave consideration, and a question on which even the foreign Representatives are not unanimous. But as respects the hope of inducing the Japanese authorities, under such circumstances, to abstain from meddling, with a view to promote and not restrain the free development of trade, I confess I see little of promise in the future. When pressed on this

subject they have even hinted, by no means obscurely, to one of the foreign Representatives at Yeddo, that there were more evils than breaking a Treaty if it should be found really ruinous to a country in its operation; and, upon another occasion, they proposed openly to seek the consent of all the Treaty Powers to a limitation to be fixed for all articles of export for a term of years, especially oil, silk, tea, and vegetable wax. I am authorized to mention these facts of deep interest to you all, and in order to show you clearly how great the difficulties to be encountered in any efforts to secure the full and honest execution of Treaties, in respect to trade, with a Government that can deliberately contemplate the rupture of all relations with foreign Powers as a lesser evil than a rigorous execution of Treaties which they regard as impolitic and imperious, and have indicated plainly enough that if they are driven to choose between a civil and a foreign war they should not hesitate to accept the latter in preference.

The want of system in the Custom-house and inadequate wharfage accommodation are of all the obstacles to trade those which may best admit of gradual and certain improvement, and I am quite ready to endeavour to give effect to your suggestions, and the same I should say in reference to the interference with labour and cargo-boats, respecting which all you propose is, I think, perfectly reasonable.

We come now to the occupation of land, in which the Committee speak of "unaccountable," and, what has appeared to many, "vexatious" delays, in obtaining building sites. Yet nothing admits of more easy explanation. I need hardly remind you that when the port was first opened it was a question between the Japanese authorities and the foreign Representatives which side of the bay offered the most eligible site for the permanent objects of trade. The British and American Ministers both saw cogent reasons for preferring Kanagawa, in a permanent point of view, while the majority of the merchants, arriving by ones and twos, seemed to find greater advantage in view of immediate facilities on the Yokohama side, where the Japanese desired to fix them, and had gone to great expense with that object. Both may have been right from these separate points of view, the Ministers looking to national and permanent interests, the merchants to what was individual and temporary. That is a question which need not be discussed now, and it is not, in fact, before the meeting. But as there has been no little misconception (I do not wish to use any harder word) as to the real facts and the action of Her Majesty's authorities, it may not, perhaps, be without advantage to all if I offer a few words in explanation in respect to the past, as tending to clear the way to a good understanding for the future.

We will not discuss who was right or wrong, or whether anything better could have been done at first than to leave the question to be decided by events, the progress of the settlement being left to itself in a great degree. It is no very grave reproach to those who have only temporary interests at stake, to charge them with preferring these to any future permanent advantages. So neither is it a very legitimate subject of reproach to Consul or Ministers, who by office are the representatives of interests that are national and permanent, if they should keep these constantly in view, as the more important, whatever may be the pressure of that which is individual and fleeting, and follow the line of duty thus indicated without fear, or seeking after popularity. Of course the two classes of interests cannot always be very perfectly reconciled to each other, and this will lead to a conflict of interests and opinions. But in such a contingency you have at least the satisfaction of knowing that neither the Consul nor Minister can have any personal interests to consult; they neither trade nor deal in land. And it is going very far a-field for adverse motives to attribute to either petty feelings of spite and ill-will because British subjects may have thought their own views the best, and acted upon them to the best of their power, in a matter so nearly concerning their interests. I will not tell you, therefore, no such feeling has ever existed, because I will neither pay you nor myself the bad compliment of assuming that you ever believed it possible, or that this could be a rational mode of explaining the difficulties you experienced in getting land. In truth, the impediment and sources of delay lay so completely on the surface, that but for the assertion in the letter, that they were considered unaccountable, I should fear to take up time by telling you what all must know.

and could apply to yourselves for the solution of the supposed mystery. However, to make further misapprehension impossible, I will remind you that as the Japanese authorities desired nothing better than that the merchants should settle themselves at Yokohama rather than at Kanagawa, the former needed no aid from Minister or Consuls to get all the land available for their purposes, into their hands; and things were allowed accordingly to take their own course, without official intervention or obstacle on my part, while an ample site was being secured on the opposite side of the bay at Kanagawa, as a measure of precaution, if nothing more, to meet future contingencies. But in this interval, the few who had first arrived had got into their hands all the land available; and a cry arose, that there was no more room; and as fresh merchants arrived no more building sites could be obtained. This might perhaps have been foreseen when the Japanese offered the site; but as it did not particularly affect those who first arrived and were enabled to secure what they themselves wanted or desired, it had not prevented a settlement being formed where no provision existed for increase or expansion. The question then arose, what was to become of merchants arriving each successive month, with equal claims as their predecessors to building sites, space, and accommodation to follow their vocation? Some of those already in possession may have had more than was really required for their legitimate wants, and it was certainly true that they held their land without any legal or valid title; but to resume possession of the land, and re-distribute, in a more impartial way, the whole area already built over, was an undertaking open to many objections, besides its difficulty and the trouble it would entail, however consistent with legality, and even with strict justice. What then was to be done for the houseless and landless? The merchants were themselves powerless to obtain more than the Japanese authorities had already assigned for the whole Foreign Settlements. It was under these circumstances that Her Majesty's Envoy came to their aid; and insisted, since the Japanese Government had made Yokohama the site, that the limits should be adequately extended and more land be given. It can hardly be supposed, by those who have the least experience of Japanese officials and local conditions, that this could be effected without effort or expenditure of time. Even when a large additional tract was conceded in principle, it was still necessary that it should be cleared, by buying out and removing a considerable village population; and the merchants who most desired land evinced no readiness to advance the necessary funds. Yet this was obviously the first step towards obtaining possession. Not only the land then had to be obtained by the unaided efforts of Her Majesty's Envoy, but the funds, and they were finally obtained from the Japanese Government by him, as an advance on the security of the land. The ground, too, was, after this, cleared and surveyed. The process of clearance was a slow one, with infinite difficulty effected, and it proved a source both of delay and difficulty, which can be deemed unaccountable by those only who never considered the circumstances. And yet this same process of eviction and clearing land in occupation is notoriously difficult; and often a very slow operation in many countries more civilized than Japan, especially when people are forcibly dispossessed for the benefit of others, and those of an alien race. Even then, unless the whole tract, as in the old site, was in the first instance to pass into the large grasp of a few, not unwilling to invest their funds in land as a stock-in-trade, more or less to the prejudice of all who might be less amply provided with funds, and certainly to the damage of all who might come after, it was obviously necessary some principle of allotment and distribution should be agreed upon, and certain conditions of tenure, in order that every one might possess a clear legal title to his property. But to any such arrangement, however useful or obviously necessary, there were necessarily many parties, all of whom must be consulted, as they had each a voice in the matter; the foreign Consuls and local Japanese authorities here, the Ministers both foreign and Japanese at Yeddo. Is there any one here who thinks agreement on such matters, involving both principle and detail, is so simple and easy a matter that no differences of opinion could arise, no impediments or causes of delay and difficulty? I trust to have sufficiently explained, then, why those who desired land, after the old location had been all absorbed and appropriated by the first comers, could not immediately get their wants supplied. So far from the delays already experienced being "unaccountable," I cannot help thinking, as I look back on all that has been gone through, that the most unaccountable of

all things would have been the absence of delays and serious difficulty. It is at all events in my power to assure you that no exertion has ever been wanting, either on the part of Her Majesty's Envoy or myself, for their removal; and I am happy to be able also to inform you that the last of the difficulties (as I hope, and so far as I know) has now been removed.

The conditions of tenure have been settled, as you will find them embodied in the printed Land-Regulations, and form of lease or "Certificate of Title" on the table, subject only to the final confirmation of the Japanese and Foreign Ministers, in which I do not anticipate any difficulty, as they have already been submitted in draft and approved. It is in the nature of a leasehold tenure; transferable, without fine or charge of rent, in perpetuity; the next best thing to a freehold, and equivalent in all but the rent. You will perceive only one scale of rental has been referred to; nevertheless, it seems desirable here, as at Nagasaki, that a difference should be made between front, middle, and back lots. The rental for land demanded by the Japanese authorities does not appear unreasonable, and they assure my colleagues and myself that it is estimated on the actual value in the locality to Japanese. It is 10,875 mommé for one troboo, a troboo peing 6 feet square; which is little more than a tempo according to the present rate of exchange. In round numbers that would give for a square area of 100 troboo, that is, 600 square feet, a rent charge of $108\frac{3}{4}$ tempos, a little more than 6 itzebus, and as there are 4,840 square yards to an acre, unless I have made any mistake in the calculation, they offer you building ground at the rate of 144 itzebus, or, say, at the present rate of exchange, about 57 dollars per acre.* But as the front lots are undoubtedly more valuable than the middle or back lots, it would probably be fairer—as the Government demands for the whole area, as laid down on the plan before you, a sum equivalent to the rate specified—to fix different rentals for the different lots according to situation. Nothing, however, has been finally determined on this point yet, and I am quite ready to hear any opinions on the subject. The total amount paid for clearing the ground has been 10,211·66 dollars, of which 3,398·66 was raised by the sale of choice in lots, and the remainder has been advanced by the Government to be repaid without interest, as the remaining lots are taken up. I hope shortly now to see the streets according to the plan laid down, and all the lots acquired fenced in, when nothing stands in the way of the proprietors turning them to account, and building such accommodation as they require.

Finally, as to the security to life and property, which is the first and most essential condition to any development of trade. I appreciate the reserve the Committee have manifested in dealing with a subject which, if it has its special dangers and difficulties, has also its paramount interest; and if I am constrained in some degree to follow their example, I am sure you will believe it is from no indifference, either to your security or your natural desire for information. The steps recently taken by Her Majesty's Envoy, in concert with the Representatives of France, Prussia, and Holland, while it must satisfy you that he regards in the most serious light whatever menaces your security, is also a sufficient indication that he thought some considerable danger existed; or, at all events, that there was that in your position and of foreigners generally in Japan, which rendered it an imperative duty in him to take some decisive step. Whether this may prove successful and attain the objects he and his colleagues have in view, as fully or as promptly as I would fain hope, it is impossible, in the present state of pending negotiations, to say with any certainty. In the meantime his temporary removal here among you, is itself a security and a pledge of safety, for it lessens the danger of any attack, by increasing the responsibility of the Government, and it gives it, therefore, additional motives to prevent it. And when he leaves us, either to return to Yeddo or to proceed elsewhere, you may rest assured the security of your position here will equally occupy his attention. It was not his own personal security he came here to ensure, but the improvement of yours and our position generally in Japan; and, whatever steps he may feel called upon to take, I am authorized to assure you all, that they will be taken with due deliberation, having in view the equal necessity of averting by every means in his power any interruption to trade, or disaster to yourselves. I

* *Note by the Chairman.*—There was an error here; it was found later that the rate stated was per mensen and not per annum, thus multiplying the rate by 12 for the year, or, say 684 dollars per acre.

would only say in conclusion, that I am sure you will readily see the necessity of contributing to this end by avoiding to the utmost, all causes of quarrel or collision with the Japanese, either officials or others, and by abstaining from all unnecessary exposure in going about the Settlement after dark; with such precautions I trust this alarm of dangers menacing foreigners generally, will, like many preceding, pass over without more serious consequences, and that it may be with permanent advantage to our future relations.

After some desultory conversation on the subject of a church—no one having any further observations to make on the subject announced for discussion—the Consul concluded by suggesting the desirability of forming a committee to give effect to the wishes of the community regarding the erection of a church.

It was then proposed by Mr. S. Maine that Messrs. Ross, Clarke, Marshall, and Bell, with the Consul as Chairman, should form the Committee.

Mr. Bush seconded the motion.

Mr. Boyle thought the affairs of State should be finished before those of Church be introduced. He, therefore, proposed that the other topics touched on in the merchants' letter be discussed before this meeting. This motion finding no seconder fell to the ground.

Mr. Marshall proposed and Mr. Boyle seconded a vote of most cordial thanks to the Consul for the manner in which he had conducted the meeting, for the admirable statement he had made, and for the valuable information given upon all that concerned them.

The meeting was then dissolved.

(Signed) F. HOWARD VYSE,
Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Consul for Kanagawa.

No. 11.

Mr. Alcock to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received April* 26.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, February* 23, 1861.

REFERRING to my despatch of the 31st ultimo, inclosing my official letter to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, communicating my reasons for withdrawing from Yeddo, I have the honour to inclose copy of their reply, and also my rejoinder.

Your Lordship will perceive that, without showing any impatience at the delay, I have simply proposed, in the event of a further indefinite time being required for their deliberations, to profit by the opportunity in the interval of inaction to visit the ports named in the Treaty to be opened hereafter, and such other places as may occur to me.

Determined to resort to no menace in order to bring the Council of the Tycoon to a more reasonable view of the obligations imposed upon them by Treaty, and yet feeling all the importance of obtaining a speedy and satisfactory solution of existing difficulties, it has appeared to M. de Bellecourt and myself, who now alone remain of the four Representatives originally agreeing to leave the capital, that the known reluctance of the Government to allow the enjoyment of the Treaty right of travelling in Japan, expressly reserved to the Heads of Missions, is likely to have all the effect of the strongest menace, in determining and quickening their movements, without any of its objections.

I confess I shall be much surprised if they allow us to take our departure without an effort to get us back to Yeddo in preference; and as we are quite prepared to meet any proposition to that effect in the most moderate and conciliatory spirit, only demanding a formal pledge on the part of the Tycoon and his Council of measures to insure greater general security, and a position for ourselves as foreign Representatives more consistent with the dignity and honour of our respective Sovereigns, I trust the result may be our speedy return. As I have taken steps, however, to secure the transmission of later despatches (which will also arrive earlier viâ Marseilles), I will not now enter further into the question of probabilities, which the few intervening days may resolve into certainties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 11.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Alcock.

(Translation.)

WE acknowledge the receipt of a despatch from your Excellency dated January 26.

We have understood your precise (decided) communication respecting the apprehension of the murderers of foreigners, and the neglectful conduct of the yaconins, as it has been hitherto.

As this also excites in us impatient sorrow, it is indispensable that every measure should be adopted to settle this. And this can only be properly done after repeated deliberation. However, as this is an important matter, the deliberation will require time, which, we fear, will of itself cause it to be postponed; therefore, we send your Excellency this answer at once (beforehand).

With respect and consideration, &c.

29th day, 12th month, first year of Mann Enn.

(Signed) KOODSIE YAMATONO KAMI.
ANDO TSOOSIMANO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 11.

Mr. Alcock to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, February 13, 1861.

I HAVE received the letter of your Excellencies dated 9th February, in answer to mine of the 26th ultimo; I am glad to learn that you fully acknowledge the existence of grievous causes of complaint, and the necessity of adopting effective measures for their removal.

I cannot feel surprised that the Government should deem the subject of such grave importance as to require repeated deliberations, or complain that these necessarily occasion some delay in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. I would only observe, that indefinite delay is not without its dangers in the present critical posture of affairs. The exceptional position imposed upon the Representative of Great Britain, in common with many of his colleagues, cannot indeed continue much longer without risk of grave complications arising, injurious alike to Japan and the other Treaty Powers concerned. It is for your Excellencies, therefore, to judge what time is needful for the deliberations to which you refer, weighing well the possible consequences of a too protracted delay in bringing all the questions now pending to a satisfactory settlement. And I need hardly add, that the only settlement that can be accepted, as either permanent or satisfactory, must be such as shall permit foreign Representatives to resume their residence at Yeddo, not only free from actual danger, but equally from the perpetual menace of violence which has hitherto existed, until it constituted part of a system of intimidation and coercive restriction, not more derogatory to the Sovereign States they represent, than injurious to the credit and dignity of Japan as a nation.

Perfect immunity from every species of violence, insult, or intimidation, as well as from every kind of interference with his free action, is the right of every foreign Minister by Treaty. His further independence of all restrictive measures in regard to his dwelling and personal intercourse with subjects of Japan is not only most expressly provided for in the existing Treaties with the Tycoon, but it is a right common to all Diplomatic Agents, in whatever country they may be, universally recognized by the law of nations. This right, Government officials have long been permitted to violate with impunity; and this, no less than the outrages directed against the life or persons of foreign Representatives, must needs be amended by any measures it may be proposed to take.

As your Excellencies, however, fix no term for your deliberations, which may therefore be prolonged indefinitely, it is my purpose to employ this interval, during which no satisfactory conclusion can be arrived at, by travelling through the country, visiting all the ports, and more especially those on the east and

west coasts, the opening of which according to Treaty the Japanese Government desires to defer. After personal observation I shall be better enabled to decide what advice should be tendered to Her Majesty's Government on this question, in connection with our relations with the Government and people of Japan generally. When your Excellencies have concluded your deliberations, and are prepared to bring all pending questions to a satisfactory termination, should I not already have returned, you can let me know by courier.

To prevent any difficulty or possible misunderstanding on the part of the local authorities at the different places I may visit by sea or land, it would probably be well that you should order Matabé, the official interpreter you have attached to the British Legation, to accompany me for the purpose of explaining to all whom it may concern, my rank, and the right of travel throughout the Empire which by Treaty is secured to the head of a Mission. Nor would it be amiss, I conceive, with the same view of preventing any obstruction to such Treaty right by ignorance, if your Excellencies sent a general circular throughout the Empire, directing proper facilities and courtesy to be shown, and further inclosing me a certified copy, that it may be communicated to any authority or Daimio with whom it may be necessary or desirable to communicate.

I purpose embarking shortly on board one of Her Majesty's ships of war, and in the first instance I shall proceed to Hiogo; and I have to request therefore that a competent pilot may be immediately ordered.

If your Excellencies see fit to direct Matabé to join me here, I will take care he is properly accommodated in the same ship. It will not be convenient, however, to provide accommodation for any other Japanese officer, either ometsy or yaconin, and I must therefore decline receiving any such officer.

With respect and consideration,

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

No. 12.

Mr. Alcock to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 26.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, March* 1, 1861.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 23rd ultimo, inclosing copies of my correspondence with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Yeddo, I have now the satisfaction of stating that I believe this is the last despatch I shall have to address from Yokohama.

An Envoy from the Tycoon, Sakai Wo-okionoski, the same I had originally suggested, was sent down from Yeddo on the 21st of February, to communicate with M. de Bellecourt and myself, and, as will be seen by what followed, to enter into such arrangements as might be found necessary to insure our return to the capital, and induce us, for the present at least, to abandon our expressed intention of visiting different parts of Japan, in virtue of the Treaty right secured to the Legations. This, your Lordship will remember, is exactly what I had anticipated would be the result of our communication to the Ministers, announcing our intentions, in reply to their vague and dilatory action.

The inclosed documents will suffice to put Her Majesty's Government in full possession of all the leading circumstances of the negotiations for our return which followed; beginning with our conferences with the Japanese Plenipotentiary held at Yokohama on the 21st and 22nd of February (Minutes of which are numbered 1 and 2), and ending with a final conference on the 27th, at which it was arranged a formal invitation, in the name of the Tycoon, should be sent in writing to M. de Bellecourt and myself, inviting our return to the capital under the conditions set forth in the Minute of the first conference. An official communication of the Ministers, of the 26th of February, was received in the interval.

This final acceptance and invitation (No. 4) was duly received to-day, as agreed, and to-morrow we shall embark on board Her Majesty's ships "Encounter" and "Pioneer," the Chargé d'Affaires having, at my request, had the latter placed at his disposal for the day, in the absence of any French vessel able to convey him back to the capital.

I have announced to Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Kanagawa my purpose

of returning, in a despatch (No. 5) which he will circulate for the information of the community.

It seems only necessary to observe, passing the several steps of the negotiation and the inclosed documents in review, that several important results have been attained, and many more have been traced out, which it may require time and further effort to secure in a practical shape, especially as relates to the position of the foreign community and the interests of trade at Yokohama. These, however, have been so distinctly specified and discussed on the spot, that they may be considered in a fair way for ultimate accomplishment.

The principal of these may be shortly enumerated. In the preamble to the Minute of the first Conference, care was taken to place on record certain important facts serving as a basis for the whole negotiation :—

1. The temporary withdrawal of the foreign Representatives, to avert danger to existing relations, and in order to give the Tycoon and his Council of State time to adopt measures on their side.

2. The recognition, on the part of the Tycoon and the Great Council, of just causes of complaint; their regret at the exceptional state of affairs resulting; and their desire to put a term to it, by the return of myself and colleagues to the capital.

Then follows the conditions of their return; the first consisting of a formal pledge of the Tycoon, by and with his Council of State, to provide effectually hereafter for the security of the Legations, and their exemption alike from violence and menace, and, under this assurance, his invitation to resume their posts.

The other conditions were matter of detail, to give effect to the first; the last being the public recognition, on the part of the Government, of the return of the foreign Representatives, who had left under menace of violence and insult, under circumstances wholly different in character, and with marks of respect to the national flags, by a hitherto unused distinction of a Royal salute at the moment they were hoisted.

This last public homage and mark of respect, I had rightly anticipated, was that which would cost the most to secure; but finding it impossible to secure our return without this concession, it was finally agreed to.

Under these circumstances, it appeared to me, as to my colleague, that the objects for which we had accepted so many sacrifices and such grave responsibility would be fully attained by our return. The false position in which foreign Representatives had been placed by the Japanese Government perpetually warning them, and through them all their countrymen, of danger and threats of massacre, under a practical disclaimer of their responsibility, or, at all events, of their power to prevent either the one or the other, would cease. Their position would not, on the face of it, be one utterly derogatory to the nations they represented; life, either their own or that of their countrymen at the ports, might not in effect be perfectly secured: this, in the present state of the country and its Government, might be unattainable, but there could be little doubt that a great step towards that end would have been made. Lastly, various manœuvres and devices, designed apparently to lower the foreign Representatives in the eyes of the people, and to restrict them from all free communication, were formally repudiated; and the maintenance of those existing, or the creation of new expedients to the same end, if not rendered impossible, would certainly be made more difficult.

The second Conference was entirely taken up with considering the grievances and position of foreigners at the great trading port in the immediate vicinity of the capital, and which was in some sense made to share the peculiar dangers and disadvantages attending the close vicinity to the centre of Government, and sources of hostility or disaffection either to the Government or the policy they were ostensibly pledged to carry out in their relation with foreign Powers. Having profited by the opportunity my temporary residence at Yokohama gave me to inform myself fully, both by observation and a reference to the merchants called upon by the Consul to come forward and freely state all their grievances, and in what direction they thought a practical remedy could be found with increased facilities, I was fully prepared to enter at length into the subject, and to insist upon many important measures, involving both principle and detail. The bases there laid down will serve me now for a programme, to be worked out step by step, until the whole of the measures proposed shall have been adopted.

In the meantime the removal of the Consuls to the Yokohama side, an object long desired by the Japanese, has been conceded, on the only condition I have ever consented to entertain the project, namely, that the Consul should have a site on the bluff or hill-side beyond the settlement and the canal boundary they had made to circumscribe foreigners and isolate them. There is thus an effective innovation on the stereotyped "Decima" policy of this Government.

While engaged in these negotiations Mr. Harris wrote to advise his colleagues that the bluff had, in our absence, and at his request, been given up for the residence of all foreigners. On communicating this to the Envoy and the Governor, in M. de Bellecourt's presence, they declared that no such arrangement had, to their knowledge, been entered into. Mr. Harris has since seen the Ministers, and, I believe, obtained some further assurances, more or less to the purpose; but be this as it may (and it is indeed of no great importance), it is already distinctly understood, as the result of our negotiations, that the Consuls shall immediately have sites on the hills, and hereafter, if room be wanted, the merchants.

I will not take up your Lordship's time by referring, in detail, to the many difficulties which it has been necessary to overcome before these negotiations were fairly begun, and with a view, indeed, to their initiation, nor to those which, at each step, have subsequently been experienced. Still less need I dwell upon the anxiety of my position, or sacrifices of personal convenience and property, which are the unavoidable conditions of the hasty withdrawal of a large establishment and its precipitate reinstalment between two places of residence in the East. I am better pleased to inform you that we have all borne our share cheerfully in view of the political necessity and the public interests engaged; and if mine has been necessarily the largest, whether as regards damage to effects or responsibility, I am well repaid in the satisfactory nature of the result; and had it been necessary to sacrifice all the property and household goods I possessed in Japan, your Lordship will feel, I trust, assured that I should not have hesitated with such objects before me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 12.

Minute of a Conference held at Yokohama, February 21, 1861, between Messrs. Alcock and De Bellecourt, and Sakai Okionoské, Envoy of the Tycoon.

THE Undersigned, the Representatives of Great Britain and France, having temporarily quitted Yeddo under menace of violence, in order to avert serious danger to the relations hitherto existing between their respective countries and Japan, and to give the Tycoon and his Council of State time to adopt measures due to the position of Diplomatic Agents, for their security from every kind of violence or insult; and the Tycoon and Gorogio on their part, seeing cause to regret the necessity for this step and the continued absence of the said Representatives of two Western Powers with which he has friendly Treaty relations, having sent Sakai Okionoské, member of the Second Conncil, to confer with Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and His Imperial Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires on the best means of putting a term to this exceptional state by their return to the Legations in Yeddo, it has been agreed and determined that:—

The Tycoon, by and with his Council of State, formally engages to provide effectively for their security, together with that of the members of their respective Legations, and their exemption alike from menace and violence; and under this assurance invites them to return.

In reference to the assurance conveyed in this formal pledge, the means to be taken have been further specified, to consist principally in the following measures:—

The former escorts of mounted yaconins having proved inefficient and inadequate to the end proposed, the foreign Representatives will in future be accompanied, with their own free consent distinctly understood, by mounted guards chosen from those of the Tycoon's troops who can be best depended upon for loyalty and courage. They will comport themselves with the same scrupulous

regard, in every respect, to the dignity and rank of a foreign Minister that they observe towards Japanese of similar rank; and any complaint of failure in this respect will be instantly redressed by the removal of the party offending, and such other steps as may be deemed fitting by their own authorities. They will have the most peremptory and explicit orders to permit no two-sworded officer or other person to insult by offensive word or jest, and still less by violence, any member of the Legations placed under their safeguard; but in the event of any such offence being suddenly committed under their eyes, they will take determined steps to arrest the offenders, either themselves or by the aid of police in the nearest stations.

The better to aid in this object, police-stations shall be established within certain reasonable distances, wherever they do not already exist, throughout the city, in which able and courageous men shall be placed, with the most explicit orders, on the first appeal or signal that a foreigner is in danger or insulted, to proceed without delay to the spot and endeavour to arrest the party offending. And these police-stations shall each have a number in plain letters painted on the front that they may be certainly recognized, and in order that complaint, if unfortunately necessary, may be made with certainty and effect. But it is clearly understood that if this mounted escort consisting of a portion of the Tycoon's bodyguard should not answer the purpose, the foreign Representatives have resolved to provide themselves with escorts of their own countrymen.

As the personal security of the members of the several Legations has been much prejudiced by the habitual want of respect and the undue familiarity of the yaconins and other officials attached to the Legations, nominally for the protection and honour of the respective Ministers, but in reality, as it has proved, only for purposes of surveillance and unauthorised interference in violation of the perfect freedom and independence which is the first right of a Diplomatic Agent, extending to every individual, high or low, in his establishment; and seeing that the Ministers and their officers have been greatly lowered in public estimation by the people perceiving how they were treated by the Tycoon's officials rather as prisoners of State subject to the control of said subordinates than as high dignitaries who are really subject to no Japanese control or jurisdiction whatever, have thought they might insult or outrage them without fear; it is distinctly agreed that all this system of disrespect and interference shall be put an end to, and that a short set of instructions, the substance of which is appended, shall be placed in the hall of each of the Legations signed by the proper authorities for the guidance of the yaconins.

And it is also clearly understoed that the dwellings of the said yaconins are no more to be within the precincts of the Legations, and that at the French Chargé d'Affaires' Legation all the temporary buildings for the yaconins are to be removed out of the courtyard, and not one to be left standing, and this is to be done before the return of M. de Bellecourt.

The vigorous prosecution of measures for the discovery and arrest of all who have been hitherto or may hereafter be guilty of attacking or murdering foreigners is distinctly pledged, and especially in the case of Mr. Heusken strenuous efforts shall be employed to arrest the murderers.

Finally, as it is generally known that the Representatives aforesaid left Yeddo under menace of assassination derogatory to their position, and their departure has further tended to unsettle the public mind, it is essential, in the interest of good order and harmony, that the return of the Ministers at the invitation of the Tycoon and Gorogio should be equally generally known, and be marked by circumstances calculated to restore them in the eyes of the people to the position of honour and respect which is their due, and show that they return not as simple individuals, but as the Ministers of two Treaty Powers under the especial safeguard of the Tycoon and his Government; it has further been determined and agreed that on the disembarkation of the two Ministers they shall be received at the landing-place by the Governors of Foreign Affairs, two of whom will accompany each to their Legation, and at the moment the flags are hoisted at the British and French Legations, at a prcconcerted signal a Royal salute of twenty-one guns shall be fired from the batteries for each, and this salute will be returned from one of the ships of war, British or French, at the anchorage, the Japanese flag being hoisted at the main while the salute is being fired in token of the reciprocal feeling of amity and good understanding thus happily re-established.

It has been agreed that an official letter from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs recapitulating and assenting to these propositions, and requesting the Ministers in the name of the Tycoon to return to Yeddo, shall be delivered at Yokohama within six days from the 23rd instant, that day being included, in which case the Ministers will be prepared at once to resume their post at Yeddo.

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, *Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.*
DU CHESNE DE BELLECOURT, *His Imperial Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General.*

February 22, 1861.

Inclosure 2 in No. 12.

Substance of Instructions for the guidance of the Yaconins.

DECLARING their duty to be to protect and do honour to the Ministers by being on the spot to carry out their wishes.

Prohibiting their entrance within the Legation unless sent for.

Prohibiting their interference in any way unauthorised by the Minister himself, either with the servants of the Legation or the free entrance and exit of any Japanese, whatever his rank or calling.

Prohibiting their exacting any kind of fee or bribe from tradesmen selling goods at the Legation, or dictating to them the prices they should charge.

And the dismissal of the party infringing any one of these rules on the simple representation of the Minister shall follow inevitably and without delay.

Inclosure 3 in No. 12.

Minute of a Conference held at Yokohama, February 22, 1861, *between Messrs. Alcock and De Bellecourt, and Sakai Okionoské.*

THE foreign Representatives began by stating that, at the Conference yesterday, they spoke only of Yeddo, the want of security there, and the conditions essential to their return.

To-day they had to consider what was required for the security of the community at Yokohama and the Settlement, one of the principal objects of the steps lately taken on their part, and the consideration of various matters affecting its condition and the commerce of the place.

There was much to be done. Some things which required outlay and would entail expense; others only required better system. But as regarded expense, it was to be borne in mind that the trade returns just completed for the year ending December 31, 1860, showed the Japanese Government had received in that period nearly 200,000 kobangs in Custom-house duties from the foreign merchant; they were bound, therefore, to keep an efficient establishment both for the transaction of Custom-house business, and the maintenance of order and security outside; to make bridges, wharves, and jetties, and meet generally in an efficient manner all the requirements of the place, which properly devolved upon them as a Government.

1. *Locality, Extension of Land,* &c.—Among the things immediately required to place the Settlement in a proper state as to security, salubrity, and facilities for the prosecution of trade, the following were specified as the principal:—

Measures for the drainage of the Settlement, in connection with the building of a bund along the whole of the old and new concession, not less than 50 feet wide, to form a main road along the sea-beach, and three substantial jetties, one additional in the old site, and two new ones between that and the canal. Also two bridges across the said canal in a line with the main roads of the Settlement, not less than 25 feet in width.

The bluff stretching towards Treaty Point on the other side of the canal, it

was stated, afforded the only fitting and convenient site for dwelling-houses, and for residences for the Consuls, if these were ever to take up their residences at Yokohama. Additional sites must, therefore, be allotted there. The foreign Representatives present had been officially informed by the Minister of the United States of America that on the 8th instant Simma Boozen no Kami had been sent to him by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to say that, although too much occupied at the closing of the year to write an answer to the American Minister's request, he, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, consented to the extension of the Yokohama site over the hills, only it would be impossible for the Government to give the same effectual protection to those who might build on the hill as was now given at Yokohama. Sakai Okionoské replied that he had heard of no such arrangement, and Matsudaira Iwamino Kami, the Governor of Yokohama, declared he was equally in ignorance of such contemplated extension, and was wholly without instructions. He could, therefore, take no action without specific orders from Yeddo on the subject.

2. *Police, &c.*—There were other matters of police to be taken into consideration in connection with the obligations of the Japanese Government and the Treaty rights of foreigners.

It is expressly provided by Article III of the Treaty with Great Britain, and Article III of the Treaty with France, that at the place where the respective subjects of each country should be located at the several ports, "no wall, gate, or fence should be erected, or anything done which may prevent a free egress or ingress to the same."

Nothing could be more plain or explicit. It was unquestionable, therefore, that no barriers, walls, fences, or fortifications could be erected round the site occupied by British or French subjects without a flagrant breach of Treaty, save by and with the clear and explicit consent of all the Contracting Parties. Certain barriers, &c., had however been erected at Yokohama, on the plea that these were necessary for the protection of foreigners during an exceptional period of danger, and the foreign Representatives had given a conditional assent, that is to say, they did not oppose them, provided they were only provisional to meet an exceptional state of affairs, and were only erected at such points and under such conditions as to the opening and shutting of gates, &c., as they, the foreign Representatives, from time to time should fully approve.

It was now time to see what had been done in this direction, and how far they could be consenting parties to the whole.

In the first place, now the location had been extended, there was a barrier dividing the French from the rest, which not only had no longer any meaning or use, but was, further, a source of annoyance, impeding free communication, and it, therefore, must be immediately removed.

In the second place, keeping in view their Treaty rights, the foreign Representatives then present could not consent to any watch-house or police-station, gate or barrier, being within the limits of the concession to foreigners, upon any plea or pretext whatever. If the Japanese Government entered into an obligation to erect none round the quarter assigned to foreigners, still more were they bound to erect none such within the limits. If any such existed, therefore, they begged they might be forthwith removed. Within the Foreign Settlement, foreigners would take care of themselves; and at the barriers, which for a time it might by common consent be deemed expedient to retain surrounding the Settlement, the foreigners would in like manner, provide watchmen and porters at the gates, who alone should have any voice as to either the ingress or egress of any foreigner. And as regards the ingress or egress of Japanese, some understanding must be come to between the Consuls and Governor as to the orders to be given, and the measures to be taken for the security of the whole, the prevention of crime or disorder, and the avoidance of unnecessary interference.

But there were certain measures which the British and French Representatives desired to suggest, and were disposed strongly to urge as of primary importance for general security in reference to the police generally:—

1. That the Government should adopt a distinguishing mark easily recognizable by foreigners, to be conspicuously stamped or embroidered on the dress of every Government officer employed, or to be employed at any time at Yokohama. And these alone should be authorized to carry out any orders in which foreigners were concerned.

2. That those whose duty it should be to watch over the security of the Settlement, maintain order, &c., should always be in sufficient force for that end.

3. That no armed man should be allowed to enter the foreign limits, unless he were the bearer of a pass from the Governor.

4. That the Japanese Government should take into consideration the expediency of carrying out some general measure for preventing two-sworded men entering with their arms the Japanese Settlement.

If these measures were satisfactorily carried out, the foreign Representatives of France and Great Britain would then be prepared to consider the means of authorizing the arrest, by such easily distinguished police officer, of any British or French subject committing a breach of the peace, or otherwise offending against the laws. But as the laws of Japan were not specified as those obligatory upon foreigners, who are placed under the protection of their own, and the exclusive jurisdiction of their respective authorities, they can only be made subject to any Japanese laws the objects of which are not already attained by the laws of Western States, by special enactments. Western laws are, however, held to cover all the ground required for the maintenance of good order and social right, and probably may be found sufficient. If otherwise, it must be previously agreed upon by the Japanese authorities and foreign Representatives what laws of Japan, if any, might, for the maintenance of peace and good order, with propriety be enforced on foreigners, not otherwise subject to them by Treaty. The same must then be clearly notified by their respective authorities for general information, one month before they come into operation.

3. *Custom-house.*—In the administration of the Customs there appeared to be a great want of alertness in the officials, and of system. There was a general complaint on this head among the merchants, who suffered grave prejudice. They complained more especially of the constant change of officers, by which everything is continually thrown into confusion; and they have to deal with officials who know nothing of their business, for the moment one begins to know something of it he is sent elsewhere. This was a great grievance, which ought to be remedied without delay.

Either more interpreters are required, or they should be better distributed. It was complained that only one was to be found in the outer room, where merchants come with applications for permits; and they sometimes have to wait several hours before the translation was made, and the permit could be obtained. Moreover that a proper order was not observed, as some are more favoured than others. Every one should receive his permit according to priority of application, without favour or partiality; and there should be at least two interpreters to attend to this part of the business.

Another grievance consisted in the general interference of Government officials, to the prejudice of all trading transactions. They not only did not afford the facilities which by Treaty the Government was bound to give, but they created obstructions wholly contrary both to its letter and spirit—first, by small guard or watch-houses scattered everywhere, and especially at the back of the Custom-house, for the express purpose of making inquisitorial and unjustifiable examinations of the native dealers as to what they had sold to foreigners, what quantities, at what prices, &c., with which it was maintained the Government had no business whatever. They moreover subject the goods to an examination, to the great inconvenience of the merchants, without just cause, since all goods had to be taken to the examination-house before shipped, and ought only to be examined once.

Another vexation consisted in the delay which took place before the goods were examined. It was proposed in future that when goods were taken to be examined, while the permit was being made out, the examination should take place at once, and their transfer to a boat be allowed, there to wait until the permit was received.

There were obviously great abuses and deficiencies in the whole system of boat management. In the first place, the Government could by Treaty claim no right of monopoly in cargo or passage-boats. By Treaty every foreigner had the clear and undoubted right to hire labour of any kind, when and where he chose, without Government interference. If, therefore, with the consent of the foreign Representatives (and it could not be without this), boats for the loading and unloading of ships were placed under some kind of superintendence, the

better to ensure regularity, it was an essential condition that there should be a larger number of boats, such a number, indeed, as the requirements of the trade might render necessary; and if merchants were to be restricted to these it must be according to certain established rules to be observed on both sides, and at a fixed rate or tariff of prices.

But there was not only interference of an arbitrary and vexatious kind with cargo-boats, but even passage-boats, so that no foreign resident could obtain one without a permission from some Government official. This was an intolerable interference with the liberty of the subject as secured by Treaty, and must immediately cease. Within ten *re* of Kanagawa foreigners were at perfect liberty to go, by land or by water, to any place within that distance, without communication with the Government officers, and equally without permission asked or obtained of any one; in a word, without question, let, or hindrance.

It must be distinctly understood, therefore, that the foreign Representatives now acting would not tolerate, or in any sense submit to, such a flagrant and vexatious violation of clear and specific Treaty rights. Far from this, it was the bounden duty of the local authorities to take care that foreigners were subjected to no injury by the extortions or caprices of the Japanese boatmen. A certain number should be always ready for hire, and at a fixed tariff, publicly advertised, and any well-founded complaint of refusal or exaction made to the Japanese authorities should lead to their immediate punishment. They may be ordered, under no circumstances, to convey foreigners in any direction beyond the ten *re*, but no other restriction on the freedom of the foreigner could be sanctioned. It was stipulated by Treaty that British and French subjects alike should be free to go where they pleased within those limits, and no interference with this right could or should be permitted.

A similar grievance and complaint existed as regarded the hire of labour generally at Kanagawa and Yokohama.

Article VIII of the British Treaty with Japan says: "The Japanese Government will place no restrictions whatever upon the employment, by British subjects, of Japanese in any lawful capacity." By what right, then, could the Japanese Government impose the obligation on foreigners of applying for permission to some superintendent of coolies, and leave them, at the same time, entirely at the mercy of this said master of coolies as to the number, the time, and the rate of remuneration? This was a flagrant abuse, and must be at once corrected. Either foreigners must be left free to provide themselves with labour, and make their own terms, or, if it could be shown, to the satisfaction of the foreign Representatives, that some system and arrangement would be better in the interest of all parties, then the organization of coolie labour must be conducted under such regulations as to the facilities to be afforded every merchant, and the rate of remuneration, as should no longer leave room for vexatious interference or extortion, and these regulations must first be fully approved by the said Representatives.

Complaints have been also frequent of the non-fulfilment of contracts, and the impossibility of obtaining any redress. Latterly, however, much has been done by the present Governor Matsudaira to remove such causes of complaint. It only seemed necessary, therefore, to observe that it was the undoubted duty of the Japanese Government, under existing Treaties, to take measures, when appealed to by a foreign Consul, for the enforcement of all legal contracts between a foreigner and a native dealer, as it was equally the duty of foreign authorities to do justice if any Japanese complain of failure of contract or engagement on the part of a foreigner.

Formerly there were complaints, also, of the illegal detention of goods at the Custom-house. This grievance, however, had also ceased under the present Governor, and it was now distinctly understood that, while a seizure of goods under charge of fraud or smuggling might be made by the Custom-house, they could not be confiscated, except by a judgment given on evidence and the merits of the case by the Consul, and that no detention of goods beyond the time necessary for the case to be brought before the Consul, and judgment given, could be justified. If the judgment were for confiscation, all claim to them ceased on the part of the foreigner; if on the contrary, they must at once be given up to their owner.

In connection with obstructions to trade, and the measures necessary to give greater freedom and facilities in accordance with Treaties, it was impossible to

overlook the currency. By existing Treaties the Japanese Government had agreed that all foreign coin should be current in Japan, and should pass for its corresponding weight in Japanese coin of the same description. It was scarcely necessary to remark that no foreign coin had yet been made current on these conditions. Sakai Okionoské observed that the Government had desired to give full effect to this stipulation, and to that end had taken all the steps they thought best calculated to lead to the desired result. An edict had been promulgated throughout the Empire, declaring all foreign coin a legal tender at the rate specified. They had, furthermore, stamped a certain number of dollars with a Government stamp of value that all Japanese might recognize it. What further measures could be taken remained to be considered.

In this the Representatives acquiesced, observing, however, that the obligation on the Japanese Government still continued to give effect to the Treaty stipulations on this head.

Under the three heads of—1. Extension of land and facilities for trade; 2. Police regulations, and arrangements for security, and the maintenance of order; 3. Custom-house administration, and the facilities for trade required under it;—the whole of the measures at this time necessary having thus been explained in detail it was agreed by the foreign Representatives present, and Sakai Okionoské, that the whole should be reduced to writing, to be submitted to the Government at Yeddo for deliberation, and that the necessary steps might be taken for the removal of all grievances and just causes of complaint upon these bases.

In accordance with this understanding the above Minute has been duly prepared, and is now forwarded to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, *Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.*
DU CHESNE DE BELLECOURT, *His Imperial Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General.*

February 28, 1861.

Inclosure 4 in No. 12.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Alcock.

Translation.)

AT the interview of Sakai Wookionoské with you and the Chargé d'Affaires of France on the 22nd of February, at Yokohama, you gave a proof of your upright heart in consenting to return to the capital out of friendship for us; and we have very well understood the different propositions you made in writing, as being desirable for changes to be made for the future.

With reference to this subject we also wish to make some changes in order to set your mind at ease; therefore, the matter will be settled according to your demand (wish), but, considering that the means for carrying out these measures ought to be adopted with caution, owing to the difference of our customs and habits, we have again sent Wookionoské to you to testify our friendly feeling, and to deliberate (discuss) with sufficiency on the desired proposals.

There is, however, no objection to your proposals, but it is not unlikely that a different way of carrying out these measures may be a means of re-assuring the public mind, although our intentions are the same, and it is for this very reason that we have again sent Wookionoské to discuss with you.

As this is properly the foundation of the everlasting and imperishable friendship between your country and ours it ought to be carefully settled: this is quite clear, and unnecessary to waste any more words to explain; therefore, it is desirable that you should take the Tycoon's intention and ours into consideration, discuss the matter maturely, and settle all for the benefit of both parties.

With respect and consideration.

17th day of the 1st month of the 2nd year of Mann Enn (February 26, 1861).

(Signed) KOODJI YAMATONO KAMI.
ANDO TSOESIMANO KAMI.

Inclosure 5 in No. 12.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Alcock.

(Translation.)

WE hereby have to make a communication to your Excellency.

We have received the Minute of the Conference held at Yokohama on the 12th instant (21st February), between you and the French Chargé d'Affaires and Sakai Wookionoské, and have accepted the proposals contained therein. The matter will, therefore, be arranged as was subsequently communieated to you by us.

Finally, we earnestly desire you, even in the name of His Majesty the Tycoon, to return to this capital, which we have to propose with respect and consideration.

19th day, 1st month, 2nd year of Mann Enn (28th February, 1861).

(Signed) KOODJI YAMATONO KAMI.
ANDO TSOESIMANO KAMI.

Inclosure 6 in No. 12.

Mr. Alcock to Acting Consul Vyse.

Sir, *Yokohama, March* 1, 1861.

IN my despatch of the 25th of January, I informed you of my withdrawal from Yeddo, and my reasons for this important step. I am now about to return, at the earnest desire of the Great Council of State, who invite me, in the name of the Tycoon, again to take up my residence in the capital; and I have every reason to believe that return will be under circumstances much more favourable to the maintenance of friendly relations, and the security of life, than those which existed for a long time previous to my departure with my colleagues. The chief object I had in view has thus been attained, and in a shorter period than I could have fairly hoped. Perfect security may, indeed, be more than the Government of this country, as it is at present, can undertake to insure; but it is enough that the Council of State, acting on the behalf and in the name of the Tycoon, should formally acknowledge their responsibility, and pledge themselves to take all such steps as may best accomplish that end. This they have done in clear and explicit terms; at once adopting those measures which I, in common with my colleague the French Chargé d'Affaires, thought it my duty to suggest as primarily needful.

As regards the community at Yokokama therefore, and their safety, I feel in a great degree, reassured. And I leave to-morrow not only without anxiety, but, after a month's residence among them, with a fuller knowledge than perhaps could otherwise have been obtained of their wants, and the obstructions to trade at the port. These have already been very fully discussed with Sakai Wookionoské, the Member of the Second Council sent down from Yeddo as the Tycoon's Envoy, in the presence of the Governor, Matsudairo no Kami, and yourself; and the bases laid down in that Conference, if they can be carried out, will, I have no doubt, go far to remove all real grievances, and effectually protect the interests of our merchants. It will be my business in Yeddo, when in direct communication with the Ministers, to promote this object; and I trust, at no distant period, some practical benefit may be experienced. And in the meantime you may assure the British residents at Yokohama that I return to the capital with increased interest in all that may relate to their well-being and the prosperity of the port, in which their own is involved.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

No. 13.

Mr. Alcock to Lord J. Russell.—(*Received April* 26.)

My Lord, *Yeddo, March* 2, 1861.

I AM happy to be able to report that I have returned to Yeddo under conditions that promise the realizing of the principal objects which, in common with my colleagues of France, Holland, and Prussia, I had in view, when deciding on the necessity of a temporary withdrawal.

I came up from Yokohama to-day, in Her Majesty's ship "Encounter," and hoisted my flag at the British Legation, under a Royal salute from the Japanese batteries, as previously agreed upon. M. de Bellecourt arrived at the same time in Her Majesty's ship "Pioneer," there being no French ship of war on the spot capable of furnishing him the means of transport, the "Dordogne," the only one in port, having been nearly wrecked on her way here, and being unfit to move.

We were both received on the landing-place by the Governors for Foreign Affairs, with a large cortège of officers, and each was conducted to his respective Legation in state. As we passed the gates the flags were hoisted and the salutes from the batteries were fired.

The programme laid down in previous conferences with the Envoy of the Tycoon, dispatched to us at Yokohama, was thus faithfully carried out; and the salutes were returned by Her Majesty's ships "Encounter" and "Pioneer." As soon as I had reached the Legation, a Governor for Foreign Affairs arrived on the part of the Tycoon, to convey his congratulations and express his satisfaction at my arrival.

The objects contended for in the first instance, your Lordship is aware from my previous despatches, were of such paramount importance that whatever risks and sacrifices might attend the struggle for their attainment, we felt bound to accept them. There is the more satisfaction, therefore, that within a month (to a day) of our departure, when all looked so unpromising and doubtful, and it was confidently predicted by the only foreign Representative who adopted a different policy and remained behind, that we should never be allowed to return—the flags of Great Britain and France again float over the Legations, receiving for the first time in the history of our relations with the Japanese a Royal salute. In truth this, of all the conditions insisted upon by my colleague and myself, was the one most reluctantly conceded, as being contrary to their usages and never done before, although urged upon them by myself when the ratifications of the Treaty were exchanged on my arrival, and again twice subsequently by Mr. Harris, on the part of the United States, when the Japanese Embassy embarked on board the American frigate, and also on its return in another ship of war of the United States. Not only has this outward manifestation of respect to the national flags of foreign Powers been secured, but the Representatives who left the capital, refusing to accept a position of tolerance and humiliation, subject to perpetual insult and menace of assassination which the Government did nothing effective to prevent, also refused to return, save at the express invitation of the Tycoon, and under a formal pledge of his responsibility for the future security of the lives of all foreigners, and freedom from violence.

Finally, it is to me, as I am sure it will be to Her Majesty's Government, peculiarly a source of satisfaction that these important results have all been effected without once resorting to any menaces, either by the presence of a fleet, or the intimation that force under any circumstances was contemplated. Thus the very ground on which Mr. Harris based his whole course of action, charging all his colleagues with inevitably provoking a collision and bringing all the horrors of war and rapine on the country, have been signally refuted by the result.

Having, however, declined continuing a correspondence with the United States' Minister, which I considered as profitless as it promised to be endless, I have contented myself with simply announcing in a short letter, copy of which is inclosed, the return, under satisfactory conditions, of such of his collegues as were on the spot, and left him to draw his own infrences as to the correctness of the conclusions which in the beginning, and three weeks subsequently, he so warmly asserted and defended.

I cannot conclude without calling your Lordship's attention to the hearty, willing, and most effective aid received throughout this trying period from the senior naval officer here, Captain Dew, of Her Majesty's ship "Encounter." I esteem myself especially fortunate in having such co-operation, and my former relations with Captain Dew in China, in equally critical circumstances, have been most agreeably renewed here, with undoubted advantage to the public interests.

I had requested Captain Dew to keep Her Majesty's ship "Roebuck," in anticipation of my return to Yeddo, so that Her Majesty's Government might receive by the 15th March mail from Hong Kong the earliest intelligence. This I hope will have been secured, and although necessarily brief from the necessity of closing the mail immediately on my return, and in the midst of all the confusion of a reinstallation in a half-emptied house, the information now conveyed will suffice to relieve your Lordship's mind of any anxiety as to the end.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

Inclosure in No. 13.

Mr. Alcock to Mr. Harris.

Sir, *Yeddo, March* 2, 1861.

HAVING announced to you my departure from Yeddo a month ago, under circumstances fully known to you, I have now the honour to inform you of my return, in accordance with the earnestly-expressed desire of the Ministers, writing in the name of the Tycoon.

I have only further to add, that my colleague the Chargé d'Affaires of France and myself come back under conditions previously arranged with Sakai Wookionoské, a member of the Second Council, sent to Yokohama as an Envoy of the Tycoon's to that end.

These conditions appearing to us fully to realize the objects we had originally in view in withdrawing from the capital, we have readily, without hesitation, acceded to the desire of the Tycoon and the Gorogio to return without further delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

No. 14.

Mr. Alcock to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 26.)

(Extract.) ***Yeddo, March*** 3, 1861.

I FORWARD, with considerable satisfaction, in reference to the liberal arrangements your Lordship has been pleased to adopt, at my suggestion, for the greater efficiency of the establishment in Japan, the inclosed returns of the trade of Yokohama, together with a report from Her Majesty's Acting Consul.

It will be seen that this port has more than realized the most sanguine anticipations as to the amount of trade, despite many concurrent circumstances, political and commercial, adverse to its development. The amount of trade, indeed, far exceeds that which marked the unprecedented and rapid rise of Shanghae in its origin as a place of foreign trade. And although it is not to be expected that silk and tea will ever be shipped from this Japanese port to the same vast amount as from Shanghae in recent years, it is still encouraging to know that the first eighteen months the returns of the year show more than 1,000,000*l.* in exports, and more than Shanghae could boast as indication of its future greatness. The progress of the trade and the obstacles against which it has had to struggle, both in the commercial suspension at Shanghae, owing to insurrection and war, and the persistent efforts at restriction in this country on the part of Government officials, are so well and succinctly stated in Captain

Vyse's report, that it seems unnecessary to offer any recapitulation here of the chief points.

I would only remark, by way of comment, that there is no doubt whatever two of the principal disadvantages enumerated, the stoppage of exports to China and the currency here, have been anything but unmixed evils. They have both materially tended to develop, if not to force, an import trade which would hardly have otherwise existed in cottons and camlets, and other manufactured goods.

The want of a regular mail service between Japan and Europe, *viâ* China, of a bank for European and American credits, and of the free circulation of a dollar or other foreign coin currency, are the three desiderata most insisted upon; to which may, perhaps, be added, as of scarce inferior importance, a good survey of the coasts of Japan, especially the eastern, for which I have already obtained the full consent of the Government here.

A stormy and unsurveyed coast are terrible obstacles to the navigation between the ports and the development of trade.

I will only further remark, in conclusion, that besides the absolute amount of trade, Great Britain has reason to be proud of the share which has fallen to her in the active competition of rival nations. The predominance of her commerce in the Eastern Seas was never better exemplified than in this neutral territory, where no exclusive advantage can be claimed by any from political Conventions. Of 103 merchant-ships, of all nations, of 40,905 tons, 52 were British, of 21,724 tons, something over one-half. British trade paid 30,000*l.* import duties against 24,000*l.* received for that of all other nations; so of the declared value of the trade. The comparison of the export trade is still more in our favour. Although America possesses peculiar facilities for a direct trade with Japan, from the near proximity of San Francisco, the passage to which has been made in thirty-five days, against five or six months, to any port in England, yet, with all this, fifteen vessels arrived from, and twenty-eight departed for, Hong Kong or London; whereas in American direct trade there were but six arrivals and five departures, and in Dutch but two arrivals and one departure, so entirely has the once-monopolized trade of Japan departed from Holland. These relative numbers furnish a very sufficient and conclusive answer to various paragraphs of American newspapers, often copied into our own, as so many well-averred facts, that American merchants enjoy, chiefly through the exceptional position of influence and favour occupied by their Representatives at Yeddo and the ports, like exceptional advantages in the prosecution of trade. It was scarcely worth contradiction before, since the facts would in time speak for themselves, and to the Returns appeal may now be confidently made for unequivocal evidence that no such exceptional advantages have ever been enjoyed in Japan by citizens of the United States, whether lay or official.

Inclosure in No. 14.

Acting Consul Vyse to Mr. Alcock.

Sir, *Yokohama, February* 19, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a series of Returns of the trade at this port, during the year 1860. In addition to these Returns, I beg to submit for your information the following remarks upon the importance of a place which but eighteen months ago was little more than a dismal swamp entirely unknown to the world. So recently opened to commerce, its activity and present advancement are striking proofs of the vast but as yet only partly developed resources of this country. As it is, however, it is pleasing to see the results the first year exhibits, and this in spite of covert restrictions upon commerce, the deteriorated currency of the Mexican dollar, and the unfortunate rebellion in China. With regard to the currency:—In all payments made to the Government, as for duties, &c. &c., the dollar is taken at its proper value as agreed upon by Treaty, viz., at the rate of 311 itzeboos for 100 dollars. But in transactions with the native dealers it is otherwise, the foreign coin being from the first depreciated, and at one time at a very heavy discount. In January 1860, the market value of 100 dollars was 280 itzeboos; in June, 300; and went gradually down to 200 itzeboos

in September last. Since then the dollar has somewhat improved, being now from 240 to 245 itzeboos per 100 dollars.

The consequence of this fluctuating depreciation was that the native dealers demanded payment for their goods in itzeboos, or, when none were to be had, in dollars at a greater or less discount. As in the long run no foreigner was able to comply with this request to any large amount, and the dollar became a matter of speculation, Japanese sellers at last simplified transactions by putting the difference between itzeboos and dollars on the prices of their goods and quoting them only in the latter coin.

Owing to increased demand and the continual fall of the dollar, the market opened in 1860 with a slight advance on the prices of the previous year, but still low enough to show a fair profit on shipments of silk and tea to London, whilst most other articles were less favourably situated. Although the dollar went down to 240 itzeboos per 100 dollars and prices gradually kept up, business in general remained brisk until the beginning of April, when the news of the rebel movements in China, and the stoppage of trade at Shanghae, reached this port. The effect was instantaneous.

A large fall-off in the exports from China being anticipated an eager demand arose for silk and tea, and prices were soon forced up to a height never known before; on the other hand, purchases of articles for Chinese consumption were almost entirely suspended, and all the goods stored intended for Shanghae were shipped to Hong Kong.

Shanghae itself, almost glutted with Japanese produce before, poured its stock into Hong Kong, Ningpo and other Chinese ports, so that the former place especially became, as well, soon overstocked with supplies from two quarters, and entailed heavy loss on the owners of goods bought here in a rising market. This trade has remained dormant ever since, and begins now only to show some signs of a revival as advices from Shanghae are of a more satisfactory nature. For silk and tea the demand continued good throughout the year.

With the exception of spelter, dyewoods, and a few medicines, the Japanese were not in the habit of buying imports to any considerable amount, until, through the stoppage of business at Shanghae, cottons and woollens were forced into this market.

Notwithstanding that supplies, much larger than the consumption of Japan at the time warranted, came constantly forward, most of them found eager buyers, and by degrees a regular business established itself, in which the sale of camlets, shirtings, chintzes, and American drills formed the main feature. The first arrivals went off at remunerative prices, greatly attributable to the desire of the natives to rid themselves of the falling dollar which foreign merchants accepted for full. With few interruptions the demand continued steady for some months, but, being out of all proportion with the supplies, rates began to droop, and already in October the very dangerous system of making sales on credit was introduced on an extended scale, in order to diminish the stock with which the place became glutted. It was also evident by this time that the natives had over-rated their wants, and the demand has, therefore, been limited ever since. There is, however, a better feeling prevailing of late amongst buyers and importers, who look for a further improvement in a degree as trade is resumed in China and the Japanese new year advances.

Judging from the experience the last nine months have taught, two important results may with safety be drawn from it, namely, first, that the Japanese are really in want of certain produce and manufactures superior to their own, or which they do not possess at all; and secondly, that they are able to pay remunerative prices for them provided the export business flourishes: and taking these considerations as a base there is no denying that, however small the import trade is at present when compared to that of other countries in the East, it will augment from year to year, and become in due time a profitable branch of commerce with Japan.

With respect to exports I entertain the same hope, and with still more reason when we recollect that at a port opened only a year and a half ago, in a country unaccustomed to trade with foreigners, such startling results have been produced as the annexed Tables and Returns present.* I think we may rest satisfied with the first year, and hope well for the future.

The greatest drawbacks to sound trade in this place are the low currency

* These Returns have not yet arrived in England.

of the Mexican dollar and the interference of the Government in all commercial transactions, especially with the sale of produce, by regulating prices: the course of events may overcome the former, but the latter is not so easy to remedy, and I can only hope that a clearer insight into commerce will gradually be gained by the Japanese authorities, and induce them to adopt more liberal measures.

There are two things which, could they be brought about, would, I am persuaded, greatly promote the commerce of this place, namely, the establishment of a bank for European and American credits; and secondly, the starting of a regular mail service between this and Shanghae by way of Nagasaki.

This latter desideratum was at one time attempted to be supplied by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company. If we may believe rumour the attempt to establish such a line is about to be resumed. Activity in shipping has only reigned as long as there was no lack of bulky articles for China; when their shipments ceased to be profitable, freights took a downward tendency, from which they are not likely to recover until the trade with China is restored to its former importance.

A reference to the accompanying Returns and Statements, especially to Nos. 5, 6, and 17, will show the important part British shipping has played in the business of this port during the past year.

Of 103 merchant-vessels, of 40,905 tons, which entered the port of Kanagawa during the year 1860, 52 were British vessels of 21,724 tons, more than equal to the aggregate of American, Dutch, and French shipping.

The total of import and export duties and shipping-dues paid by American, Dutch, and French vessels to the Japanese Government during 1860 amounted to 24,000*l.*, while that paid by British vessels alone during the same period amounted to 30,000*l.*

The total of the declared value of imports in British vessels during the past year was 133,000*l.*,—or considerably more than double the aggregate of the declared imports in American, Dutch, and French vessels, which amounted to only 65,000*l.*

So, of a grand total of 824,000*l.* worth of declared exports, 432,000*l.* worth, or greatly more than one-half, left in British vessels alone.

Although America presents peculiar facilities for a direct trade with Japan, seeing that passages from San Francisco to this port have been made in thirty-five days, yet, by a reference to Return No. 2, it will be observed that the direct trade with Great Britain and British Colonies has taken the lead, since fifteen vessels of all nationalities arrived from and twenty-eight departed for London or Hong Kong; whereas American direct trade had but six arrivals and five departures, and Dutch only two direct arrivals and one departure.

The difficulty of obtaining reliable information regarding the trade at this port during the latter part of 1859, and the great disproportion in the development of business during that period, and either half of 1860, render it hard to make any fair or useful comparison. On the whole, however, British interests have been on the advance, and everything tends to justify the conclusion that they will continue to hold a place of first importance at this port.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. HOWARD VYSE.

No. 15.

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Alcock.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 26, 1861.

YOUR despatches dated from the 19th ultimo to the 3rd of March were received this morning, and will be laid before the Queen.

I have only time before the departure of the mail to express to you the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the termination of the differences between the Representatives of foreign Powers and the Government of Japan, and at the return of Her Majesty's Minister and of the Minister of France to Yeddo.

Her Majesty's Government are entirely satisfied with the judgment and firmness displayed by you on this occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 16.

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Alcock.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 26, 1861.

I HAVE already expressed to you in my previous despatch of this day, the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have received your account of the termination of your differences with the Japanese Government.

Her Majesty's Government sincerely hope that no further difficulties will intervene to impede the development of trade with Japan, or to interfere with the cultivation of the most friendly relations with the Government and people of the country.

As to the further facilities for trade to which, in your despatch of the 1st of March, you refer as desirable to be obtained, I need hardly tell you that it is the wish of Her Majesty's Government that you should take advantage of every suitable opportunity for pressing upon the Japanese authorities the advantage which both countries would derive from their being conceded.

The manner in which your return to Jeddo was effected, and the honours and attention paid to you on the occasion by the public authorities, were highly satisfactory; and I shall gladly bring under the notice of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the tribute which you pay to the services rendered to you, in the difficult position in which you have been placed, by Captain Dew, of Her Majesty's ship "Encounter," as reported in your despatch of the 2nd of March.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

JAPAN.

CORRESPONDENCE respecting Affairs in Japan.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1861.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

AFFAIRS IN JAPAN.

(In continuation of Correspondence presented to Parliament in February 1863.)

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
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Correspondence respecting Affairs in Japan.

No. 1.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 24, 1862.

THE barbarous murder of Mr. Richardson, and the murderous assault on two gentlemen and a lady who were in his company, have inspired Her Majesty's Government with great and just indignation.

It was to be hoped that the instant trial and condign punishment of the murderers, together with an offer of further reparation, would have shown, on the part of the Japanese Government, a due sense of the magnitude of the offence which had been committed. But the letter of the Japanese Ministers of Foreign Affairs, dated the 16th of September, dispels this hope. In a tone of helplessness or evasion they say that in the answer which Saboolo gave to their officer, there is something very improper, and that they will have the whole state of the case more accurately inquired into, and inform you of the result.

There could have been no doubt in the minds of the Ministers of Japan that a barbarous murder had been committed; no doubt that other murders had, at the same time, been contemplated; and the only course which a Government sensible of its duties, and able to perform them, could have pursued was to arrest, try, convict, and execute the murderers.

But even the first step of this process does not seem to have been taken.

In fixing the reparation to be required, Her Majesty's Government have had to consider the anomalous state of political rule in Japan. They find two parties who are responsible to the British Government: first, the Government of Yeddo, who, when British subjects are attacked and murdered on the high-road in full daylight, by persons who are known, nevertheless allow those persons to remain unpunished; secondly, the Daimio Prince of Satsuma, whose relation, Simadzoo Saboolo, permitted, if he did not actually order, his retainers to commit this horrible crime, and who do not punish it.

You are instructed to ask as reparation from the Japanese Government:—

1. An ample and formal apology for the offence of permitting a murderous attack on British subjects passing on a road open by Treaty to them.

2. The payment of 100,000*l.*, as a penalty on Japan for this offence.

Next you will demand from the Daimio Prince of Satsuma:—

1. The immediate trial and capital execution, in the presence of one or more of Her Majesty's naval officers, of the chief perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Richardson, and of the murderous assault upon the lady and gentlemen who accompanied him.

2. The payment of 25,000*l.*, to be distributed to the relations of the murdered man, and to those who escaped with their lives the swords of the assassins on that occasion.

If the Japanese Government should refuse the redress you are thus instructed to demand, you will inform thereof the Admiral or Senior Naval Officer on the station, and you will call upon him to adopt such measures of reprisal or blockade, or of both, as he may judge best calculated to attain the end proposed.

You will at the same time communicate the substance of your instructions to the Envoys and Naval Commanders in Japan of other European Powers; and you will concert with the British Admiral, and the naval officers of those Powers, arrangements for the safety of foreigners during coercive operations.

If the Daimio Satsuma should not immediately agree to and carry into effect the terms demanded of him, the Admiral should go with his own ship, and with such others as he may think fit to take with him, or he should send a sufficient force to the territory of the Prince, which I have been informed is a peninsula on the most southerly point of the island. He has a port, I am told, at the south-west end of the Island of Kiu-siu.

The Admiral or Senior Naval officer will be better able to judge than Her Majesty's Government can be, whether it will be most expedient to blockade this port, or whether it will be possible or advisable to shell the residence of the Prince.

I have also been informed that the Prince of Satsuma has steam-ships brought from Europe of considerable value; these might be seized or detained till redress is obtained.

During these operations, whether against the Government of Japan or the Prince of Satsuma, care must be taken by the Admiral to protect the ports where British persons and property may be in jeopardy.

The distinction between the Government and the Daimios is one that must be kept in view.

The Prince of Satsuma is said by one of the Japanese Ministers to be a powerful Daimio, who could not easily be coerced by the Japanese Government. He must not, nor must the other Daimios, escape, on that account, the penalty of their misdeeds.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 2.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 27, 1862.

YOUR despatch of the 29th of October,* received this day, does not alter in any respect the grounds upon which the decision of Her Majesty's Government was taken in reference to the murder and murderous assaults of the 14th September.

In your note to the Japanese Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 12th of October, which is approved by Her Majesty's Government, you say that the Japanese communication of the 11th of October amounts to a denial of all redress, and that you shall so consider it, and so report it to Her Majesty's Government, unless within ten days you shall receive satisfactory and detailed information.

Your despatch of the 29th October contains no account of the reception of such satisfactory and detailed information.

You will perceive that in the instructions now sent to you, Her Majesty's Government have made full allowance for the inability of the Tycoon's Ministers to control the powerful Daimios, and Her Majesty's Government are ready to believe that the Tycoon's Ministers are willing and desirous to punish the murderers who committed the crimes of the 14th September.

It is obvious that if the Prince of Satsuma had been ready to give up the murderers, he would not have allowed a month or six weeks to pass without doing so.

If, however, since the date of your despatch, the murderers have been given up and executed, one of the demands of Her Majesty's Government will have been satisfied.

Her Majesty's Government are happy to hear that by the construction of a new road, and the removal of thousands of the retainers of the Daimios from Yeddo, chances of future collision will be diminished. These measures, moreover, show a conciliatory disposition towards foreigners on the part of the Tycoon's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 3.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received January 15, 1863.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, November* 12, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I have been officially informed by the Japanese Ministers, a copy of whose despatch I have the honour to inclose, that His Majesty the Tycoon will proceed to Miako on a visit to the Mikado in the second month of the ensuing year, corresponding with the month of March 1863.

No reason is officially assigned for the projected journey of the Tycoon, nor is it stated whether His Majesty will travel by land or by sea, or how long he will be absent from Yeddo.

Such information the Japanese Government is never disposed to afford. I have,

* See "Correspondence respecting Affairs in Japan," presented to Parliament in 1863, No. 56.

however, addressed a despatch to the Ministers, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, requesting to be informed whether the business of the Government, especially as regards foreign affairs, will still be conducted at Yeddo during the Tycoon's absence. To that despatch I have as yet received no reply; but I have endeavoured to obtain as much information as possible in respect to the object of the Tycoon's journey, and I am told that His Majesty never having been formally invested in his high position by the Mikado, now proceeds to Miako for that purpose, more especially urged to accomplish that ceremony owing to the relationship by marriage which now subsists between the Mikado and himself, and further, to mark the dependence of the Tycoon to the Mikado's authority, a point which had fallen into disuse during previous reigns.

I am also informed that the Tycoon will travel with a very large retinue, comprising the Regent of the Empire, several of the higher Daimios, one or more of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, and several members of the First and Second Council.

It is impossible with any degree of exactitude to unravel the policy of the Japanese Government amidst the changes now in course of accomplishment in this country, or to ascertain with certainty whether those changes have been brought about by the differences of the Government with the Daimios, or arising out of its relations with foreign nations.

Inclosure 1 in No. 3.

The Japanese Governors for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Eusden.

(Translation.)

WE have the honour to inform you that it has been publicly made known that His Majesty the Tycoon is going to Miako in the second month of next year, Yeh (March 1863), requesting you to inform Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires of this.

With respect and consideration.

11th of 9th month of 2nd year of Bung-kew (November 2nd, 1862).

(Signed) OKUBAY SOOLOOGA NO KAMI.
MOORAGAKI AWADZI NO KAMI.
TAKAMOTO HAYATO NO KAMI.
ISSIKY YAMASIBO NO KAMI.
TAZAWA TSOOSIMA NO KAMI.
KIKOOTSI EYO NO KAMI.
ENOWOOYEH SINANO NO KAMI.
ABBAY ETSIZEN NO KAMI.
SAITO SIYATSOO NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 3.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, November 5, 1862.

I HAVE been informed by Mr. Eusden, Japanese Secretary, that the Governors for Foreign Affairs have addressed to him a letter informing him that His Majesty the Tycoon purposed proceeding to Miako on the second month of the next year, and requesting Mr. Eusden to inform me of that circumstance.

I have the honour to express to your Excellencies my regret that so important an announcement should not have been deemed by you a subject proper to be communicated by you directly to the Representatives of foreign natious.

It becomes now my duty, acting upon the information so conveyed to me, to request your Excellencies to inform me, for the information of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and for my own guidance, whether during the absence of His Majesty the Tycoon, the Supreme Government of Japan, and more especially the administration of foreign affairs presided over by your Excellencies, will be conducted as heretofore at Yeddo.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 4.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received January* 26, 1863.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, November* 18, 1862.

AMIDST the current of events through which our diplomatic and commercial relations have been maintained in this country with such consistent tenacity, I venture to believe that it would not be inappropriate to record the personal and exceptional situation of the members of Her Majesty's Legation at Yeddo, as contrasting with any that can well be contemplated at a distance, and contrasting also with the ordinary course of official and private tranquillity into which Her Majesty's Diplomatic servants in Japan will doubtless settle at a later period of our intercourse.

The arrival of the Legation at Yeddo is on each occasion preceded by a notice addressed to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs. On reaching the shore (which occupies from one and a-half to two hours, as the distance from the anchorage is between three and four miles) the boats containing the members of the Legation and guards are received by a hedge of yaconins, who restrain within certain bounds the crowd which assembles on these occasions. Accompanied by the guards, the Legation residence is reached on foot, and sentries from the British guard are at once posted round it. The all but empty house is rendered habitable with the requisites and attendants brought from Yokohama. The main body of the Japanese guards appointed for the protection of the Legation, and amounting to between 200 and 300 men, but whose presence inspires little confidence, muster about their wooden huts on the rising ground around the Legation and along the avenue which leads to it.

Preparations are now actively hurried to ensure the appliances requisite for the guards within the Legation inclosure at night. Fire-wood is brought and piled on the lawn, and the numerous lanterns which are hung round the inclosure are trimmed and suspended in their places. At nightfall the sentries are increased, the bonfire and lanterns are lit, throwing a glare on all the neighbouring thickets and on all surrounding objects. The night is passed by the hourly rounds and the relief of sentries. The orders given to the sentries (with the knowledge and concurrence of the Japanese authorities) are to shoot all Japanese approaching their posts within the well-defined precincts after dark.

On the occasions when official visits are paid to the Ministers who reside at a distance, which occupies two hours to reach, the British mounted escort, consisting of ten men, accompanies the cortège; but the Japanese authorities appear to consider it indispensably necessary to surround it with from twenty to thirty horsemen of their own, who precede and follow, closely watching the movements of all persons in the streets, and especially of two-sworded men, and even a single man if he is seen approaching; for the sole act of drawing his sword impels the stroke which has so often inflicted a death-wound.

Notwithstanding these precautions—and they can hardly be increased—startling incidents are of not unfrequent occurrence, serving as warnings of more serious casualties which may befall one at any moment. On one of the last occasions that I visited the Ministers, attended by the cortège I have described, forming a retinue of about fifty persons, my horse plunged and reared amidst a general tumult, when two horsemen passed me, coming from behind at full speed, rushing through our ranks, striking the horses of our Japanese guards with heavy sticks, and pursued by the whole body of them. I was now left with the few men of the British escort in the middle of Yeddo, but continued on my road to the official residence of the Ministers; after a while we were rejoined by the Japanese guards, who returned breathless from their pursuit, but without having overtaken our assailants. I was told they were adherents of the Prince of Satsuma.

On ordinary occasions, any member of the Legation who may walk or ride for exercise out of the limits of the Legation inclosure is surrounded by Japanese guards, who gather in the closest contact round him upon the approach of any two-sworded man; but should the procession of a Daimio be met while riding, they are reduced to the necessity, according to the usage of this country not yet overcome, of breaking into single file, and thus exposing to isolated attack from passing retainers the foreigner they may be guarding.

I should add that the French Legation is in every respect in the same position as what I have above described to be that of Her Majesty's Legation, nor is there any difference in the case of the American or Dutch Missions, save in the particular that they have no guards of their own nations, but, on the other hand, have around them a still greater number of Japanese guards, many of whom occupy rooms within the Legation

buildings—a proximity from which Her Majesty's Legation is grateful to be relieved by the assuring presence of our own countrymen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 5.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received January* 26, 1863.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, November* 20, 1862.

A VERY general report prevailed here a few days ago that the Regent of the Empire, who has taken an active part in all the innovations upon old-established customs recently adopted, had been assassinated in the Tycoon's palace in Yeddo.

In the absence of all sources from whence authentic information can be obtained upon these occasions, I decided upon addressing the Japanese Ministers themselves, requesting to be informed if the report referred to had any foundation in truth, and at the same time to try the experiment of seeking from the Ministers official information respecting the changes which have recently taken place.

Contrary to my expectation, I received an early reply from the Ministers to the letter I had addressed to them. I have the honour to inclose copies of this correspondence, and your Lordship will observe that the report respecting the Regent's assassination was incorrect; but it is still the popular belief that an attempt has been made on his life, arising more directly, it is said, out of retrenchments he had recently directed in the quantity of rice allowed daily to public officers, guards, and attendants, and which had never before been subjected to diminution.

In respect to the Decree referred to by the Gorogio, which enables the Daimios to reside with their families on their estates, the motives assigned to this measure are two-fold. On the one hand it is believed, I think with good reason, that the return of the Daimios to their domains is ordained with a view to their being better enabled to carry out measures of defence within their territories, especially on the coast, by erecting new batteries and collecting their adherents for the purpose of better resisting whatever hostile measures any of the Western Treaty Powers may adopt, arising out of outrages sustained, or which may hereafter be sustained, by their subjects.

In support of this impression I should state to your Lordship that I learnt recently from the Commander of the United States' war-steamer "Wyoming," which arrived here from Nagasaki, that several fortifications on a formidable scale were in course of active construction at different points in the inland sea, and especially at the entrance and outlet into the Pacific of the Bay of Osaka. The anxiety of the Japanese Government to seek every information within their reach respecting the best description of artillery, and especially as to Armstrong guns, doubtless for the purpose of arming these and other batteries, would all seem to point to preparations of a defensive character, in anticipation of troubles which might in the course of events chance to arise with one or more of the Treaty Powers, or of more immediate pressure which Great Britain may apply in obtaining satisfactory redress for reiterated outrages. To this may be added the projected departure of the Tycoon to a point of the Empire less accessible to foreign ships of war.

On the other hand, it is stated that all the measures recently decreed by the Government have been instigated by the party attached to the pre-eminence of the Mikado over the power usurped by the Dynasty of the Tycoon, whose present supremacy is believed to be gradually declining. Thus the projected journey of the Tycoon to Kioto (Miako) for investiture is the first on record since a similar journey performed in 1623 by the third Emperor of this Dynasty; Envoys subsequently to that period having on the occasion of each new succession of a Tycoon come from the Mikado to Yeddo charged with that office. Coupled with the journey of the Tycoon are the sumptuary laws which dispense with distinctive symbols of official costume, and, finally, the liberation of the Daimios from attendance at the Tycoon's Court, save at long intervals; all measures which, in the opinion of some well-informed persons, have for their object and tendency to elevate the supreme authority of the Mikado, while it lowers in the person of the reigning Tycoon the position and authority hitherto usurped and enforced by his Dynasty.

Inclosure 1 in No. 5.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, October 27, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to address your Excellencies under the circumstances of the general report which prevails, that the Gotiro or Regent of this Empire has been assassinated at Yeddo. While conveying to your Excellencies my sincere hope that so lamentable a report may be ill-founded, I request of your Excellencies to afford me some official information respecting this serious subject, which cannot be otherwise than of great interest to all nations in relation of peace and amity with Japan.

Public and universal report proclaims also the accomplishment of great changes ordained by the Government of His Majesty the Tycoon within the last few days, affecting the institutions of this Empire, in regard to the residence of the Daimios in Yeddo, and in other established usages of this country. Such important changes are of political interest to friendly nations, which are guided in their relations with Japan according to their knowledge of the institutions and circumstances which exist. Upon these grounds I am called upon to request your Excellencies to afford me such intelligence as you may deem it consistent with your duties to communicate.

A serious and urgent communication.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 5.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE have received your despatch dated October 27th.

You have stated that a report has reached you that an accident had befallen the Regent, but it is altogether without foundation. But with regard to the political changes, it has been decreed that the Princes (Daimios) who hitherto resided at Yeddo one whole year out of the two, shall henceforth only repair thither after the third year, and fixing amongst themselves the time when they are to relieve each other, shall alternately reside there about 100 days; furthermore, that they are at liberty to allow their wives and children to remain in their domains.

Besides these are some minor changes, but of not sufficient importance to communicate to you.

With respect and consideration.

12th of 9th month of 2nd year of Bung-kew (November 3, 1862).

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.

No. 6.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received February 12, 1863.)

My Lord, *Yeddo, December* 3, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to lay before your Lordship copies of two despatches I have received from Mr. Enslie, Acting Consul at Hakodadi, conveying to me the substance of petitions recently addressed by a large number of the principal adherents of hostile Daimios through the Mikado to the Tycoon.

It is impossible to be satisfactorily convinced of the authenticity of these documents, but in the present instance some time has elapsed since they came to Mr. Enslie's knowledge, and nothing which has transpired has served to lessen the probability of a petition, in the terms described, having been addressed to the Tycoon.

If this be so, the statements and sentiments expressed partake, I venture to think, of considerable interest.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 6.

Acting Consul Enslie to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Hakodadi, October* 17, 1862.

THE various documents which I have lately obtained clearly proves that we are rapidly approaching a Japanese-European crisis, and it may reasonably be feared that the sequel will be terrible.

As the endeavours of the loonins, bribed by the Daimios to excite a hostile movement against Yeddo and against foreigners, have not succeeded, the anti-foreign Daimios have drawn away the veil which hid their designs, and now loudly utter their demands.

They commence the attack by a series of protestations as bold towards the Government of the Tycoon as they are insolent with regard to foreigners. Kiusiu and Shikoku are at the head of this movement, and the other Daimios of the south-west of Japan follow in the rear; and the representations of their secret envoys to Kioto appear very modestly worded when compared with the audacious tone of their proclamation.

I shall not trouble you with a literal translation of the long document, as a summary of its contents will easily show its tendency.

They commence with accusations against the Yeddo Government, and repeat a hundred times that the administration is wretched, but assign no reasons, nor do they endeavour to prove their assertions. The old objection that the Tycoon did not ask for the Mikado's sanction before ratifying the Treaties is repeated again and again. The Tycoon is called the Mayor of Kuanton (the Eastern district of Yeddo), and they threaten to renounce their allegiance to him, and transact the affairs of the State only with the Mikado.

In that part of the document in which the Daimio of Mori states his grievances, he says: "The Mayor of Kuanton will thus be left to his own resources, and how will he then resist the Te-hits-roa (English, French, Russians, Americans)? The Tycoon is young and unable to govern. Everybody laughs at him! The Daimio of Satsuma has acted rightly in demanding the reins of government, and this would perhaps be a remedy for every evil. But why does not the Mayor of Kuanton take the advice of those who understand his situation, and know the remedies: why does he not consult the learned Naga-oota before the nation has proceeded to such extremities?"

The other Daimios express themselves in a more audacious manner. It is an undeniable fact that the Yeddo Government has merited their criticism, but the Daimios of the Opposition doubtless have not unveiled all the vices of the Government of the Tycoon, as their own is equally bad. They have resisted the encroachments of the Yeddo Government for centuries, and wishing to avenge their personal grievances they have have made the opening of Japan to foreigners a pretext to demand the deposition of the Tycoon.

At present they do not speak about political economy, nor do they complain about the state of their Treasuries; in their previous document they said that foreign trade was one of the banes of Japan, now, however, it appears that we are the only cause of their complaints. The only cause which makes them express their opinions is patriotism.

"Japan ought not to have been open to foreigners. If, as you assert, you were forced to accede to the wishes of the barbarians, the opening of the other ports can and must be postponed until Japan is sufficiently fortified. At present we certainly cannot receive the proud barbarians, nor can we show them the glory of our great country. Our army and navy are not formidable enough. What a disgrace to our country that we are not able to say to the newly arrived foreigners as we did to those at Decima: 'Fear, tremble, and obey!' Japan is a great Empire, it must be fortified, and then the Tehitsroa will not despise us. They laugh at us now, and this certainly is our own fault. We gladly sacrifice ourselves if this will wipe out the stain. If, as you say, it is impossible to undo what has been done, the privileges they at present enjoy in Japan must be lessened, and their liberties restricted. We fully agree with you that it is difficult to break off at once all connection with foreigners, and the Tycoon must, therefore, go to Kioto to confer with the Mikado regarding the measures which must be adopted to maintain the dignity of Japan, if we really must receive the Tehitsroa."

As I have already said, this document is written by Kiusiu and Shikoku, but the writers take great care to state that the south and south-west parts of Japan entertain the same opinion. They seem to say to the Mayor of Kuanton, "Count your forces, as we have counted ours." All the malcontents have put a stop to their journeys to Yeddo; the timid and polite Daimios have sent excuses—sickness, dangerous times, &c., &c.; others have turned back on the road, after a conference with their colleagues.

I shall now take the liberty of giving you a true translation of another and still more important document.

As soon as the Daimios were informed that a delay had been granted to Japan for the opening of other ports, they sent a Proclamation to Yeddo through the Mikado, in which they claimed the honour of having forced the foreigners to grant this delay. I have not been able to obtain this declaration, which is said to be very long, but I have the honour of submitting to your notice a translation of the instructions of the Mikado to the Gioshee or to his Envoy to the Tycoon, which contains the demands of the Daimios:

"The honour and safety of our country," says the Kirambaku (the highest dignity after the Mikado), "not only demand that the Tehitsroa shall not enter our sacred Empire any further, but the liberties they at present enjoy must be restricted. It is quite natural that they renounced their supposed rights to Osaka and Yeddo, and in doing so they showed a little common sense. I have ordered Oobara Saimon to inform you of the contents of the petition of the Southern Daimios. As the peace which has long reigned in Japan renders it impossible for us to enforce our orders on the Te-hits-ro-a, they must be reasoned with. Kanagawa must be closed, as their residence in that port is a disgrace to the nation, and the reasons assigned for Osaka and Yeddo must be again adduced. Tell them this is absolutely necessary for the peace of Yeddo, and that 'when a nation experiences no change it enjoys peace.'"—(Extract from "Long-Yu," one of the four classical Chinese books.) "You must also add that the presence of foreigners at Kanagawa (Yokohama) increases the price of the daily necessaries of life, thereby causing great discontent among the people, who no longer obey their superiors.

"The Daimios say that the Tehitsroa ought to be sent back to Nagasaki, as was formerly the case. As this would perhaps be rather difficult, we must allow them to remain at Hakodadi. Great difficulty will perhaps be experienced in obtaining their consent to leave Kanagawa; if, therefore, they will not listen to your reasons, Shimoda can be offered to them in exchange for Kanagawa. This is all that can be done; and if this last proposition does not please them, you must postpone your decision until you have seen us.

"You may let them entertain a slight hope that Kanagawa will be re-opened at some future period, for the Daimios say that Japan will be able to receive foreigners without blushing in six or seven years. Our Envoy has received strict orders not to leave Yeddo until you have solemnly promised to do your utmost to replace our country in the position it occupied when the Ooranda were at Nagasaki."

This new document will doubtless surprise you still more than the former one, and, while vouching for its authenticity, I trust I may in some measure prepare you for the strange proposals the Yeddo Government will make to you.

The hostility of the Daimios, who are oppressed by the Tycoon and his Government, the fears they entertain that the importance and power of Yeddo will increase by its intercourse with foreign nations, and their national pride, which cannot brook the equality which exists in civilized countries and among civilized people, are the three principal causes of the anti-foreign movement in Japan.

In conclusion, I take the liberty to add a few words about the journey of the Tycoon to Kioto. He cannot go to Miako alone, as his youthful age renders it impossible for him to decide upon matters of such importance. He has, therefore, been forced to look out for a counsellor; and this is certainly no easy matter, as his choice has to be confined to the eighteen elder branches of the Daimios, who nearly all entertain hostile feelings against the Lieutenant of the Mikado. After long consultations, proposals have been made to the Daimio of Shendai, who has, however, not yet sent his reply.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAMES J. ENSLIE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 6.

Acting Consul Enslie to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Extract.) *Hakodadi, October* 16, 1862.

IN accordance with your instructions I have the honour to forward you a copy of the translation of the Daimio's petition I lately had the pleasure of submitting to your notice:—

"When you consulted us about the new relations into which we were to enter with foreigners, you told us upon the authority of a certain Harisooh (Mr. Harris, the American Minister) that the Treaty would give us plenty and abundance. Both you and Harisooh said that cotton would be sold for a mere nothing, and that silk and manufactured goods

would not cost us anything. The daily necessities of life would be brought to our country from all the quarters of the globe, and our farmers would not be required to sow and reap. We anxiously expect these miracles, and at present enjoy advantages which you never mentioned, namely, that those articles which you and Harisooh promised to give at very low prices are now three times as expensive as they formerly were. You told us that our treasuries would always be open to receive the enormous riches which our intercourse with foreigners would procure us. It is an undeniable fact that our treasuries have continually been open; but instead of receiving money, we have been called upon to sacrifice the little we possess.

"You monopolize the import and export duties completely, and we had a right to suppose that those duties which, according to your statements and those of your financier Harisooh, would enrich the Japanese nation, ought to cover expenses, such as building fortifications and buying men-of-war, which you say must inspire the barbarians with the respect due to our great country. But what have you done for the last three years? What has been the tenour of all your despatches? Japan must be fortified, fortifications must be built, the artillery and navy increased. Money is required. The presence of foreigners occasioned great expenses, entertainments must be given to the Ministers, the petty Consuros cannot be forgotten, and foreigners must be made to respect and fear our great nation by witnessing the boundless resources of the country, and the majesty of its ruler.

"If we could only see those fortifications, those men-of-war, we would complain less about the expense; but everything is proposed, and nothing executed. You think that drawings and plans will scare foreigners, and cause them to flee from our country, but we doubt it, for they nearly equal us in this art. You sometimes talk to us about political economy, and we candidly own you give us excellent advice; unfortunately we have numerous proofs that you do not follow the precepts you give us. Why was such an incredible sum of money spent for all the vain and useless pomp which accompanied the sister of the Mikado on her journey to Yeddo preparatory to her marriage with the Tycoon? Why was so much money expended in rebuilding the palace of the Tycoon? We shall not mention the various ways in which public money is wasted, as this would cause our nation to blush, and the Mikado to mourn. Public rumour, however, says that numerous thefts have been committed by the highest officers of the Tycoon; if any protest against the course which is now pursued, they are instantly and mysteriously silenced for ever.

"As you always remind us of the great principles of political economy when you demand pecuniary supplies, pardon us for making the following remarks:—

"Owing to the troubled state of the country, the presence of the Daimios at Yeddo was formerly highly necessary.

"This is not the case at present, and still our Lords are travelling to and from the capital. The personal fatigue, vexation, and the expense of the immense retinue which always accompanies them, can no longer be supported. The time has come that these ruinous journeys should cease, and that the Lords of Japan declare themselves unable to defray the expenses which you impose upon them.

"As foreign trade has nearly ruined us, and as fortifications and numerous other unforeseen expenses are deemed necessary in all the ports which have been opened to the barbarians, we not only demand that the new ports, Osaka, Neegata, and Yeddo, shall not be opened, but that Kanagawa be closed. You always assert that we are opposed to friendly intercourse with foreign nations; but this is utterly false. We willingly consent to open the whole of Japan if this step does not occasion expenses which surpass our means. We have not murdered our adherents who were favourably inclined towards the opening of Japan to foreigners.

"You teach the young to despise and insult foreigners; and although you always tell us that the foreign nations are powerful, and greatly to be feared, a high functionary of the 'Tori' lately said that, with the exception of the Russians, all the foreigners could be insulted with impunity."

No. 7.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received February* 12, 1863.)

My Lord, *Yeddo, December* 3, 1862.

WITH reference to my previous correspondence upon the subject of the danger which was risked by British subjects, in common with all other foreigners, when availing themselves of the privilege of walking or riding on the tokaido or high-road in the vicinity

of Yokohama, I have the honour to lay before your Lordship copies of a correspondence which has taken place between the Japanese Ministers and myself upon that subject.

Your Lordship will be gratified to observe that, by the establishment of numerous guard-houses, the duties and responsibilities with which the guards are charged, and the further arrangements in progress, the Japanese Government evince an undeniable anxiety, which no inconvenience or expense has abated, to avert the possibility of the collision of foreigners with the retinues of Daimios, who are in reality very little under control, especially when leaving Yeddo armed and in large numbers, to return to the almost independent possessions of their chief.

In the meanwhile, neither the notifications from time to time issued by Her Majesty's Consul, under my instructions, cautioning the community of the risk which still exists on the tokaido until the new road is opened for Daimios, nor the knowledge of past or occurring incidents, appear to deter them from frequenting it for their recreation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 7.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, November 22, 1862.

I HAVE been informed by the British Consul at this port that the Governor of Kanagawa had written to him that twenty-three guard-houses had been erected between Kawasaki and Hodogaya, and that officers had been placed in them, and that the Governor requested the Consul to inform British subjects of these arrangements.

The urgent necessity of rendering safe the tokaido within the limits assigned to foreigners has been the subject of serious communications between myself and your Excellencies, both verbal and written, since the occurrence of the murder and outrage upon British subjects on the 14th September.

I have been awaiting a communication from your Excellencies as to the accomplishment of the various measures which you have assured me should be executed to avoid the recurrence of such serious events.

Your Excellencies have not written to me upon this subject, but have directed the Governor to inform the Consul.

This communication having thus indirectly come to my knowledge, I have the honour to state that I am entitled to expect some more explicit and detailed information from your Excellencies with regard to the measures adopted, and remaining still to be adopted, in order that British subjects may be informed that they can proceed in safety and without risk of outrage on the tokaido within the whole of the limits. I have the honour to request your Excellencies to inform me—

1. Whether the twenty-three guard-houses are the whole number which it is intended to construct?

2. Whether the five guards placed in each of them are permanently stationed there, so that they may know the foreigners who pass, or whether they are changed?

3. What are the orders given to the guards with regard to the protection of foreigners? A point upon which I have to request your Excellencies will afford me full and explicit information.

4. Whether the new road is already open for the passage of Daimios, and if not when it will be opened? And

5. Finally, whether British subjects can under present arrangements proceed without risk of encountering outrage or insult from the cortège of Daimios or others upon the tokaido within the limits.

An urgent communication.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 7.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE have received your despatch of the 22nd November, and have fully understood the five points you have adduced, and that you have disapproved of the erection of the

watchhouses between Kawasaki and Hodogaya being communicated by the Governor of Kanagawa to the British Consul, as it ought properly to have been made known to you.

It was our intention to have sent you a communication on this subject as soon as the measures of protection were completed. And the communication which was made by the said Governor to the British Consul was but verbal, merely mentioning that the watchhouses were erected; thus this cannot be construed into our having acted improperly, but as you wish it we will answer your five questions.

1. You have stated that twenty-three watchhouses had been erected, but what we have undertaken to do is the erection of nineteen watchhouses and five smaller ones, which is the number that was fixed on after the Governor of Kanagawa with his officials had pointed out the proper places. Besides these, there are ten other places for officials who are to give assistance to the aforesaid watchhouses in case of need.

2. The guards placed in these watchhouses relieve each other, but of course they know the foreigners that pass by, and five officials are always present in the said watchhouses.

3. In the event of any accident (insult, attack, murder) taking place, the guards are to hasten to the rescue, and to protect and defend, and others are to give notice to the different watchhouses, and thus assistance will be obtained, and united they will endeavour to prevent anything improper happening.

These are the instructions we have already issued.

4. The making of a new road for the Daimios to travel on has already been decided on, as we have already informed you; but we have something to communicate to you respecting this new road, which we will do at our next interview.

5. Regarding this point, it will of course be settled according to your desire, after all the measures have been completed; thus we can assure you beforehand that there will be a time in the future when not only you but we ourselves will feel perfectly at ease.

With respect and consideration.

11th of 10th month of 2nd year of Bung-kew (December, 1862).

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.
OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

No. 8.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received February* 25, 1863.)

My Lord, *Yeddo, December* 12, 1862.

IMMEDIATELY upon receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 22nd September last,* conveying instructions to me with reference to the attack on Her Majesty's Legation on the 26th of June, I sought and obtained an interview with the Japanese Ministers.

I commenced the conference by requesting the Japanese Ministers' attention to the subject of my interview without interposing any incidental remarks to the communication I was instructed to make to them, until I had concluded what I had to say, to which they readily assented.

I then read the paper of which I have the honour herewith to inclose a copy, and which was interpreted by Mr. Eusden from a translation already prepared.

Having attentively listened to what I stated, the Ministers rejoined by some remarks which are annexed to that document, reserving their explicit reply to a later date, when they said they would answer my communication at length. After awaiting twelve days at Yeddo the determination of the Japanese Government I purpose to return to Yokohama, as the duties imposed upon the guards attached to the Legation during the residence of its members here is necessarily under present circumstances harassing; but I have every reason to expect that I shall be enabled to lay before your Lordship the reply of the Japanese Government to the communication I have made, by the same mail which conveys this despatch, and by the succeeding mail I shall have the honour to report to your Lordship such further measures as I shall have deemed it to be my duty, according to circumstances to adopt, within the limit of your Lordship's instructions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

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* See "Correspondence respecting Affairs in Japan," presented to Parliament in 1863, No. 34.

Inclosure in No. 8.

Memorandum communicated verbally to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs at Yeddo, on the 4th December, 1862, by Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires.

HER Majesty has learned with sorrow and indignation the events of the 26th of June in Her Majesty's Legation at Yeddo.

Her Majesty's Minister has had under his notice the very unsatisfactory apologies and declarations of the Japanese Minister upon this subject.

I am directed to state that some circumstances connected with the murders perpetrated on two of Her Majesty's subjects, employed in Her Majesty's service, and actually engaged in defending Her Majesty's Legation, have produced a very painful impression.

Some of these circumstances are:—1. That whereas the Japanese Guards employed when the murderous attempts of last year took place, bravely defended the Legation and exposed their lives in the performance of their duty, the followers of the Daimio employed on the present occasion, although sufficiently numerous, behaved in the most cowardly and treacherous manner. The inference would appear to be that the former guards were removed for their fidelity, and the guards who behaved in a cowardly and treacherous manner were expressly chosen for their want of courage and fidelity. 2. That the Japanese Governor for Foreign Affairs, who called on me the day previous to the murderous assault, exhausted his communications in congratulations, and when it was afterwards asked why he did not warn me of my danger, he admitted the omission but failed to account for it. The inference would seem to be that the visit of congratulation was intended to put me off my guard, and to prevent my taking those precautions which would have saved the lives of the unfortunate victims. 3. The number of wounds—sixteen in the person of one, and nine in that of the other murdered man—would seem to show that the assassins were several, and that the Japanese yakonins or guards connived at the assassination. The inference would seem to be that the Daimio intrusted with the defence and protection of Her Majesty's Mission secretly favoured an attempt to murder the Chargé d'Affaires and all the members of the Queen's Mission. 4. Neither on the last occasion of murderous and midnight assault, nor on the present, have the Japanese Ministers given any assurance of efficient protection for the future. And I have on my own part to add and to observe to your Excellencies, that upwards of five months have now elapsed since the occurrence referred to, and I have still received no such assurance based upon any measures which the Japanese Government may have adopted to attain that end. The inference would seem to be that the Japanese Government indulges a secret hope that the sense of insecurity may at length induce Her Majesty's Government to abandon Yeddo, and gradually allow the ancient custom of non-intercourse and prohibition of trade to be re-established.

Her Majesty's Minister observes that these are grave suspicions, and that it is painful to be obliged to entertain them, but that they are suspicions which nothing but the most searching inquiry into the past, and the most efficient protection for the future, will suffice to dissipate.

Her Majesty's Government are glad to see the readiness with which the Representatives of the Emperor of the French, and of the United States and other Powers, evinced their horror, indignation, and sympathy at the event which had occurred.

I am charged to urge upon the Japanese Government the duty, for its own sake, of a strict inquiry into this deplorable occurrence; and I am further instructed that if the Daimio in charge of the Legation, as there is every reason to believe, betrayed his trust, and connived at the attack on the Legation, he should be openly degraded and severely punished. Upon this point I am called upon, on my part, in the meanwhile to declare to your Excellencies, as I have already recorded in my letter addressed to you on September 9th, and a copy of which I have transmitted to Her Majesty's Government, that the result of the investigation into the conduct of the Daimio, Tamba no Kami, and of the others directly or indirectly implicated in this occurrence, and the punishments awarded as communicated by you to me, and copy of which I have also transmitted to Her Majesty's Government, were altogether insufficient and unsatisfactory. These punishments, especially as relate to the Daimio, Tamba no Kami, who, as it is acknowledged in the report furnished to me of the investigation, failed, if he did nothing worse, to give the necessary orders to his guards for the performance of their duty, which duty, expressly and solely consisted in duly protecting and in coming to the immediate aid of Her Majesty's Legation if attacked, yet remain to be reconsidered, revised, and awarded, consistently with the magnitude of the offence and most serious neglect of duty avowed to have been by them committed.

If the Government of the Tycoon is properly impressed with the desire of affording

complete satisfaction, calculated to assure Her Majesty's Government of his sincere wish to maintain friendly relations, the Daimio, Tamba no Kami, will be openly degraded, and receive a far more severe punishment than the arrest to which he voluntarily subjected himself.

Reserving this point for further adjustment, I have to state to your Excellencies that I am charged and instructed to demand of the Japanese Government compensation for the families of the unfortunate men who have lost their lives in the service of their country, the amount fixed being 10,000*l.* sterling, to be paid in gold. This sum, it is observed by Her Majesty's Minister, should be levied on the estate of the Daimio in charge of the Legation at the time of the assault.

Having now accomplished my duty in making the above communication with which I have been charged consequent upon the outrage committed upon Her Majesty's Legation of the 26th of June, I shall await with anxiety a reasonable period the definite and explicit acceptance by the Tycoon's Government, conveyed to me through your Excellencies, of the specific demand I am now instructed to make.

The gravity of the outrage committed does not permit me to contemplate its aggravation by the interposition, on the part of the Japanese Government, of difficulties or prolonged discussions.

It remains for me, as a bounden duty, in conclusion to call your Excellencies' attention to the lamentable and regrettable fact, that when my present instructions were addressed to me, the intelligence conveyed by me to Her Majesty's Government of the barbarous murder and outrage more recently perpetrated upon other British subjects in open day on the high road, without the shadow of an extenuating circumstance, had barely left this Legation. Seventy days have now, however, passed since that occurrence, and your Excellencies have not placed it in my power to lay before Her Majesty's Government a recital of any definite acts or measures adopted by the Tycoon's Government with a view of voluntarily tendering satisfaction for this fresh outrage, which has been superadded to the rest, or calculated to guide or modify the decision of Her Majesty's Government in respect to the degree of reparation it will require in due course of time at the hands of the Japanese Government.

I have still an important statement to address to your Excellencies, and to which I solicit your marked attention. It is, that no situation of affairs affecting the personal safety of the members of Her Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular Officers in Japan or of British subjects in general residing in this country, will deter Her Majesty's Government from maintaining the position assigned to Her Majesty's subjects by solemn Treaty rights, whether as to locality of residence or in the conduct of their affairs. The personal security of British subjects in Japan, if unassured or unafforded by the Japanese Government, will have alone for its result the necessity of augmenting the means of independent protection and defence, which Her Majesty's Government will not fail to afford in proportion as the absence of such security is maintained or becomes more evident.

The Japanese Ministers then said:—We have understood all you have said to us, but we trust when the report of all that we have done in this matter reaches the British Government that it will modify the inferences it has drawn.

Chargé d'Affaires.—I do not think that probable, as you have afforded me no additional information which I could communicate to my Government calculated to produce that effect.

Japanese Ministers.—But we are especially pained to observe that the British Government entertains the impression that the Japanese Government was implicated in the attack on the Legation. Do you really think so yourself?

Chargé d'Affaires.—You have afforded me no substantial grounds for forming an opinion upon that subject. The Governor whom you sent to me on the morning of the attack avoided warning me of my danger, and I repeat that had he acted differently the murdered men would have been saved.

Japanese Ministers.—But you have had opportunities since of judging of our conduct. Will you not write to your Government to disculpate us from the imputations conveyed in the inferences derived from the first reports? Probably it will then modify its decisions.

Chargé d'Affaires.—What has transpired since my first report of the facts which occurred has consisted (after great delays) in your communication to me respecting the investigation you had made, and the punishment you had awarded, which I communicated to my Government, and which I wrote you at the time was most unsatisfactory. I warned you at the time that I could only write during the six months (nearly) which have passed such further particulars and explanations of this outrage that you thought proper to communicate to me. You have communicated nothing. I have now received instructions to make an explicit demand.

Japanese Ministers.—Our observations do not refer to the amount of the compensation demanded; but we desire to remove the imputation of complicity.

Chargé d'Affaires.—That is natural and just, and I will state all which is in my power calculated to aid you in so doing; but the observations which Her Majesty's Secretary of State has made upon the facts as they occurred, and as I reported, do not necessarily bear directly upon the compensation demanded, which marks the sense of Her Majesty's Government of the great outrage which was committed upon Her Majesty's Legation, and the main facts of which remain always the same. The punishments you awarded to the surviving delinquents have since been meagre and insufficient.

Japanese Ministers.—But we acted in that matter according to the old institutions of our country.

Chargé d'Affaires.—We have also old institutions which require reparation for the outrages committed within the sacred limits of a British Legation, and for the murder of British subjects.

Japanese Ministers.—We shall attentively consider and in a short while reply to your communication.

The Conference here closed.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Yeddo, December 4, 1862.

No. 9.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received February* 25, 1863.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, December* 24, 1862.

WITH reference to my preceding despatch, dated the 12th instant, I have the honour to lay before your Lordship a copy of a despatch which has been addressed to me by the Japanese Ministers in reply to the verbal and written communication made by me to them in Yeddo on the 2nd instant, in accordance with your Lordship's directions.

Your Lordship will observe that after entering into an elaborate disculpation of the inferences deduced from the facts attending the murder of the two British guards on the occasion referred to. the Ministers conclude by declining to assent to the amount of compensation I was instructed by your Lordship to demand from the Japanese Government, but repeat their readiness to pay the sum of 3,000 dollars, which they had previously offered.

Inclosure in No. 9.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE have attentively perused your letter dated December 4th, which you gave us at the last interview.

The occurrence in which Ito Goonbay, retainer to the Daimio Matsdaira Tamba no Kami (one of the Daimios to whom the protection of your temporary residence ('tozengee') was entrusted), in the night of the 29th day of our last 5th month, attacked your residence and murdered and wounded two British sentries, caused us in truth very great sorrow, as we at the time repeatedly told you, and which even for us was a very sad event.

All that is communicated in the letter which by order of your Government you wrote to us, has already been maturely discussed at our last interview; therefore we put the two together, and now perfectly understand the whole.

With regard to the attack of last year the number of assailants was great, and on examining their deed it became evident that although they entered by stealth, yet when once they had effected an entrance their sole object then was to murder the foreigners, not fearing the encounter with the guards and sacrificing their own lives; but as regards the attack on your residence this year, it was not undertaken by one who was not connected with foreigners, but it was done by one of the retainers of Matsdaira Tamba no Kami, without calling in the aid of any other person, and in the darkness of the night he disguised himself as one of the soldiers on duty of the said Daimio, who go round about the residence for inspection, which caused the other officers on guard to take no notice of him, so that he succeeded in getting into the garden, made a sudden attack, murdered and killed the two said sentries, and suddenly took to flight; so that the other officers there for the protec-

tion unintentionally lost him out of sight. Therefore it cannot be said that they were not faithful. Had they all been participators in the foul deed, how is it the Representative and the other members (of the Legation) escaped the danger?

It is said that the spirit of the guard of this year, as compared with that of the guard of last year, is just the reverse, and that the latter, who were faithful, were removed, and the former, who were faithless, were intentionally chosen. But this is not the case. When our Government imposes a service (duty) on any Daimio, the time is specified (how long it is to last), and when that term has expired he is released, and another (Daimio) is appointed to take his place.

This is an old-established custom; thus, what took place between last year and the present was founded upon this old custom, and there is no reason whatever for supposing that those entrusted with the protection of (subjects belonging to) a nation living in peace and amity with us should have been chosen from persons wanting in fidelity.

But it is not to be wondered at that your Government should have had suspicions on that subject, as it did not exactly know the true state of affairs; but we trust that you have sent home what we communicated to you from time to time respecting the punishment, &c., of the said guards, so that your Government will be better informed now, and that suspicion will no longer exist. It is, however, desirable that you should again explain the whole affair more fully to your Government.

That the Governor for Foreign Affairs called on you the day previous to the said sad occurrence and congratulated you, was merely owing to his recollecting what had taken place the year before, and he trusted all was safe now, as nothing had happened (on the anniversary of the day); but could he then have had the least suspicion of what was going to happen, he would have informed you of it at the time, and he would have given strict orders to the officers placed there for protection to be on the look-out, as it is part of his duty to endeavour to quench such an outbreak. Thus there is no reason to suppose that he kept secret what was going to take place the next day, could he have known it beforehand; and his felicitation was not made in order to put you off your guard, which is quite evident of itself, without our trying to explain it; and besides, if you accepted his felicitations, how could this have made you feel more at your ease? And although you might try to put some one off his guard by a felicitation, yet it would be a means by which you would scarcely deceive a child. Thus, as you saw and heard all the circumstances of the case, it must be quite evident to you there would be no reason to adopt such a plan towards a foreign Representative; but in this instance also the suspicion of your Government may have been raised, owing to its not having understood the matter.

Furthermore, with regard to the use of weapons by the Japanese, the advantage of fire-arms is well known, but it is not so generally acknowledged as that of the sword. As it is only since a few years we have received instruction in European tactics, we have only just begun to make fire-arms and build ships; but the number of those is still great who, preferring Japanese tactics to foreign, have diligently applied themselves to the use of the sword, and have attained the climax of dexterity. This sword is always carried at the side, and adepts in the use of it wound you the moment it is drawn. As the number of wounds the two murdered men received were many, it gave rise to a suspicion that this was not done by one man only; but a single person who in our country has murdered any one with a sword, has always inflicted a number of wounds on his murdered enemy. However, considering the circumstances of the case, on the same night we instituted inquiries to endeavour to find out whether the murderer had any participators, for it was alleged that, seeing the number of wounds (inflicted), the number of murderers must have been many: but we are not of that opinion.

Your suspicion has fallen on Matsdaira Tamba no Kami, who was entrusted with the protection of your residence, because the foul deed was committed by one of his retainers. It is not so unnatural that you should think this, but it is not so: and it is quite evident that the foul deed was the doing of one person only, the undertaking of which was not only not known to Tamba no Kami, but not even to his other retainers, or inferior officers. The reason is, that a person who wishes to commit a crime disguises his iniquity by his words, and does not allow his wickedness to be detected in his outward behaviour. Thus, although he harbours many cruelties in his heart, yet outwardly he appears to be very obedient, and pretends to be of a kindly disposition; therefore it is very difficult to detect such a person. If there were a means of knowing all events beforehand, then from the very beginning no crime could ever have been committed; but as the contrary is the case, and it cannot be known whether a person casts off all sincerity, and is premeditating all sorts of cruelties, therefore the guard for protection has been considerably increased since both attacks, and has received strict orders to be watchful. You will have

observed it yourself without our communicating it, that the guard for protection has been increased.

And with regard to the suspicion that our Government expected (knew of) the said two attacks, and is in hopes that (by these means) foreign trade will be stopped by degrees, and the old custom will be restored of no intercourse with foreigners, how could our Government ever expect such a thing, or even wish it, after Treaties of perpetual peace and amity have been ratified by both Empires?

Although it appears to be thought that the punishment of Tamba no Kami, &c., is not sufficient (and you are perfectly right in supposing so from your want of the knowledge of the difference of the law of our land, and thus cannot be acquainted with the severity and leniency of Japanese punishment), yet the arrest ("sasihika-yay") for a Daimio is very pressing as a punishment; for during the arrest he is obliged to keep the gate of his residence closed, and, forbidding any one to enter or to leave, he is obliged to shut himself up in his room and abstain from all business. Moreover, he is not allowed to shave or bathe, or have intercourse with any one, be they his parents, children, or brothers; and all his servants, from the lowest upwards, are not allowed to leave his residence, on account of the arrest of their master.

This punishment is more humbling and more unbearable than for the lower class who are imprisoned for crime; and a burden like this is in itself already a punishment, which is not easily imposed on any one. The other persons have also received an impartial and, perhaps, proper punishment, in accordance with our old-established law; therefore we are of opinion no objection can be made on that score, as it is in accordance with the stipulations of the Treaty.

We have taken into mature consideration the demand made for indemnity for the relations of the two murdered sentries; but we do not understand why 10,000*l.* should be be demanded. We are, however, of opinion that the demand and the stipulation that the indemnity should be paid in gold coin. and is to consist of so large a sum, should be in proportion to the high or low position the persons have held, or to the services they have rendered.

In our country there is likewise a law about indemnity, as a punishment for small crime, and other punishments are determined according to the extent of the crime; for instance, one criminal is prohibited residing any more in the province he has been in the habit of living in, and another is banished to a far distant place; and he who murders any one is condemned to death, and no indemnity is demanded from him; but it is considered expedient to give to the relatives of the murdered person something for their maintenance.

It has happened at the opened ports that Japanese have been murdered and wounded by foreigners; but we have never demanded any indemnity for them. In accordance with the law of the land, any one wounding, not only foreigners, but also natives, is condemned to death, if his adversary dies in consequence, as stated above. Matsdaira Tamba no Kami's criminal retainer ought likewise to have been punished according to this law, but he soon after committed suicide; we therefore sent his corpse to your residence to prove that our law could not punish him any more.

Therefore the law of our land does not allow us to grant the indemnity, and we therefore decline (to pay) it; but it is desirable you should understand it. We are, however, ready to pay the silver coin to the relatives of the two murdered sentries for their maintenance, as we communicated to you in writing some time ago.

This is our answer to your communication, and we request you to make known to your Government, not only all we have communicated in answer to your despatches, and what has been discussed at the interviews, but also the whole state of affairs in our Empire.

In regard to the last period of your despatch, "that British subjects must have the rights obtained by Treaty ensured to them," we perfectly agree with you, and our intention is to carry out all the stipulations of the Treaty. We are taking into consideration further measures of protection, and trust they will be effectual.

With respect and consideration.

29th of 10th month of 2nd year of Bung-kew (December 20, 1862).

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.
OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

No. 10.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received April 12.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, January* 10, 1863.

IN connection with the subject of the general measures adopted by the Japanese Government to avert the recurrence of outrage to foreigners upon the tokaido or high road in this vicinity, and which I have referred to in my previous correspondence upon that subject, I have now the honour to inclose, for the information of your Lordship, a copy of a despatch I have received from the Japanese Ministers, informing me of their determination to carry into effect the project of opening a new road for Daimios' processions, upon the sole condition that foreigners would abstain from frequenting it, upon special occasions, when warned of the passage of any notables and their retinues.

With the usual scrupulous and laborious attention bestowed by the Japanese authorities upon these matters, they have had a survey made of the two roads, and have sent me copy.

Seeing that we now find it expedient to abstain from frequenting even the present one high road upon the occasions referred to, I have thought it very expedient to accept the proposal of the Japanese Ministers in regard to the new road, which, although within the limits, has never been resorted to by foreign residents, while the prospect now presented of the old road being freed from all danger of collisions,—more especially as no less than twenty-four guard-houses, with five men in each, have been established upon it within the limits during the last two months,—is certainly very satisfactory.

The abandonment of about forty miles in this vicinity of the sole great high road of Japan leading from Yeddo to Nagasaki, and traversed for centuries by the dignitaries of the land, is undoubtedly a strong and gratifying proof of the sincerity of the Government, when they declare their anxious desire to avert the chance of collision with foreigners. I should have added that while the old road is lined on either side with resting-houses for travellers, these will have to be built on the road now proposed to be substituted for Daimios and other native travellers.

Inclosure in No. 10.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE send you the following communication.

In regard to the opening of a new high road instead of part of the tokaido, as we lately communicated to you in writing, and also through the Governors for Foreign Affairs, persons appointed by us have surveyed the ground (in different directions) and have reported that there is no other road fit for the said high road than the one hitherto called Atsookey Oquan, which, as indicated in the inclosed plan, runs from the west of the River Banyugawa, situated to the west of this road, between the towns of Hilatsooka and Toosisawa, and turning off to the north leads in a direct line to Yeddo. It is at a distance of about five or six ri from Kanagawa.

Although this road is not beyond the limits of the ten ri, as stipulated by Treaty, yet as the present arrangement is effected for the purpose of avoiding any accident, &c., to foreigners, it is desirable your countrymen should not go in that direction whenever the Governor of Kanagawa, from anxiety of Daimios' processions and others travelling on this road, sends a communication to your Consul for this purpose. It is not with an intention to restrict foreigners in the excursions they are in the habit of making, and besides, as this road is at a great distance from the foreign settlement, it will not put them to any inconvenience.

We intend to adopt this road for a permanency, but we first send this plan to you for your consideration.

With respect and esteem.

11th day of 11th month of 2nd year of Bung-kew (December 31, 1862.)

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.
OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

No. 11.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received April 12.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, January* 15, 1863.

BY my despatch of the 24th ultimo I had the honour to report to your Lordship the result of my communications with the Japanese Ministers respecting the murder of two of the British guard at Her Majesty's Legation on the 26th of June last.

I have since addressed a despatch to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, urging such arguments as have occurred to me with a view to calling their serious attention to the consequences which may arise from their having declined to comply with the demand I was instructed by your Lordship to make, as pecuniary compensation for the families of the murdered men.

In transmitting to your Lordship, here inclosed, a copy of that despatch, to which I have as yet received no reply (the reason assigned by the Ministers being that it is in course of translation into Japanese), I am at present enabled only to add that I do not anticipate an entire consent on the part of this Government to pay the whole amount demanded.

It is probable they will modify their own offer of compensation, from 3,000 dollars to a larger sum, perhaps extending to double that amount; thus gaining time, and trusting to the course of events for an easier solution of the difficulty.

With reference to that part of your Lordship's instructions in which you have remarked that the compensation demanded should be levied upon the estate of Tamba no Kami, the Daimio charged with the protection of the Legation on the occasion of the attack, I should state that I am informed from reliable sources that he is in very impoverished circumstances, and his estates mortgaged to merchants of Osaka.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 11.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, December 27, 1862.

I HAVE received, and carefully perused the despatch which your Excellencies have addressed to me, dated the 20th December, in reply to the communications, written and verbal, which I had the honour to make to you on the 4th of this month, under instructions from my Government, upon the subject of the outrage committed at Her Majesty's Legation on the 26th of June last.

By the mail which left yesterday, I have communicated a translation of your despatch to Her Majesty's Government, and it is my duty to declare to your Excellencies that the decision adopted by the Japanese Government in declining to comply with the specific demand I was directed to make by Her Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, after serious consideration of the circumstances attending the outrage committed, has occasioned in me great anxieties for the consequences which may reasonably be expected to result. It is difficult for me to understand under what regrettable influences the Japanese Government has adopted the serious course of rejecting the only easy solution which could be proposed by the Government of a great and friendly nation, as reparation for an unusual outrage committed in a foreign country within the precincts of its Legation, and at the door of its Representative, resulting in the treacherous murder of two of the guards engaged in its protection. Those guards were exposing their lives, not owing to any unnecessary formality or display, but because of the inability of the Japanese Government, by their own confession on the previous occasion of a similar outrage, to afford any satisfactory guarantee for the safety of the members of Her Majesty's Legation.

Such measures of self-protection are altogether unnecessary in other countries. A constant and unfailing vigilance against midnight attack and murder can alone be satisfactorily ensured as yet in Japan by the personal precautions adopted by foreigners. I am entitled to make this statement, for your Excellencies have never as yet informed me that the measures adopted by the Japanese Government have rendered such attempts as rare and difficult as in other countries. But you have said on the previous occasion that you could not guarantee the non-recurrence of such events, and within the period of the same year it did recur.

Two of the guards thus necessarily employed at the doors of Her Majesty's Legation were murdered; the assassin, a retainer of the Daimio charged with its protection, and coming through the ranks of the Japanese guards.

So flagrant an outrage cannot be viewed by the Japanese Government as an ordinary occurrence for which the ordinary punishments may be applied; a marked and signal reparation must always be accorded under similar circumstances by countries where such flagrant outrages are committed. Individuals may be attacked and murdered in any country, the assassins being instigated by personal objects of gain or revenge; but there are no records of which I am aware of a similar crime to that which has here been committed, nor can it be dealt with in an ordinary manner, for its object was the murder of the members of a Legation residing at the Court of the Tycoon.

In Oriental countries such an attempt is especially regarded as a crime of the highest magnitude.

The Japanese Government may be free from blame respecting the choice of the Daimio and his retainers charged with the protection of the Legation.

The Governor, who observed a culpable mystery and silence respecting the danger which threatened the Legation, whether past or impending, may have acted in accordance with the reserve and want of confidence towards foreigners and towards each other observed by most officials in this country.

The assassin may have been alone, who inflicted barbarously needless wounds after the murder of his victims.

But it is not endeavoured to be explained how he escaped, wounded and disordered from a sanguinary struggle, through the numerous guards that surrounded the scene. It is not explained why no succour whatever was rendered by those numerous guards during the whole time in which the assassin was engaged in slaying two men, accompanied with outcry, pistol-shots, and confusion.

If these are acts which are dealt lightly with by Japanese law, they cannot be so lightly or patiently supported by nations which scrupulously watch over and protect their subjects in whatever spot in the world duty or business may entitle them to live by Treaty rights.

The Japanese Government is bound to appease and atone for acts shocking to foreign nations committed by assassins who had no personal affront to avenge, or no gain to derive by the murder of their innocent victims; the strong probability yet reasonably remaining, despite of all examinations, that the assassin only accomplished in part a more criminal mission assigned to him by others.

If I am not greatly in error, even the laws of Japan award the punishment of death to participators or abettors of murder, when the principal in such murder is lost, escapes, or disappears. The murderer in this case was lost to justice by suicide, no proof is given that he had no participators or abettors beyond the denial of his companions and friends.

Signal examples are resorted to by all nations, and doubtless by Japan, to deter others from the deliberate plotting and committal of foul deeds, notwithstanding the death of the individual chosen to perpetrate the act.

A money indemnity to the families of the murdered subjects of a great nation, under such circumstances, the Japanese Government must be well aware is the mildest reparation by which peace can be preserved, while atonement is made and an example afforded.

There is no graduated scale or tariff of the amount which the British Minister will affix upon each occasion of the murder of a British subject, according to his station and rank, as imagined by the Japanese Ministers. But the repetition, as in this case, of great outrages necessarily influences the extent of the example required, and the amount demanded for the victims or their families.

This mode of appeasing a great scandal and offence twice repeated in one year at the very doors of the Representative of Great Britain, has been decided upon after mature consideration of the principal facts by the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, anxious and desirous of preserving peace and amity between Great Britain and Japan. Such demands the Japanese Government must be well aware are not lightly made by a British Minister, nor can they be set aside by arguments as to the incorrectness of inferences deduced from details and isolated facts.

Two British guards on duty at the British Legation, and placed there solely owing to a previous murderous attack, have been assassinated by the retainers of a Daimio of Japan appointed for its protection. This is a fact standing by itself, and for which a signal example alone can atone.

The Japanese Ministers have deliberately declined to accede to the reparation which has deliberately been demanded.

This decision of the Tycoon's Government is now on its way to England with a full

and literal translation of the despatch, in which your Excellencies conveyed to me that decision. It will reach the hands of the British Minister at a moment when the circumstances attending a fresh barbarous outrage upon unarmed and unoffending British subjects, committed by the adherents of another Daimio, on the 14th of September, will be before him, still unpunished by the Japanese Government, and no reparation suggested for the sufferers.

The rejection by the Japanese Government of the solution proposed for the outrage of the 26th June, carries with it manifestly in its first consequences the result that the two unrequited outrages will become combined, and form together a most serious subject for the consideration of the British Government.

The distance is great, and communications and replies occupy many months, and cannot, therefore, be resorted to as in other countries during the settlement of serious difficulties; decisions under such circumstances necessarily take the place of statements, counter-statements, and arguments respecting less important details; the main facts must be dealt with without inordinate delay.

Under all these considerations it now devolves upon me, as a serious duty and as a sincere friend to Japan, of which I am willing to hope your Excellencies have had reason to be convinced, earnestly to call upon and solicit your Excellencies to reconsider the decision which you have communicated to me in reply to the demand I was instructed to convey to you.

During the period of a month from this date my further reports upon the subject to Her Majesty's Government, if they are of a satisfactory nature, may influence final and ulterior determinations, which the receipt of your present resolutions must necessarily produce, when joined to the facts attending the more recent outrage. Whatever you may determine at a later period can only cross on its passage the instructions I shall receive, or which will be conveyed by Her Britannic Majesty's Minister in Japan, expected to return to Yeddo in the spring of the new year now at hand.

A serious and urgent communication made in the most friendly spirit.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 12.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received March 27.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, January* 26, 1863.

MR. PRUYN, the Resident Minister of the United States, was so obliging as to address a circular despatch to M. de Bellecourt, my French colleague, and to myself, informing us of the murder of a Japanese guard at the door of the grounds called Goteng-yama, upon which the new British Legation at Yeddo is erected, and upon which also the Legation-buildings of the other Treaty Powers will be situated.

The Governor of this district, on the same date of Mr. Pruyn's letter, also officially announced to me this incident, and referred to more than one of the guards as having been killed. My own information in the meanwhile was more detailed as to the causes of this attack and murder, and represented the deed as having been connected with my supposed residence at the new Legation with the other members of Her Majesty's Mission.

Under these circumstances, I deemed it most desirable to address the Japanese Ministers at once, and directly ask them what were the real facts connected with this event; and I have the the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch upon that subject.

The Japanese Ministers, in reply, deputed a Governor for Foreign Affairs to call upon me yesterday, charged, on their part, verbally to reply to my inquiries.

The Governor, after causing all his attendants to retire, said that the Gorogio had directed him to inform me that on the morning of the 16th instant, at 10 o'clock A.M., ten armed persons, who are as yet unknown, presented themselves at the door of the Legation building, [entrance into] which, as they were strangers, was refused by the yaconin on guard, his companion being absent. That they then went away to a tea-house close at hand, and asked the owner whether the Legation was inhabited; and being answered that it was not, one of them drew his sword partly out and threatened the tea-house keeper, telling him that what he saw (the sword) awaited him for deceiving them, and for stating what was not true. Four of their number then left, returned to the door of the Legation-ground and again demanded admittance; and upon refusal, as before, attacked and cut to pieces the yaconin. They then escaped, and, as the Governor informed me, had not yet been traced.

Thus, in the circumstances attending the murder of one of their own countrymen, happening to be the guard of the future, but yet unoccupied, British Legation, we have a premonitory warning of the incidents which may reasonably be expected to occur sooner or later after Her Majesty's Legation is established within its walls.

Inclosure in No. 12.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, January 19, 1863.

INFORMATION has been received here, and since communicated to the several Legations, of the murder of one or more of the Japanese guard stationed at the gate of Gotenyama.

Although the British Legation residence at Yeddo is not yet completed or occupied, the circumstance of the murder having taken place within its gates renders it a matter of natural interest that I should wish to be informed of some of the particulars, the Governor having furnished none.

I have, therefore, to request your Excellencies to acquaint me of the number of persons killed, the number and character of the persons who attacked them, and the supposed reason for the act,—whether owing to personal quarrel, or whether it is connected with any subject of interest to the Representatives of foreign States.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 13.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received April* 12.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, February* 3, 1863.

IT devolves upon me to inform, with great regret, your Lordship that the Legation residence no longer exists, having been burnt to the ground by political incendiaries on the night of the 1st instant.

The Japanese Ministers restrict themselves to communicating to me the bare fact of this event, coupled only with the statement that the fire was not accidental, but the act of incendiaries.

That a building erected at the expense of the Japanese Government, of the best materials which the country can produce, constructed with infinite care and painful attention to details, and costing according to the estimates 8,000*l.*, should be destroyed by order and connivance of that same Government is difficult to be surmised. Yet your Lordship will not fail to notice the facts that on the 28th ultimo the Japanese Ministers appealed to me to abandon the intention of inhabiting the residence at Goteng-yama, and solicited me to select another site for the reasons urged by them. That they begged me to furnish them with a definite answer before the 15th of their month (2nd instant), as a very high functionary, the Tycoon's Guardian and Envoy, would on that date proceed to hold an interview with the Mikado. That I declared to them my answer at once, which consisted in my inability to entertain any question of the abandonment of the Legation residence already erected. And that as a sequel to these preceding incidents, on the 1st instant the building was destroyed by fire.

The inference would seem to be that the Japanese Government has connived at the accomplishment of this act as the only effectual solution of the pressure brought to bear by the Mikado and his party upon the Tycoon. It is equally possible that the retainers and partizans of the hostile Daimios, intent on carrying out the desires of their Chiefs, may have accomplished a portion of the work allotted to them by the destruction of the residence at Goteng-yama, despite all the efforts of the Government to restrain them.

In either case, the threatening incidents which have of late so rapidly succeeded each other, and the general aspect of affairs at Yeddo, accompanied by the continued exodus of Daimios from the Tycoon's to the Mikado's Court, the degradation and confiscation of the property of so many others denounced by the Mikado's Envoy as friendly to foreigners; and, finally, the serious incident of the deliberate destruction of the Legation residence;—all these combined events, prognosticating the advent of a serious crisis, have pressed upon me the necessity of addressing a despatch, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose,

to Admiral Kuper, representing the urgent expediency for the appearance of a strong naval force in these waters, and to which I have every reason to believe the Admiral will respond by arriving here towards the close of this month.

I shall, of course, continue to proceed to Yeddo whenever passing events may require my presence there, and on such occasions I should occupy the temple hitherto the residence of the Legation.

Inclosure in No. 13.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Rear-Admiral Kuper.

(Extract.) *Yokohama, February* 2, 1863.

EVERY act of the Government betrays an anxious dread that their political enemies, whose movements of late have been most active and suspicious, should break out suddenly into open violence, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Tycoon's authorities to restrain them.

Last week a band of ten armed men presented themselves at the gates of the new British Legation at Yeddo, which, though as yet unoccupied, was all but completed, and demanded admittance to inspect the building, which having been refused by the Japanese guard, one of them was cut to pieces on the spot, his assailants escaping; and last night I was waited upon by a Governor of Foreign Affairs from Yeddo, who brought me the serious intelligence, forming a sequel to the foregoing event, that the British Legation residence no longer existed, having been burned to the ground by armed incendiaries, who employed trains of powder and other combustibles, which exploded simultaneously in all directions.

Irrespective of these unmistakeable indications of an impending crisis in our relations with Japan, and of serious efforts to displace and interrupt our peaceful intercourse with this country, the whole empire is passing through the ordeal of internal political convulsion, importing civil strife and disorder, a catastrophe as yet evidently averted and arrested through the unceasing efforts of the Tycoon and his Government to conciliate the Mikado by promises to accomplish by degrees his impracticable desires, especially in respect to foreigners.

One of the reproaches cast upon the Tycooon by the Mikado was that he had granted the commanding site of Goten-yama at Yeddo, where a sacred temple had for ages stood, frequented by his ancestors, and consecrated as the place of festivals for the people, to be the future place of residence for foreign Ministers. The Tycoon, it is now said by the present Government, was uninformed by his Ministers of the Mikado's displeasure in connection with this subject. He has now been made aware of it in personal interviews with the Mikado's envoys. A high functionary is despatched to the Mikado to offer conciliatory explanations upon this and other matters, and twenty-four hours before his departure, by a striking coincidence, the future British Legation residence, built with infinite care and at great cost, is burnt to the ground, thus affording to the Mikado the most effectual atonement.

The mandate next on the list, addressed to the Tycoon by the Mikado, is that he should expel foreigners from Kanagawa and Yokohama. This is an undertaking doubtless presenting great and insuperable difficulties to the Tycoon's Government, by this time well aware of the power and determination of Western States to maintain the rights conceded to them by Treaties; but judging from the course of events, no satisfactory assurance is afforded but that the Tycoon and his Government may be suddenly overcome and displaced, and a desperate effort made by their less well-informed or reckless successors to accomplish the Mikado's imputed desire to expel or extirpate foreigners, especially from this settlement, so unpalatably contiguous to the capital.

Under all the circumstances attending this condition of affairs, whether viewed in the light of the troubles and embarrassments besetting the Tycoon's Government, which it is our interest should be supported if found to be sincere in its friendly professions, or whether regarded only in respect to the actual risk and danger to which the lives and property of British subjects are exposed, in either case it appears to me that a considerable demonstration in this quarter of our naval forces would at this moment be most opportune, and conduce to results highly advantageous to our interests. The presence of such a force, whose mission would be to insure the maintenance of Treaty rights, and enable British subjects engaged in a prosperous and increasing trade to remain undisturbed, at least within their settlements, I have every reason to believe would at the same time afford a

powerful moral support to the Tycoon's Government in its well-disposed but wavering and timid policy in regard to foreign intercourse.

From these considerations I am induced to trust that you may be enabled and deem it expedient to afford me the early support of your own presence at Yokohama and Yeddo with such a force as would constitute an unmistakeable demonstration, and calculated to realize the results I confidently anticipate. I need hardly add that I look forward with great satisfaction to the opportunity which will thus be afforded to me of conferring and advising with you personally as to the course of action which accumulating events in this country may necessitate.

No. 14.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received April* 12.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, February* 4, 1863.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 15th ultimo, in which I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a letter I had addressed to the Japanese Ministers, consequent upon their declining to accede to the payment of the compensation I had been instructed to demand for the families of the two British guards murdered at the Legation at Yeddo, I have now the honour to lay before your Lordship a copy of the reply which I have received to the strong remonstrances I had urged upon them.

Your Lordship will observe that the Ministers conclude with proposals to diminish the amount demanded, and appear inclined to negotiate respecting the sum which would be accepted in compensation. I shall again address the Ministers, pointing out to them explicitly that I am not authorized to negotiate with them respecting the amount which your Lordship has directed me to demand; and I am not without hopes that, influenced by passing events, the Japanese Government will feel it expedient, after some further correspondence, obstructions, and delays, to accede to the payment of the compensation required of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 14.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE have received your despatch dated December 27.

As we mentioned to you in our answer to your despatch relative to the indemnity for the murder of the two British sentries at Tozengee, it is an irrevocable law in our country that any one killing another shall be punished with pain of death, and not by paying an indemnity. And although it may be thought that a law relative to indemnity exists in our country, yet the sum you demand is so uncommonly large that Tamba no Kami is unable to pay it. Moreover, it is impossible to subject him to this new punishment after he has been properly punished. But if you do not think what our Government has proposed to give for the maintenance of the relatives of the said two sentries is sufficient, we request you to let us know what you consider would do, after you have taken our present communication into mature consideration.

With respect and esteem.

9th of 12th month of 2nd year of Bung-kew (January 28th, 1863).

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.
OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

No. 15.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 17, 1863.

HER Majesty's Government approve the despatch of which a copy is inclosed in your despatch of the 3rd of February, and which you addressed to Admiral Kuper, representing to him the importance of his proceeding with an imposing force to Japanese waters.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 16.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received May 16.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, February* 10, 1863.

THE incidents which have of late succeeded each other, and of which I have had the honour to inform your Lordship, are of a nature to convey the impression that serious designs are entertained by the Tycoon's Government to bring about a rupture in their relations with the Treaty Powers.

This is not so. The political situation of affairs is nevertheless sufficiently critical.

The collisions and obstructions with which we have had to contend originate from inevitable causes.

It is difficult, indeed, to comprehend how surprise can be entertained at their occurrence. It does not thence follow that they should be unobserved or unrequited. A show of material force, coupled with conciliatory action on our part, would seem however, as a general rule, the best calculated to consolidate our footing in this country.

There is no reason why our relations with Japan, accompanied by all its regrettable episodes, should not be viewed by the same light as our early intercourse with other Asiatic States. That the outrages to which foreigners have been subjected at intervals in this country should have been attended with bloodshed and murder may unquestionably be traced to an exceptional fact, viz., that a large proportion of the population of this country is an armed population; keen-edged weapons form a portion of their attire. In Europe a stone would be thrown where here a sword is drawn. There is no Asiatic country with which we are in relation where the inhabitants of the dominant class are so armed, in which sanguinary scenes do not at intervals prevail. The Turk, the Albanian, and the Arab will draw his pistol or his yataghan on the first defenceless person by whom he conceives himself aggrieved. Equally with the Japanese, the incentive is derived from the same ignoble source, viz., the consciousness that his victim is unarmed. In Turkey a heavy blow was struck at the very root of such a condition of society by the destruction of the janissaries; in Japan the two-sworded adherents of Daimios have as yet met with no check; they walk abroad with these insignia of destruction, in mock heroic defiance of all whom they meet; and should their arms have been newly acquired these men have been known to try their edge upon the bodies of strolling beggars in the streets at night. During the long and dark seclusion of Japan the tyranny of the strong has been suffered to prevail, but the history of other Eastern people assures us that with the light admitted by intercourse with civilized nations it cannot endure.

Viewed as a whole, our relations with this country present no serious cause for discouragement. Little more than ten years ago the ruling impression of Western nations respecting relations with Japan was, that the crew of a foreign vessel wrecked upon these coasts was doomed to immediate destruction. In point of fact, however, it has resulted, that at the close of three years of intercourse our trade has increased threefold, and our exports from this country exceed during the past year 1,000,000*l.* sterling.

Indifference to the cold reserve and obstructive acts of the authorities in this country would meanwhile doubtless encourage their continuance, but it is impossible by arguments or reasoning alone to influence the councils of this Government. The great difficulty with which our diplomatic agency has had to contend has been the lack of means to induce moral pressure; no lever has presented itself whereby to arouse conviction of a reciprocity of interests tending to render our goodwill and amity a political necessity to the Tycoon's Government, or to induce on their part even a conciliatory policy. In a word, it has not hitherto been apparent to the ruling powers in this country what they had to gain by their relations with foreigners; while, on the contrary, the jealousy of powerful feudal Chiefs, the

chances of civil commotion (the elements of which already existed), are alarmingly increased by our presence and by our requirements.

The Tycoon and his Government, as an undeniable fact, have fallen into national discredit by assenting to the much-dreaded renewal of intercourse with Western people, though indeed this assent was obtained under irresistible pressure; but they have conjured as yet the explosion of displeasure on the part of the reactionary Daimios by half simulated repugnance to the foreigners, whom they had (according to their belief) in an evil hour admitted.

Hence, while they deplored the embarrassing perpetration of outrages upon foreigners, each renewed occurrence of which brought matters to a crisis injurious to their own stability, on the other hand their presumed national sympathies could not consistently admit of the display of any energetic zeal in the arrest and punishment of the offenders.

By this temporizing policy the Government of the Tycoon, with ever-recurring dismissals and appointments of the members which compose it, has maintained itself; while our own diplomatic and commercial relations have been conducted amidst the divided fears of this Government, between the contingency of the overthrow of the Tycoon's dynasty, and the consequent downfall of its supporters on the one hand, should favour or encouragement be extended to foreigners, and the equally formidable risk and danger to be encountered by an undisguised course of hostile policy in their relations with the more powerful Western States.

But a crisis has now been reached in this condition of affairs. The dynastic rule of the reigning Tycoon, or temporal Sovereign, is threatened by the attitude assumed by the Mikado, or spiritual Emperor, supported by some of the most powerful and wealthy Daimios of the Empire. The Tycoon and his Government have of late shown unmistakeable signs of yielding to this pressure by carrying into effect the stringent measures of confiscations, arrests, and degradations enjoined by the Mikado, and directed against a long list of Daimios and high functionaries known to be partizans of the Tycoon's Government, and more or less favourably disposed to abide by the obligations imposed by Treaties with foreign States, and one of the last acts of this enforced policy may be said to be sequelized in the destruction of the British Legation-residence at Yeddo.

Here, then, has arisen a new phase in our political situation in this country, but here also is presented a lever for our political action which no other condition of affairs could have afforded, and the absence of which, as I have ventured to express the belief in the early part of this despatch, obstructed the acquirement of any diplomatic influence.

I have ventured to submit these remarks for your Lordship's consideration; but as in the meanwhile the imputed hostile designs of the Mikado's party, and its pressure on the Tycoon's Government, may be further progressed towards serious action than I am tempted to hope, I have deemed it no longer prudent to abstain from requesting Admiral Kuper to afford me the support of his presence in the event of any sudden emergency, as I had the honour to report to your Lordship by the last mail.

I cannot, however, but entertain strong hopes and expectations that this country will pass unharmed through its present ordeal of political effervescence, for the Japanese are a shrewd and intelligent people, not subject to persevere in projects of impossible attainment. On our part it is as difficult as it would be wrong to lose sight of the main and sole object of our establishment in Japan, viz., the fresh field it has afforded for a prosperous trade, best secured to us by patience and forbearance.

The surplus imports from Great Britain to China find here an outlet, and the resources of this country in silk and tea promise to supply to all Europe and America those necessities when the worn-out Empire of China ceases to yield them.

Our future satisfactory commercial relations with Japan are doubtless inevitably assured to us. In the meanwhile Her Majesty's diplomatic servants have been, and may have the honour to be, still for some time in the position of pioneers and martyrs to the attainment of peaceful and settled relations with this country in commerce and in diplomacy, not unlike the early fathers in their special calling.

No. 17.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received May* 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, February* 16, 1863.

BY my despatch of the 4th instant I had the honour to inclose a copy of a letter I had received from the Japanese Ministers in answer to my second application demanding, under instructions from your Lordship, the specified pecuniary compensation for the

families of the two men, of Her Majesty's ship "Renard," murdered during the attack on the Legation on the 26th of June last. I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the further note I have addressed to the Ministers in reply to their last communication.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE

Inclosure in No. 17.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, February 7, 1863.

I HAVE received your Excellencies' despatch in reply to that which I addressed to you on the 27th December, 1862, entering into explanatory details and reasons conveyed in the most friendly spirit, and urging upon the Japanese Government the great expediency of acceding to the demand I was instructed to make as compensation for the murder of two British subjects on duty as guards at the door of Her Majesty's Legation at Yeddo on the night of the 26th of June last.

Your Excellencies in your reply appear to be under the impression that I am empowered to negotiate, modify, arrange, and settle with the Japanese Government the sum which shall finally be awarded in settlement of such compensation. And with this view your Excellencies ask me what sum I conceive will be sufficient, notwithstanding my assurances that I am not authorized to consent to the payment of one cobang less than the sum of 10,000*l.*, or as near as need be at present 10,000 old cobangs of Japan.

It is true that each fresh proposal at present made to me by your Excellencies, in behalf of the Japanese Government, may result in delay in the settlement of this matter; but it is my duty, and consistent with the desire entertained by the British Government, to preserve, if possible, amicable relations with Japan, that I should earnestly warn the Government of His Majesty the Tycoon that no good results can be expected from the delay thus occasioned.

The Japanese Government having decided upon declining to pay the amount demanded, that decision is by this date nearly arrived in England.

By successive mails I have been obliged to inform Her Majesty's Government that I have received no further communication from your Excellencies, and I shall now have to report that your Excellencies propose to enter into correspondence and arrangements with me as to the sum which would be accepted in compensation.

The proposed solution of this difficulty has been rejected, and such rejection will be under consideration of Her Majesty's Secretary of State at a very critical period in the situation of this country and its relations with foreign States; and I sincerely deplore that in the present state of affairs, when the best accord is desirable in the interests of the maintenance of good will and amity towards Japan on the part of the British Government, a great grievance and scandal, to which the Legation of Her Britannic Majesty was exposed by the murder of two of its guards, should remain unadjusted, because the Japanese Government are at variance as to the amount which should be paid to the families of the victims.

There is no measure by which outrages can be classed and estimated; the same outrage again repeated may result in open hostilities, or serious indemnities which cannot be weighed in the scale with the money compensation now demanded, and unwisely refused by the Japanese Government.

The Daimio Tamba no Kami, had he been as rich as many of the Daimios of this Empire, would undoubtedly have been the right person to have borne the burden of the penalty required.

This has been pointed out by the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, but it rests with the Japanese Government to decide from what source the amount shall be levied, if that Daimio, as stated, is unable to defray it.

Confiscations, fines, and penalties are not new in the institutions of this country.

Political exigencies have of late struck with tenfold pressure many notable Daimios and other high officials of this Empire, some of whom have been accused of mismanaging the affairs of foreigners. The revenues of which they have been deprived would, with hardly perceptible diminution to the Imperial Treasury, supply the means of atoning for a great outrage.

In conclusion, I have earnestly to request that your Excellencies will bring the whole circumstances and correspondence connected with the subject to which this

despatch relates, to the knowledge of His Majesty the Tycoon, to whose Imperial consideration it must eventually be submitted, if unadjusted by the wisdom of His Majesty's Minister.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 18.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received May* 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, February* 23, 1863.

IN connection with the opinions and statements which prevail amongst rival parties in this country bearing upon the subject of intercourse with foreigners, I have the honour to transmit a translation of a very remarkable letter addressed by one of the most influential Daimios of the Mikado's party to the Tycoon's Government.

This document was obtained by me some time ago in Japanese manuscript, but laid aside with others which reach me from time to time, as no proof existed of their authenticity. Passing events, however, as they succeed each other, stamp the inclosed paper with truth as to its imputed authorship, and render it an index to the opinions which prevail among the disaffected Daimios.

It is worthy of note that the letter is dated in May of last year; in June a circular was addressed to the police-agents at Yeddo, a copy having recently fallen into my hands, and a translation of which I have the honour to annex. It is there stated that some adherents of the same Prince Matsudaira Daizen no Daiboo had entered Yeddo, and that suspicion was attached to their movements. On the 26th of the same month the Legation was attacked. The inference would seem to be that that Daimio was implicated in the outrage; proof of which, however, will probably never be elicited.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 18.

Letter written by Matsdaira Daizen no Daiboo, Prince of Soowo and Nagato, to the Gorogio, or Great Council of State.

(Translation.) *May* 1862.

ALLOW me, notwithstanding your urgent political discussions (with the Mikado's Envoys) to give you my opinion respecting the troubles which foreigners have given us of late years, in asking all kinds of concessions, in addition to the unexpected troubles which exist in our own country. This combination of difficulties within and without, occurring at the same time, and bringing us to a point when our prosperity or misfortune is to be decided, keeps my heart day and night in anxiety, and induces me to give you, in confidence, my own feelings upon these subjects.

I have long thought that union and concord between the Sjogoon (Tycoon) and Mikado, and obedience to the Mikado's orders, are highly necessary in keeping up our intercourse with foreign nations, as I have already said very often.

But every one knows that since the Council of Officers which took place in the 7th Ansei, the Sjogoon (Tycoon) and Mikado are disunited, which has occasioned a conflict of parties and brought with it discord and troubles.

I think the reason of this is that although the signing of the Treaties was forced upon us by urgent circumstances and pressing events, there are some who maintain that the reopening of relations with foreigners has occasioned a degradation of the people who were so brave and constant ten years ago, to the state of quiescence and cowardice to which they are now reduced by their fear of war and of the foreign Powers. These persons who are of this opinion are, therefore, in opposition to the acts of the Sjogoon (Tycoon), and say that they will themselves undertake to set aside the Treaties and prepare the country for war; declaring that the Mikado still maintains the old laws of our country, which directs the expulsion of foreigners.

Other persons accept, on the contrary, the re-opening of the country and praise the foreigners, and thus destroy all confidence in ourselves. They say that the foreigners have large forces, and that they have great knowledge of arts and sciences.

These conflicting opinions trouble the minds of the people. Unity is force and strength, and discord is weakness; therefore it would be imprudent to go to war against powerful and brave enemies with discord in our minds.

The closing or re-opening of Japan is a matter of the greatest moment, but this is only a branch and not the main stem of our policy, and I think there will be no difficulty about this branch, as the strategical law says,—"He who can well defend himself can well attack; and he who well attacks can well defend himself:" therefore I think that this law is applicable here. That which cannot be shut again should not have been opened, and that which cannot be opened should not have been shut.

The closing of Japan will never be a real closing, and the opening will never be a real opening, as long as our country is not restored to its independence, and as long as it is menaced and despised by foreign countries. Therefore the opening or closing of Japan is dependent upon the restoration of our own powers; if that is effected, then war or peace can be declared.

The condition upon which this power can be restored to us is the enlightening of the people and their union.

I think the only way to bring about national union is by the solid union between the Sjogoon (Tycoon) and Mikado acting together as in one body; should there be war it can be brought to an end very easily.

A time is now come very different from barbarous ages, and arising out of the long peace which has prevailed. Every little child knows the respect it owes to its parents and masters.

It will therefore rejoice everybody in this advanced age to see the Tycoon hold the Mikado in great respect, and the whole nation would honour the Tycoon, and all troubles would cease, and then only we can be restored to our independence and power.

After our independence has been restored it is urgent and pressing that we reform our military institutions, the naval sciences, as well as all branches of industry; we should find out the great advancements and developments of arts and sciences in other countries. The whole nation must devote life and soul to the benefit of our State, and we must learn and study the interior arrangements of foreign lands, in order that the commerce of our country may flourish in this important age. I think all this ought to have been done long since, but nothing, however, of the kind is to be found in the edicts which have appeared so often during the last seven years.

Inventions and improvements press on with rapidity, and the time is now come to make all these changes and improvements; but if our attachment to old customs causes us to postpone these measures of such great importance, if these changes are later suddenly forced by circumstances upon the inhabitants, a very bad impression will be produced creating disorder and confusion. These are the reasons why they should be effected now, calmly and gradually. I think that the Mikado will not be disinclined to this, and therefore I wish that the Sjogoon (Tycoon) should act under the orders of the Mikado, and not conclude matters by his own authority. He ought to let these designs be known to all the Daimios in the name of the Mikado; then there will be a general quiet restored, then the dormant soul of the whole nation will awake, and will be united in power and in independence, and finally then it will display our force and strength to the other five portions of the universe, without anxiety and fear for our own country.

I do not write these my sentiments to aid you in your negotiations, as they may be of little or no use to you, and like a drop of water falling in the ocean, but to show my gratitude for the favours of the Sjogoon (Tycoon) which my ancestors have enjoyed during centuries.

Inclosure 2 in No. 18.

Notice addressed to the Agents of the Police by the Head Spy of the North-Western District of Yeddo, dated 18th of the 5th month (June 15, 1862).

(Translation.)

THE news has reached me that the officers of Matzdaira Daizen no Daibu of Nagato and Suwo,* numbering thirty-six during the day, and twenty during the night, have come overland from Sounpoo† (in Suruga) to Yeddo on the 11th of the 5th month (8th June), wearing riding trowsers and coats of tight foreign fashion, and that they had taken post horses without previous notice and with violence; others of the same Daimio dressed in common travellers' clothes came by sea from Shimidsu.

We have received especial orders to guard against disturbances the approaches to Yeddo, the streets, and the temples in which the foreigners reside, and the neighbouring coasts.

* Two Provinces at the entrance of the Inland Sea.
† Near the mountain Fusi-yama.

We beg you, therefore, to come directly and give notice to the police-stations at the houses of Kato Tazaemon and Ohojagi Silosabro, in case there be any deviation from the habitual state of things at Yeddo.

No. 19.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received May* 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, February* 24, 1863.

AS bearing upon the subject of my recent reports to your Lordship on the situation of political affairs in this country, I have the honour to transmit a communication addressed to me by my colleague of the United States.

I have for some time been in possession of a translation of the letter from the Mikado to the Tycoon of which Mr. Pruyn obligingly sends me a copy, but its authenticity has hitherto remained uncertain. Its acceptance by the Japanese Government under slight reserve as a document actually addressed by the Mikado to the Tycoon impresses it with importance, and throws a light on passing events.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 19.

Mr. Pruyn to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Yeddo, February* 10, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to you a copy of the translation of an important letter of the Mikado to the Tycoon. The Japanese copy was sent by me to the Gorogio through one of the Governors, with a message requesting to know whether it was a genuine document. It was returned through another Governor, with an answer that it was substantially correct.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBT. PRUYN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 19.

Letter addressed by the Mikado to the Tycoon.

(Translation.)

WHAT ought to be done to sweep away the foreign barbarians?

From ancient times till now, the heart of the Mikado has not at all changed. The "Willow Palace" (*i. e.*, Tycoon) has also respected the Imperial will in changing and improving its ways, and executing new methods of government. Hence the Mikado's feelings have not been painfully disturbed.

But at the present time there is no unanimous decision respecting the banishment of foreign barbarians, and therefore the minds of the people cannot be united.

This afflicts the heart of the Mikado (Sublime Porte), and he commands the Willow Palace (Tycoon) persistently to determine that the foreign barbarians shall be swept out of the country. He must, without delay, notify all the Daimios, and it is his duty to devise the best stratagem, and speedily, as Commander-in-chief, to carry out the deliberations of the whole, and execute their just and patriotic decision,

Let him fix upon a period for cutting off the ugly barbarians (from this country). The Emperor commands that a report (of results) be made to His Imperial Majesty.

(No date.)

No. 20.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received May* 16,)

My Lord, *Yokohama, February* 28, 1863.

THE accompanying list of the principal Daimios of this Empire, with the class and families to which they belong, and the revenues they possess, has appeared in a local paper. As I have every reason to believe it to be correct, and as no such complete list has, to my knowledge, hitherto ever been written or published, I have the honour to transmit some copies for the purposes of reference in your Lordship's Department.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 20.

List of the Principal Daimios of Japan (extracted from the "Japan Herald.").

	Family Name.	Daimio's Name.	Province.	City.	Class of Daimio.	Revenue in Kokus.
Gosankay or Sankay (properly called), 1st Owarri, 2nd Kii, 3rd Mito	Owarri	Owarri Chiunangoong	Owarri	Nangoya	Gosankay or Sankay	610,500
	Cadet of Owarri	Matz daira Setsu no Kami	Mino	Takass	Kammong	30,000
	Kii	Kii-jiu-san-mi no Chiunangoong	Kii	Wakayama	Gosankay or Sankay	555,000
	Cadet of Kii	Matz daira Sa Kioh no Daiboo.	Iyo	Seijo	Kammong	30,000
	Ditto	Matz daira Sa-hioh-yay no Kami	Kowotsuki	Yada	do.	10,000
	Mito	Mito-jiu-san-mi no Chiunangoong	Fitatsi	Mito	Gosankay or Sankay	350,000
	Cadet of Mito	Matz daira Sanuki no Kami	Sanuki	Takamatz	Kammong	120,000
	Ditto	Matz daira Dai Kaku no Kami	Mootz	Moriyama	do.	20,000
	Ditto	Matz daira Harima no Kami	Fitatsi	Footchoo	do.	20,000
	Ditto	Matz daira Oee no Kami	do.	Sisido	do.	10,000
		The above are of the Sankay or Cadets of the three Families.				
	Etsiken Kay (family of Etsizen)	Matz daira Mikawa no Kami	Mimmasaka	Tsuyama	do.	100,000
	Ditto	Matz daira Etsizen no Kami	Etsizen	Fookooee	do.	320,000
	Ditto	Matz daira Jitsu no Skay	Etsingo	Itoeengawa	do.	10,000
	Ditto	Matz daira Dewa no Kami	Idsumo	Matsuyay	do.	186,000
	Ditto	Matz daira Sado no Kami	do.	Hirossay	do.	30,000
	Ditto	Matz daira Setsu no Sing	do.	Mori	do.	10,000
	Ditto	Matz daira Yamato no Kami	Musasi	Kawagoee	do.	170,000
	Ditto	Matz daira Hio-boo no Tayu	Harima	Akashi	do.	100,000
		Matz daira Higo no Kami, Jiu-si no Chioojo	Mootz	Ardzoo	do.	230,000
		Hoshima Danjo no Chioo Jiu-goee	Kadsusa	Geno	do.	20,000
	Mayedda Kay	Kanga Jiu-san-mi Chiunangoong	Kanga	Kanasawa	Kokoshioo	1,027,700
	Cadet of Mayedda	Matz daira Chomatz	Etsjiu	Toyama	Tozamma	100,000
	Ditto	Matz daira Hida no Kami Jiusi	Kanga	Daishojee	do.	100,000
	Ditto	Mayedda Tango no Kami Jiu-goee	Kowotsuki	Nanukaitchi	do.	10,000
	Shimadzoo Kay	Matz daira Shuri no Daiboo, Jiusi no Shosho	Satsuma, Osumi, Fiuga, and Loochoo	Kagosima	Kokoshioo	710,000
	Cadet of Shimadzoo	Shimadzoo Awadsi no Kami	Fiuga	Sadowarra	Tozamma	27,070
	Datté Kay	Matz daira Mootz no Kami "Sendai" Josi Chioojo	Mootz	Sendai	Kokoshioo	325,600
	Cadet of Datté	Tamura Ewajiro	do.	Itchinoseki	Tozamma	30,000
	Ditto	Datté Towotomi no Kami Jiusi no Jijui	Iyo	Ooajima	do.	100,000
	Ditto	Datté Wakasa no Kami Jiu-goee	do.	Yoshida	do.	30,000
	Hossokawa Kay	Hossokawa Etsjiu no Kami Jiusi no Shosho	Higo	Kumamoto	Kokoshioo	540,000
	Cadet of Hossokawa Kay	Hossokawa Wakasa no Kami	do.	Shindeng	Tozamma	35,000
	Ditto	Hossakawa Shumenoskay	do.	Oodo	do.	30,000
	Ditto	Hossakawa Gengba no Kami	Fitatsi	Yatabay	do.	16,300
	Kooroda Kay	Matz daira Mino no Kami Jiusi no Chioojo	Tsikuzen	Fukuoku	Kokoshioo	520,000
	Cadet of Kooroda Kay	Kooroda Toku no Skay	do.	Akidzuki	Tozamma	50,000
	Ditto	Kooroda Isse no Kami Jiu-goee	Kadsusa	Kooroori	Fudai	30,000
	Assano Kay	Matz daira Aki no Kami Jiusi no Shosho	Aki	Hiroshima	Kokoshioo	426,000

Family Name.	Daimio's Name.	Province.	City.	Class of Daimio.	Revenue in Kokus.
Cadet of Assano ..	Matz daira Owomi no Kami, Jiu-goee	Aki ..	Near Hiroshima	Tozamma ..	30,000
Mowori Kay ..	Matz daira Daizen no aiboo, Jiusi no Chioojoo	Nangato ..	Hangee ..	Kokoshioo ..	369,000
Cadet of Mowori ..	Mowori Awadsi no Kami, Jiu-goee	Suwo ..	Tokuyama ..	Tozamma ..	40,010
Ditto	Mowori Sa Kioh no Skay, Jiu-goee	Nangato ..	Futchioo ..	do. ..	50,000
Ditto	Mowori Sanuki no Kami, Jiu-goee	do. ..	Kiossuyay ..	do. ..	10,000
Mowori Kay (another family)	Mowori Awa no Kami ..	Bungo ..	Sayeki ..	do. ..	20,000
Nabeshima Kay ..	Matz daira Hizen (Fizen) no Kami Jiusi no Shiju	Hizen ..	Saga ..	Kokoshioo ..	357,000
Cadet of Nabeshima ..	Nabeshima Kanga no Kami, Jiu-goee	do. ..	Koshiro ..	Tozamma ..	13,290
Ditto	Nabeshima Kahi no Kami, Jiu-goee	do. ..	Hassueekay ..	do. ..	52,625
Ditto	Nabeshima Bizen no Kami ..	do. ..	Kashima ..	do. ..	20,000
Ikeda Kay	Matz daira Segami no Kami, Jiusi no Chioojo	Inaba ..	Towotori ..	Kokoshioo ..	325,000
Cadet of Ikeda ..	Matz daira Isse no Kami, Jiu-goee	do. ..	Shinden ..	Tozamma ..	30,000
Ditto	Matz daira Sa-yay-mon no Skay, Jiu-goee	do. ..	do. ..	do. ..	15,000
Ikeda Kay (2nd family)	Matz daira Koora no Kami (known as "Bizen dono"), Jiusi no Shosho	Bizen ..	Okayama ..	Kokoshioo ..	315,200
Cadet of 2nd family of Ikeda	Ikeda Sinano no Kami ..	do. ..	Shinden ..	..	25,000
Ditto ..	Ikeda Sho-maro	..	..	Tozamma ..	15,000
Ee-yee Kay	(Ee-yee) Ekammong no Kami, Jiusi no Chioojo	Owomi ..	Hikonay ..	Fudai ..	350,000
	Ee Hioh-boo no Sho ..	Etsingo ..	Yoeeta ..	do. ..	20,000.
Towodo Kay ..	Towodo Idsumi no Kami, Jiusi no Chioojo	Issé ..	Tsz ..	Large Fudai .	323,900
	Towodo Sado no Kami ..	do. ..	Hissayee ..	Tozamma ..	53,000
Hatchiska Kay ..	Matz daira Awa no Kami, Jiusi no Chioojo	Awa ..	Tokushima ..	Kokoshioo ..	257,900
Yamano-ootchi Kay ..	Matz daira Tosa no Kami ..	Tosa ..	Kowochi ..	do. ..	242,000
	Yamano-ootchi Tootomi no Kami	do. ..	Shinden† ..	Tozamma ..	13,000
Arima Kay .. .	Arima Nakatskasa no Tayu, Jiusi no Shosho	Tsikugo ..	Koorumi ..	‖Kokoshioo ?	210,000
	Arima Hiogo no Kami ..	Shimotsuki ..	Fookiangay ..	Tozamma ..	10,000
Arima (2nd family) ..	*Arima Sa-hioh-yay no Skay ..	Etsizen ..	Maruo-ka ..	‡Fudai ..	50,000
Sataki Kay	Sataki-oo Kioh no Daiboo ..	Dewa ..	Akita ..	‖Kokoshioo ?	205,800
	Sataki Eekay no Kami ..	do. ..	Akita Shinden	Tozamma ..	20,000
Iwaki Kay	Iwaki sa Kioh no Daiboo ..	do. ..	Kameda ..	do. ..	20,000
Namboo Kay ..	Namboo Mino no Kami, Jiusi no Shosho	Mootz ..	Morivoka ..	‖Kokoshioo ?	200,000
	Namboo Tanba no Kami ..	do. ..	Moriaka ..	Tozamma ..	11,000
	Namboo Towotomi no Kami ..	do. ..	Hatchinohay	do. ..	20,000
Ooyay-soongee Kay ..	Ooyay-soongee Danjonodai shitz Jiusi no Shosho	Dewa ..	Yoonesawa ..	Kokoshioo ..	150,000
Cadet of Ooyay-soongee Kay	Ooyay-soongee Suruga no Kami	do. ..	Yoonesawa Shinden	Tozamma ..	10,000
Matz daira Kay ..	Hissamatz Matz daira, or Matz daira Oki no Kami, Jiusi no Shosho	Iyo ..	Matzuyama .	Kammong ..	150,000
	Matz daira Etsjiu no Kami ..	Issé ..	Kooanna ..	do. ..	110,000
	Matz daira Suruga no Kami ..	Iyo ..	Imabarri ..	Fudai ..	30,000
	Matz daira Boongo no Kami ..	Shimosa ..	Tako ..	do. ..	12,000
	Matz daira Shimosa no Kami ..	Mushashi ..	Oshi ..	do. ..	100,000
	Matz daira Setsu no Kami ..	Kowotsuki ..	Obatta ..	do. ..	20,000
Okudaira Kay ..	Okudaira Daizen no Daiboo ..	Boongo ..	Nakatz ..	do. ..	100,000
Matz daira Kay (2nd family)	Matz daira Ookon no Sho Genn	Iwami ..	Hamado ..	do. ..	61,000
	Matz daira Kahi no Kami ..	Yamato ..	Koriyama ..	do. ..	151,288
	Yanangisawa Mimbo no Sho ..	Etsingo ..	Knookawa ..	do. ..	10,000
	Yanangisawa Shotaro ..	do. ..	Mikaitchi ..	do. ..	10,000

* The Roman Catholic in the sixteenth century.
† Common name means new field or ground.
‡ Formerly Tozamma.
‖ Those marked (?) are in rank and importance nearly Kokoshioo.

Family Name.	Daimio's Name.	Province.	City.	Class of Daimio.	Revenue in Kokus.
Sakakibarra Kay ..	Sakakibarra Siki-boo no Tayu..	Etsingo ..	Takatta ..	Fudai ..	150,000
Honda Kay	Honda Mino no Kami ..	Mikawa ..	Okasaki ..	do. ..	50,000
	Honda Higo no Kami ..	Harima ..	Yamadaka ..	do. ..	10,000
	Honda Noto no Kami ..	Mootz ..	Idsumi ..	do. ..	20,000
	Honda Hoki no Kami ..	Suruga ..	Tanakka ..	do. ..	40,000
	Honda Shuzenn no Kami ..	Owomi ..	Zezzay ..	do. ..	60,000
	Honda Iyo no Kami	Isse ..	Kandò ..	do. .	15,000
	Honda Boongo no Kami ..	Sinano ..	Eeyama ..	do. ..	20,000
O-ngasawarra Kay ..	O-ngasawarra Daizen no Daiboo	Buzen ..	Kokura ..	do. ..	150,000
	O-ngasawarra Owomi no Kami	do. ..	do. Shinden	do. ..	10,000
	O-ngasawarra Kowomatz Maro	Harima ..	Anjee ..	do. ..	10,000
	O-ngasawarra Sado no Kami (his son O-Dzus-ho no Kami is now in the Gorogio)	Hizen ..	Karatz ..	do. ..	60,000
Hayashi Kay ..	Hayashi Higo no Kami ..	Kadsusa ..	Iosayee .	do. ..	10,000
	O-ngasawarra Sa-yay-mon no Skay	Etsizen ..	Katsuyama..	do. ..	22,270
Sakkye-ee Kay ..	Sakkye Oota no Kami ..	Harima ..	Himejee ..	do. ..	150,000
	Sakkye Shimotsaki no Kami ..	Kowodzuki .	Ishizaki ..	do. ..	20, 20
	Sakkye Wakasa no Kami ..	Wakasa ..	Obamma ..	do. ..	112,580
	Sakkye oo Kioh nos Kay ..	Etsizen ..	Tsuroonga ..	do. ..	10,000
	Sakkye Sho Jiro ..	Awa ..	Katzuyama ..	do. ..	120,000
	Sakkye Sa-yay-mon Nojo ..	Dewa ..	Shonaee ..	do. ..	140,000
	Sakkye Daikakoo no Kami ..	do. ..	Matzuyama..	do. ..	25,000
Owokubo Kay ..	Owokubo Kanga no Kami ..	Segami ..	Odawarra ..	do. ..	153,000
	Owokubo Nagato no Kami ..	do. ..	Hangeenoya-manaka	do. ..	13,000
	Owokubo Sada no Kami ..	Shimotsuki..	Karassuyama	do. ..	30,000
Inaba Kay	Inaba Nagata no Kami ..	Yamashiro ..	Yodo ..	do. ..	102,000
	Inaba Hioh-boo no Sho ..	Awa ..	Tatteyama ..	do. ..	10,000
Inaba Kay (2nd family)	Inaba Iyo no Kami	Boongo ..	Oossoekee ..	do. ..	56,000
Tatchibanna Kay ..	Tatchibanna Hida no Kami ..	Tsikugo ..	Yanagawa ..	Tozamma ..	119,600
	Tatchibanna Idzumo no Kami..	Mootz ..	Shimotedo ..	do. ..	10,000
Niwa Kay	Niwa Sa Kioh no Daiboo ..	do. ..	Nibonmatz ..	do. ..	100,700
	Niwa Nagato no Kami ..	Harima ..	Mikoosa ..	do. ..	10,000
Tsoongaroo Kay ..	Tsoongaroo Etsjiu no Kami ..	Mootz ..	Hirosaki ..	do. ..	100,000
	Tsoongaroo Siki-boo no Sho ..	do. ..	Kooroishi ..	do. ..	10,000
Sanada Kay	Sanada Sinano no Kami ..	Sinano ..	Matzushiro ..	do. ..	100,000
Abé Kay	Abé Harima no Kami ..	Mootz ..	Sirakawa ..	Fudai ..	100,000
	Abé Kadsuyay no Kami ..	Bingo ..	Fukuyama ..	do. ..	110,000
	Abé Inaba no Kami.. ..	Kadsusa ..	Samuki ..	do. ..	16,000
Ambay Kay.. ..	Ambay Setsu no Kami ..	Musasi ..	Okabbe ..	do. ..	20,200
Toda Kay	Toda Ooneme no Kami ..	Mino ..	Owogaki ..	do. ..	100,000
	Toda Awadsi no Kami ..	do. ..	do. Shinden	do. ..	10,000
	Toda Etsizen no Kami ..	Shimotsuki..	Ootsoonomia	do. ..	? 77,000
	Todà Htschi no Skay ..	do. ..	Ashkanga ..	do. ..	11,000
Akimoto Kay ..	Akimoto Tajima no Kami ..	Kowotsuki ..	Tattebayashi.	do. ..	60,000
Hotta Kay	Hotta Kò no Skay	Simosa ..	Sakura ..	do. ..	11,000
	Hotta Setsu no Kami ..	Shimotsuki..	Sano ..	do. ..	16,000
	Hotta Kanga no Kami ..	Owomi ..	Miagawa ..	do. ..	13,000
Sso Kay	Sso Tsussima no Kami ..	Tsussima Island	Futchioo ..	..	100,000
Ashkanga Kay ..	Kitsuri ngawa yo itchi Maro ..	Shimotsuki..	Kitsurigawa .	..	..
Tsucheeya Kay ..	Tsucheeya Ooneme no Kami ..	Fitatsi ..	Tsucheesora .	Fudai ..	95,000
Do-ee Kay	Do-ee Oee no Kami.. ..	Simosa ..	Konga ..	do. ..	80,000
	Do-ee Osumi no Kami ..	Mikawa ..	Kareeya ..	do. ..	23,000
	Do-ee Noto no Kami	Etsizen ..	Owono ..	do. ..	40,000
Makino Kay ..	Makino Bizen no Kami ..	Etsingo ..	Nagaoka ..	do. ..	71,000
	Makino Towotomi no Kami ..	Sinano ..	Komuro ..	do. ..	15,000
	Makino Etjiu no Kami ..	Hitatsi ..	Kasamma ..	do. ..	80,000
	Makino Sanuka no Kami ..	Tango ..	Tanabbe ..	do. ..	35,000
Nakagawa Kay ..	Nakagawa..	Boongo ..	Oka ..	Head of small Tozamma	70,400
2nd Matz daira Kay or Honjo Kay ..	Matz daira Hoki no Kami ..	Tango ..	Miass ..	Fudai ..	70,000
	Honjo Kooraee no Sho ..	Mino ..	Takatomi ..	do. ..	10,000
3rd Matz daira Kay, Nangasawa ..	Matz daira Idzu no Kami ..	Mikawa ..	Yoshida ..	do. ..	70,000
Matz daira, properly Owogootchi ..	Matz daira Oribay no Kami ..	Kadsusa ..	Owotaki ..	do. ..	20,000
	Matz daira Kio Saburo ..	Kowotsuki ..	Takasaki ..	do. ..	82,200
	Fookka Midzoo Matz daira, Matz daira Tonomoo no Kami	Aizen ..	Shimabarra .	do. ..	70,000
	Toda Matz daira, Matz daira Tamba no Kami	Sinano ..	Matzamoto ..	do. ..	60,000
	Owonuki Matz daira, Matz daira Idzumi no Kami	Mikawa ..	Mshiwo ..	do. ..	60,000
	Matz daira Sayay mon Nojo ..	Boongo ..	Foonaee ..	do. ..	21,200

Family Name.	Daimio's Name.	Province.	City.	Class of Daimio.	Revenue in Kokus.
	Matz daira Hioh boo Sho	Mikawa	Okudono	Fudai	16,000
	Matz daira Noto no Kami	Mino	Iwamura	do.	30,000
	Fusi Matz daira, Matz daira Yojuro	Sinano	Ooyedda	do.	53,000
	Matz daira Yamashiro no Kami	Dewa	Kaminoyama	do.	30,000
	Kattaharra Matz daira, Matz daira Buzen no Kami	Tanba	Kameyama	do.	50,000
	Seratta Matz daira, Matz daira Tango no Kami	Suruga	Ojima	do.	10,000
	Matzsuee Matz daira, Matz daira Suwo no Kami	Mootz	Tanangura	do.	60,400
	Sakurayee Matz daira	Setsu	Amangasaki	do.	40,000
	Nomi Matz daira, Matz daira Osumi no Kami	Boongo	Kitsuku	do.	32,000
Midzuno Kay	Midzuno Idzumi no Kami	Dewa	Yamagata	do.	50,000
	Midzuno Dewa no Kami	Suruga	Nomadzoo	do.	50,000
	Midzuno Hizen no Kami	Kadsusa	Tsurumaki	do.	15,000
	Midzuno Fiuga no Kami	Simosa	Yuki	do.	18,000
Neito Kay	Neito Gonno Shogenn	Fiuga	Nobeeka	do.	70,000
	Neito Katsu Nojo	Mootz	Yoonagaya	do.	15,000
2nd Neito Kay	Neito Kii no Kami	Etsigo	Moorakami	do.	50,010
	Neito Kin Itchiro	Mikawa	Koromo	do.	20,000
	Neito Suruga no Kami	Sinano	Takato	do.	33,000
	Neito Sima no Kima	do.	Iwamurada	do.	15,000
Tosawa Kay	Tosawa Kadsusa no Skay	Dewa	Mowongami Sinjo	do.	68,000
Ando Kay	Ando Tsussima no Kami	Mootz	Iwakidaira	do.	50,000
Matzu-oora Kay	Matuoora Hizen no Kami	Hizen	Hirado	Tozamma	61,700
	Matzuoora Boongo no Kami	do.	do. Sinden	do.	10,000
Soma Kay	Soma Daizen no Skay	Mootz	Nakamura	do.	60,000
Ishikawa Kay	Ishikawa Tonomo no Kami	Issé	Kameyama	Fudai	60,000
	Ishikawa Wakasa no Kami	Fitatsi	Shimodadi	do.	20,000
Kiogokoo Kay	Kiogokoo Sado no Kami	Sanuki	Marungami	Tozamma	51,500
	Kiogokoo Iki no Kami	do.	Tadotz	do.	10,000
	Kiogokoo Hida no Kami	Tajima	Toyo-oka	do.	15,000
	Kiogokoo Bitsjiu no Kami	Tango	Mineyama	do.	15,000
Inooyay Kay	Inooyay Kawadsi no Kami	Towotomi	Hamanatz	Fuda	60,000
	Inooyay Iyo no Kami	Fitatsi	Shimotsima	do.	10,000
	Inooyay Tsikugo no Kami	Simosa	Taga oka	do.	10,000
Koozay Kay	Koozay Yamato no Kami	do.	Sekiyado	do.	68,000
Wakisaka Kay	Wakisaka Awadsi no Kami	Harima	Tatsuno	do.	51,080
Okabbay Kay	Okabbay Tsikuzen no Kami	Idsu	Kishino wada	do.	53,000
Itowo Kay		Fiuga	Obi	Tozamma	51,000
	Itowo Harima no Kami	Bitsjin	Okada	do.	10,300
Kattowo Kay	Kattowo Dewa no Kami	Iyo	Ozoo	do.	60,000
	Kattowo Okura no Sho	do.	Neeya	do.	10,000
	Kattowo Etsjiu no Kami	Owomi	Minakootchi	Fudai, formerly Tozamma	25,000
Awoyama Kay	Awoyama Inaba no Kami	Tanba	Sassayama	Fudai	60,000
	Awoyama Okura no Tayu	Mino	Hatchimany	do.	48,000
Manabay Kay	Manabay Shimosa no Kami	Etsizen	Sabayay	do.	50,000
Itakura Kay	Itakura Suwo no Kami	Bitsjiu	Matzuyama	do.	50,000
	Itakura Kazuyay no Kami	Kowotsuki	Annakka	do.	30,000
	Itakura Setsu no Kami	Bitsjiu	Neewassay	do.	20,000
	Itakura Neizenn no Kami	Mootz	Fookooshima	do.	30,000
Akita Kay	Akita Awa no Kami	do.	Miharra	Tozamma	50,000
Misongootchi Kay	Misongootchi Shuzenn no Kami	Etsingo	Shibatta	do.	100,000
Owota Kay	Owota Sojiro	Towotomi	Kakegawa	‡Fudai ?	50,037
Kamayee Kay	Kamayee Oki no Kami	Iwami	Suwano	Tozamma	43,000
Nangayee Kay	Nangayee Hida no Kami	Setsu	Takatski	Fudai	36,000
	Nangayee Hizen no Kami	Mino	Kano	do.	32,000
	Nangayee Sinano no Kami	Yamato	Shinjo	do.	10,000
Kookee Kay	Kookee Nagoto no Kami	Setsu	Sanda	Tozamma	36,000
	Kookee Osumi no Kami	Tanba	Ayabbé	do.	19,500
Tokee Kay	Tokee Yamashiro no Kami	Kowotsuki	Numatta	‡Tozamma ?	35,000
Nishowo Kay	Nishowo Yayki no Skay	Towotomi	Yokoska	‡Fudai ?	35,000
Suwa Kay	Suwa Inaba no Kami	Sinano	Takashima	Fudai	30,000
Kootsukee Kay	Kootsukee Owomi no Kami	Tanba	Fookujeyama	Fudai formerly Tozamma	32,000
Toriyee Kay	Toriyee Tanba no Kami	Shimotsuki	Meeboo	Fudai	30,000
Inagakee Kay	Inagakee Sinano no Kami	Shima	Toba	do.	30,000
	Inagakee Wakasa no Kami	Owomi	Yamangami	do.	13,040
Sengokoo Kay	Sengokoo Sanuki no Kami	Tajima	Idzushi	Tozamma	30,000
Matsmai Kay	Matzmai Idzu no Kami	Matzmai	Yezo	do. 30,000 Kokus. 18,000 Kobangs.	
Horee Kay	Horee Sa Kioh no Skay.	Etsingo	Mooramatz	do.	30,000
	Horee Idzumo no Kami	do.	Seeyeeya	Fudai	10,000

Family Name.	Daimio's Name.	Province.	City.	Class of Daimio.	Revenue in Kokus.
	Horee Nagato no Kami	Sinano	Susaka	Tozamma	10,050
	Horee Iwami no Kami	do.	Eedah	do.	17,000
Akidzuki Kay	Akidzuki Nagato no Kami	Fiuga	Takanabbe	do.	27,000
Koeeday Kay	Koeeday Tchikara	Tanba	Sonobay	do.	26,700
Owomura Kay	Owomura Tango no Kami	Hizen	Cmura	do.	27,200
Ooyaymura Kay	Ooyaymura Suruga no Kami	Yamato	Takatori	Fudai	25,000
Kinoshta Kay	Kinoshta Bitsjiu no Kami	Bitsjiu	Ashimori	Tozamma	25,000
	Kinoshta Hida no Kami	Boongo	Heejee	do.	25,000
	Miura Bingo no Kami	Mimmasaka	Katzuyama	Fudai	23,000
Massuyama Kay	Massuyama Kawadsi no Kami	Issee	Nagashima	do.	20,000
Sagarra Kay	Sagarra Etsizen no Kami	Higo	Fitoyoshi	do.	22,000
Rokoogo Kay	Rokoogo Chogoro	Dewa	Honjo	Tozamma	20,020
Mori Kay	Mori Mimmasaka no Kami	Harima	Ako	do.	20,000
	Mori Idzu no Kami	do.	Mikazuki	do.	15,000
Seki Kay	Seki Bizen no Kami	Bitsjiu	Neemee	do.	18,000
Otta Kay	Otta Hio Boosho	Dewa	Tendo	do.	20,000
	Otta Yamashiro no Kami	Tanba	Kaibarra	do.	20,000
	Otta Setsu no Kami	Yamato	Shibbamura	do.	10,000
	Otta Tsikuzen no Kami	do.	Yanangeemoto	do.	10,000
Wakkebay Kay	Wakkebay Wakasa no Kami	Owomi	Omizzo	do.	20,000
Owoka Kay	Owoka Hiogo no Kami	Musasi	Iwadzuki	Fudai	23,000
	Owoka Etsizen no Kami	Mikawa	Nishiowohira	do.	10,000
Ozekki Kay	Ozekki Higo no Kami	Shimotsuki	Koorabanne	Tozamma	18,000
Itchihashi Kay	Itchihashi Iki no Kami	Owomi	Nishiojee	do.	18,000
Ootchida Kay	Ootchida Tonomo no Kami	Shimosa	Omigawa	Fudai	10,000
Watanabbe Kay	Wattanabbe Tango no Kami	Idsumi	Hakatta	do.	18,500
Koorooshmia Kay	Koorooshmia Shooko	Boongo	Mori	Tozamma	12,900
Gotto Kay	Gotto Owomi no Kami	Hizen	Gotto Fookuyay	do.	12,600
Heezeekatta Kay	Heezeekatta muko cheoo	Issé	Komono	do.	11,000
Miakay Kay	Miakay Bizen no Kami	Mikawa	Tawara	Fudai	12,000
Yoonekura Kay	Yoonekura Shimotsuki no Kami	Musasi	Kanesawa	do.	12,000
Owotawarra Kay	Owotawarra Hida no Kami	Shimotsuk	Owotawarra	Tozamma	11,400
Katagiri Kay	Katagiri Iwami no Kami	Yamato	Koeedzumi	do.	11,808
Yoonekeezoo Kay	Yoonekeezoo Isse no Kami	Dewa	Nagatoro or Moorayama	Fudai	11,000
Toyama Kay	Toyama Mino no Kami	Mino	Na-engee	Tozamma	10,021
Kanowo Kay	Kanowo Towotomi no Kami	Kadsusa	Itchinomia	Fudai	13,000
Tagakee Kay	Tagakee Mondo no Kami	Kawadsi	Tannang	do.	10,000
Morikawa Kay	Morikawa Dewa no Kami	Shimosa	Oyoomi	do.	10,000
Tattebay Kay	Tattebay Takumi no Kami	Harima	Hyashida	Tozamma	10,000
Yamagootchi Kay	Yamagootchi Cho Jiro	Fitatsi	Ooshikoo	Fudai	10,000
Howojo Kay	Howojo (Segami ?) no Kami	Kawadsi	Sayama	Tozamma	10,000
Awokee Kay	Awokee Genguro	Setsu	Asada	do.	10,000
Tamri Kay	Tamri Daizen no Skay	Tanba	Yamaga	do.	10,000
Shinjio Kay	Shinjio Suruga no Kami	Fitatsi	Asso	do.	10,000
Stots Yanangee Ka	Stots Yanangee Tosa no Kami	Harima	Ono	do.	10,000
	Stots Yanangee Hiohboosho	Iyo	Kumatz	do.	10,000
Yageyoo Kay	Yageyoo Tajima no Kami	Yamato	Yageyoo	Fudai	10,000
Endo Kay	Endo Mimboo no Tayu	Owomi	Mikami	do.	12,000
Tanoma Kay	Tanoma Gengba no Kami	Towotomi	Sagarta	do.	10,000

NOTE.—The standard value of a koku of rice is 11 itzebus; this, at the Treaty-price weight for weight, $100 = 311 itzebus, and the dollar at the value of 4*s.* 2*d.*, would give the koku of rice at (say for all practical purposes) 15*s.* sterling.—Eds. J. H.

No. 21.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received May* 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, March* 2, 1863.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch of the 9th of December last,* in reference to the murder and outrage committed upon British subjects in this vicinity on the 14th of September last.

It is difficult for me to express to your Lordship the extreme support and encouragement I have derived in the discharge of my anxious and responsible duties by learning that the course I felt it to be my duty to pursue on that occasion has met with the entire approval of Her Majesty's Government.

Since the date of my first report respecting that regrettable event I have had the honour to inform your Lordship from time to time of the communications, written and personal, which have taken place between the Japanese Ministers and myself respecting it.

* See "Correspondence respecting Affairs in Japan," presented to Parliament in 1863, No. 50.

The result has led to the conviction that the Tycoon's Government is powerless to afford reparation, inasmuch as that reparation necessitates the arrest of the malefactors within the domain of the Prince of Satsuma, an attempt to effect which would, in all probability, hasten to a climax the gathering elements of civil war in this country. The urgent necessity for active measures on the part of the Tycoon's Government to constrain the Prince to deliver up the criminals is not as yet sufficiently apparent to the Mikado and nobles hostile to foreign intercourse. Extraneous pressure, coming from a powerful foreign nation, would not only afford a ready reason to this Government for the adoption of such stringent measures as are possibly within its reach; but there are strong reasons to entertain the belief that the Tycoon and his Government would view with passive satisfaction Satsuma, Nagato, and Tosa (the three powerful Daimios who are hostile alike to the Tycoon's Dynasty and to foreign intercourse), made aware of the contingency of Her Majesty's Government exacting redress, if needs be, at the ports of their own seaboard possessions.

I have now the honour to await the instructions which I am informed by your Lordship would be transmitted to me by the mail of the 26th December. In the meanwhile it has fortunately occurred that the generally agitated state of affairs in this country, and the danger of violence threatened at intervals to the foreign community of Yohohama, rendered it imperative upon me, more than three weeks ago, to request Admiral Kuper to afford me the support of his presence with as strong a force as he can for a while detach from China.

Thus I have reason to hope that the Admiral will arrive here simultaneously with the mail which will convey to me your Lordship's instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 22.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received May 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, March* 14, 1863.

YOUR Lordship's despatches of the 24th and 27th of December, conveying to me my instructions with reference to the murder and outrage committed upon British subjects on the 14th of September last, have engaged my most anxious attention with a view of being prepared for all contingencies in the event of the Japanese Government refusing or evading the reparation I am directed to demand.

While awaiting, however, the arrival of Admiral Kuper, who, I have every reason to expect, will be here by the 20th instant, I have deemed it very expedient to abstain from awakening the immediate adoption of precautionary measures on the part of the Japanese Government by making to them any communication as to the nature of my instructions, which, were I to do so, might defeat perhaps, or render more difficult, the course of action which the Admiral may consider best adapted to attain the end in view.

I have in the meanwhile to report to your Lordship that since the date of my last despatches I have received no communications from the Japanese Government referring either to the subject of the compensation I have been instructed to demand for the families of the guards murdered on the occasion of the attack on Her Majesty's Legation on the 26th of June last, nor in respect to any reparation they are prepared to offer for the murder and outrage of the 14th of September, notwithstanding the urgency of my demands in connection with those events.

While actively adopting such measures of defence as at present are within their reach, consisting chiefly in the enrolment of volunteers, the erection of new forts at various points in the inland sea and on the coast, and a new distribution of Daimios charged with these preparations for resistance, the Japanese Government would seem passively and resignedly to await the course of events, intending to shape their course according to the urgency of the danger which may threaten them.

By the ensuing mail I trust to be in a position to announce to your Lordship the measures which I have found it expedient and essential to adopt in carrying out, to the best of my judgment, the instructions with which I have the honour to be charged.

I have the satisfaction in the meanwhile to report to your Lordship that since the destruction of the Legation residence at Yeddo, no fresh event has occurred to excite the apprehensions of the foreign communities, although the internal effervescence between the partisans of the Tycoon and Mikado unceasingly prevails.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 23.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 21, 1863.

HER Majesty's Government approve your proceedings, as reported in your despatch of the 16th of February, with reference to the compensation you have been instructed to demand from the Japanese Government on account of the murder of two men of Her Majesty's ship "Renard."

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 24.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received May 27.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, March* 29, 1863.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 3rd February last, transmitting for your Lordship's information a copy of a despatch I had addressed to Rear-Admiral Kuper, I have now the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch I have received in reply, but which did not reach me until after the Admiral's own arrival.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Rear-Admiral Kuper to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, "*Euryalus*," *at Hong Kong, February* 21, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 2nd instant, detailing the various incidents which have recently transpired in Japan tending to threaten the safety of foreign residents at Yokohama and other places.

I had previously determined upon proceeding to Japan, but have been detained in order to complete the refit of Her Majesty's ships lately arrived from England.

It is, however, my intention to leave this port on the 25th instant for Yokohama direct, accompanied by the "Rattler" and "Racehorse," leaving instructions for other vessels to follow me when ready.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS L. KUPER.

No. 25.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received May 27.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, March* 29, 1863.

CONSEQUENT upon the full instructions I have received from your Lordship on the subject of the redress and reparation to be demanded from the Japanese Government, I conceived it to be advisable to communicate with Rear-Admiral Kuper, and to solicit his arrival as soon as conveniently practicable. A copy of my letter I have the honour herewith to inclose.

The Admiral having in the meanwhile received corresponding instructions from the Admiralty, had left Hong Kong, and I had the satisfaction to hail his arrival here on the 22nd instant. In company with the flag-ship were Her Majesty's ships "Rattler" and "Racehorse." Her Majesty's ship "Centaur" and gun-boat "Kestrel" were already in port. Two days subsequently Her Majesty's ship "Argus" joined the flag, to be followed, as the Admiral informs me, by the "Pearl," "Encounter," "Coquette," "Ringdove," "Cormorant," and all other available vessels on the China station.

It will be impossible for me to convey to your Lordship by this occasion any reliable information as to the tone or attitude which the Japanese Government is likely to adopt upon the receipt of the specific and peremptory demands I have been instructed to make. In presence of the squadron, already assembled here, the Japanese Ministers have pre-

served the most perfect silence, and have not even requested to be informed of the cause of its arrival. That this should be so has been to me the subject of much congratulation, as I am desirous of avoiding all communication with them in respect to the measures in contemplation, until I have concerted with the Admiral the course to be adopted under every probable contingency.

But in the course of two or three days after the departure of this mail, I purpose to make my first move in the execution of your Lordship's instructions, by sending in the demand for reparation, prefaced by a detailed statement and declaration of the improper and unsatisfactory course which the Japanese Ministers have adopted under the circumstances of the unprovoked outrages which have been committed. I shall also deem it my duty to incorporate with the present demands those which I had already preferred in connection with the attack on Her Majesty's Legation, and which remain unrequited.

Simultaneously with the presentation of these demands to the Tycoon's Ministers, I purpose to address a letter to the Prince of Satsuma in accordance with your Lordship's instructions, which I will request the Admiral to cause to be delivered by a ship of war. And I here venture to express to your Lordship my conviction and opinion that the hardest blows we may be forced to strike should be directed against this Daimio, so thwarting to the Tycoon's Government in its relations with foreigners, and so directly connected with the perpetrators of the outrage for which redress is sought. The scene of hostilities would thus also be removed to a distance from the Tycoon's Court and capital, while the news which would percolate throughout the Empire that Satsuma had been humbled in his independent career, would afford, I have reason to believe, actual satisfaction to the Yeddo Government.

In my preliminary communications, however, with the Japanese Government, I shall be impressed with the most conciliatory spirit so long as a reasonable probability exists of obtaining the reparation demanded in both cases without recourse to coercion; and I shall especially explain and impress upon the Japanese Ministers the essential difference between measures of reprisal should they be forced upon us for the purpose of awakening in them a knowledge of the serious necessity of affording redress, and a declaration of war, as declared between nations, founded upon great political differences.

The blockade of the Japanese ports, in the ordinary meaning of the term, unless as restricted only to the Japanese flag, I trust may not prove necessary, as in truth at the open ports the foreign residents would be the only sufferers, and I believe I may venture to say that the Admiral is inclined to this opinion.

I cannot but cherish and maintain the expectation that the Japanese Government will yield before the evident display of force presented to them, and the irrevocable determination of Her Majesty's Government to obtain the required reparation; and I shall not fail to point out to them that the penalty now imposed upon Japan and measured in thousands, with considerate regard for their political embarrassments, will inevitably expand into millions, should they under evil advice cause Japan to drift into open hostilities with Great Britain, a Power with which they are so utterly unable to cope.

Impressed with the fact that the difference which we have at issue with the Japanese Government is restricted to a demand for reparation arising out of the occurrence of two isolated outrages which we have no proof were perpetrated with the knowledge or acquiescence of the Tycoon's Government; impressed, moreover, with the humble conviction that, apart from these lamentable occurrences and the first attack on the Legation, no hostile or defiant conduct has been exhibited towards us by the Japanese Government during the course of our relations with this country,—although, indeed, want of confidence and distrust has ever been perceptible,—I shall devote my best endeavours to avert a serious interruption of our commercial relations, which may fairly be said to be prosperous; keeping at the same time steadily in view the paramount duty with which I am charged, of carrying into effect, in letter and in spirit, the instructions with which I am furnished by your Lordship.

Inclosure in No. 25.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Rear-Admiral Kuper.

Sir, *Yokohama, March* 13, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that by the last mail I was placed in possession of instructions addressed to me by Earl Russell, regarding the reparation to be demanded from the Japanese Government, as well as from the Prince of Satsuma, for the outrage committed upon British subjects on the 14th of September last.

While in the execution of those instructions, I am directed to apply to you, with a view to the adoption of measures of coercion, should the Japanese Government attempt to refuse or evade the demands I am to make.

Under these circumstances I deem it to be most essential that I should abstain from entering upon any communication with the Japanese Ministers on the question at issue, until I have the support of your presence, assuming the great probability of their rejecting the peremptory reparation I am directed to seek at their hands. I have, therefore, the honour to state that I most anxiously await your arrival, and more especially as, in anticipation of the contingency about to be realized, the Japanese Government are adopting such measures of defence as are within their reach.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 26.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received May 27.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, March* 30, 1863.

I HAVE this moment received a communication from the Japanese Ministers, of which I have the honour herewith to inclose a copy, together with a copy of the reply which I felt it to be my duty immediately to address to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 26.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE hereby make known to you that His Majesty the Tycoon has resolved to go to Miako overland, on the 13th instant (31st March).

With respect and consideration.

11th of 2nd month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (March 29, 1863).

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 26.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, March 30, 1863, 10·30 A.M.

I HAVE this day, the 30th of March, at 10 o'clock in the morning, received your Excellencies' letter, acquainting me that His Majesty the Tycoon would leave Yeddo for Miako on the 31st instant, that is to say, to-morrow.

I lose not one moment on my part to acquaint your Excellencies that in two or three days from this date it will be my duty to present to you a declaration of the demands which Her Britannic Majesty's Government has directed me to make to the Government of the Tycoon for outrages committed upon British subjects, and for which no redress has been obtained.

The peremptory and explicit nature of those demands will necessitate the most serious deliberation and prompt attention of the Tycoon's Government within a restricted period of time. I therefore address this despatch to your Excellencies to warn you that the serious communications which I am about so immediately to enter upon with you cannot be arrested in their course by the announcement I have at the last moment received from you of the departure of the Tycoon. The reply which will be expected to my communication above referred to, I shall await from the Yeddo Government during the period which will be assigned, and my instructions will be pursued and carried out, whatever intervening circumstances may arise.

It is equally my duty to request that the purport of my present communication be brought immediately to the knowledge of the Tycoon; and I am bound to add that whatever regrettable consequences may result from such communication being withheld,

the responsibility attending them will rest with your Excellencies and the Government of Japan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 27.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received June* 12.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, April* 14, 1863.

BY my despatch of the 30th ultimo, addressed to your Lordship at the moment of closing the last mail, I had the honour to transmit a copy of a letter I had addressed to the Japanese Ministers in reply to their announcement to me of the immediate departure of the Tycoon to Miako. I have now the honour to inclose a copy of the reply which the Ministers promptly made.

The Tycoon, in fact, left Yeddo the day following, viz., the 31st ultimo, and I sent in my note on the 6th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 27.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

ON receipt of your despatch of the 30th March, we have understood that you intend, within a certain time, notwithstanding the absence of His Majesty the Tycoon on a visit to Kioto, to make certain communications to us relative to the murders committed last year by our nation on the subjects of your nation, as you have received instructions from your Government to do so.

As the preparation for the journey of His Majesty the Tycoon to Kioto were completed this morning, the sedan-chair has been got in readiness, and the followers are out in array, there is no possibility our awaiting the day when you will send us the said communication.

And as regards your wish that we should send you a speedy answer to that letter, we cannot enter into any promise beforehand, as we cannot judge now of the degree of importance of those matters, and also the number of days is unknown.

We naturally always wish to settle matters as quickly as possible; but we fear we shall not be able to settle what you allude to within the time to be specified, as it will require time to send a report to His Majesty the Tycoon, wherever he may be; therefore we beg of you to bear this in mind.

To His Majesty the Tycoon we have accurately made known the contents of your despatch.

With respect and consideration.

13th day of 2nd month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (31st March, 1863).

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.

No. 28.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received June* 12.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, April* 14, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to lay before your Lordship a copy of the note I have presented to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs setting forth the outrages of which Her Majesty's subjects have been the victims in this country, and the reparation I have been instructed to demand from this Government, in accordance with your Lordship's instructions.

I deemed it to be advisable to accompany the foregoing with a brief supplementary despatch, a copy of which I have likewise the honour to inclose, drawing the immediate attention of the Ministers to two points referred to in my note, viz., the number of days

which I had fixed for the reply of the Japanese Government, and my suggestion that they should send an officer of rank to accompany the ships of war which would convey the separate demands I am also instructed to make to the Prince of Satsuma.

These points required a more speedy reply, as I purposed requesting Admiral Kuper to detach one or more of the ships of war assembled here with my note to Kagosima, the chief residence of the Prince, long before the period had expired for the reply of the Japanese Ministers to my note containing the demands on the Yeddo Government.

Both my notes above referred to I entrusted to Mr. Eusden, Japanese Secretary of this Legation, who proceeded to Yeddo on the 6th instant in Her Majesty's gun-boat "Havoc," and delivered them the same day into the hands of a Governor of Foreign Affairs deputed to receive them. Mr. Eusden, under my instructions, awaited two days in the "Havoc" at Yeddo an answer to my supplementary note, and returning on the 9th to Yokohama, brought to me the reply of which I have the honour to inclose herewith a translation.

After taking into anxious and serious consideration the observations which it contains respecting the difficulties and confusion which the Ministers imply would be created by sudden and separate negotiations with the Prince of Satsuma in the disturbed political condition of this country; learning also as I had in the interval that the Prince of Satsuma was not in Kagosima, or in any other part of his domains, but at Miako, whither he has gone to meet the Tycoon, and knowing, moreover, that the Admiral would prefer awaiting the arrival of the remaining ships of his squadron before detaching two, at least, of those already here to Kagosima, a distant point from this rendezvous, and the defences and navigation of which are as yet but most imperfectly known,—for all these reasons I did not feel ill-disposed to defer the expedition to the South until I could see my way more clearly, leaving, however, the Japanese Ministers in doubt as to my intentions. I decided in the meanwhile to profit by the incidental correspondence for the purpose of extracting from the Japanese Ministers some candid statement as to the period when the Tycoon and his Council would be aware of the contents of my note. I therefore addressed a letter, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, to the Japanese Ministers in reply to their communication last referred to.

Under ordinary circumstances the Japanese Ministers would, in accordance with their habitual policy, doubtless have informed me that the translation of my note containing the demands would occupy a considerable time, and that they could not say when it might reach the Tycoon; but as I informed them that I should act in respect to the Prince of Satsuma according to the nature of their reply, they returned to me the answer, of which the inclosed is a translation, and by which your Lordship will observe that they state that the contents of my note would be brought to the knowledge of the Tycoon on the 14th or 15th instant.

Matters have thus arrived at this point. As the period for the expiration of the twenty days, viz., the 26th instant, approaches, I shall most anxiously consider the situation of affairs in concert and cordial co-operation with the Admiral.

In the meanwhile I have prepared my note addressed to the Prince, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, although circumstances may render its forced delivery inexpedient; as, for example, the prompt offer of the Tycoon's Government to satisfy the redress and reparation made upon its quasi independent vassal.

I trust that these considerations may be deemed by your Lordship as sufficiently explanatory of the cautious course I deem it to be my duty under the circumstances to pursue, while steadily carrying out the measures I have been directed to adopt by Her Majesty's Government. I have the satisfaction, in the meanwhile, to believe that Admiral Kuper concurs with me in the views and opinions I have here had the honour to submit to your Lordship respecting the main difficulties with which we have to deal, but which, though highly embarrassing, are not insuperable.

Inclosure 1 in No. 28.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, has received the explicit instructions of his Government to demand reparation from the Japanese Government for the murder and outrages committed upon British subjects on the 14th September last on the tokaido, near Kanagawa, by the retainers of the Prince of Satzuma.

The circumstances attending this unprovoked and savage assault, as related by the survivors, and as set forth by the Undersigned in his several communications, written and

verbal, with the Japanese Ministers, have never been controverted, attempted to be palliated, or denied.

The statements of indignation with which Her Majesty's Government have learnt the particulars of this outrage are expressed in the following words addressed to the Undersigned by Her Britannic Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs:—

"The barbarous murder of Mr. Richardson, and the murderous assault on two gentlemen and a lady who were in his company, have inspired Her Majesty's Government with great and just indignation. It was to be hoped that the instant trial and condign punishment of the murderers, together with an offer of further reparation, would have shown on the part of the Japanese Government a due sense of the magnitude of the offence which had been committed; but the letter of the Japanese Ministers of Foreign Affairs, dated the 16th of September, dispels this hope. In a tone of helplessness or evasion they say, that in the answer that Saboolo gave to their officer there is something very improper, and that they will have the whole state of the case more accurately inquired into, and inform you of the result."

"There could have been no doubt in the minds of the Ministers of Japan, that a barbarous murder had been committed—no doubt that other murders had at the same time been attempted, and the only course which a Government, sensible of its duties, and able to perform them, could have pursued, was to arrest, try, convict, and execute the murderers; but even the first step of this process does not seem to have been taken."

Such are the observations of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, which, after mature consideration of the anomalous political rule which prevails in Japan, has instructed the Undersigned to make to the Japanese Government through your Excellencies a peremptory demand for immediate and full redress for the violence and outrage committed.

The reparation which the Undersigned is thus instructed to demand for this fresh outrage will be specially set forth at the close of this note.

In the meanwhile, under instructions from his Government, the Undersigned made verbally, and in writing, a formal demand, so far back as the 4th of December, 1862, on the Japanese Ministers for redress and compensation for the previous outrage on Her Britannic Majesty's Legation on the 26th of June last, and which consisted in the payment of 10,000*l.* sterling for the benefit of the families of the two British guards murdered on that occasion at the very bedroom door of the Undersigned, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires.

Nine months have now elapsed since the perpetration of that deed, and four months since the demand for compensation was communicated by the Undersigned to the Japanese Ministers; but it has been evaded, and the outrage remains still unrequited. It is now, again, peremptorily demanded.

These two flagrant acts, injurious to the dignity of the British flag, and accompanied with all the sensation and horror which they occasioned among civilized nations, have nevertheless called forth no serious offer of redress in any degree proportionate to the enormity of the crimes committed, which, moreover, carried with them in a national point of view an insult and indignity which the Japanese Government well knows Her Majesty's Government would not suffer to remain without atonement.

Whatever may be the real situation of the Government of the Tycoon in respect to its power of punishing the acts of hostile Daimios and their retainers, the Tycoon's Ministers under the circumstances referred to have betrayed a culpable apathy, disregard, and indifference in their communications with the Undersigned regarding these outrages, for which the Tycoon's Government is now most justly called upon to afford ample reparation.

Procrastination and evasion attained by lengthened arguments as to unimportant details, attempted negotiations as to the amount to be awarded as compensation, and more recently an absolute silence on the part of the Japanese Government in respect to both these unrequited grievances, has been the course pursued by your Excellencies, regardless of the friendly warnings and remonstrances of the Undersigned. Acting moreover under evil counsels, the Japanese Government has adopted a passive, reserved, and unfriendly policy with the British Representative, not only in regard to these outrages, but in all matters of interest to British subjects.

This unjustifiable course of action has been crowned with the destruction, by political incendiaries, of the new British Legation-residence at Goteng-yama.

On the other hand, the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, viewing with indulgence the obstacles and obstructions opposed to the full development of British commercial enterprize by the Japanese Government, and judging them to emanate from the great political embarrassments of this country, was the first to concede to the wishes of His Majesty the Tycoon, conveyed through his Envoys, and to consent conditionally to the postponement in the opening of the Osaka and other ports, subsequently assented to by other European

Treaty Powers, and to be assented to by the Government of the United States, only in consideration of counter-concessions which the Government of Great Britain has not sought to exact.

The Tycoon's Envoys have returned and rendered an account of their Mission to the Japanese Government in relation to the foregoing negotiations, and the Undersigned has just communicated to his Government the thanks lately expressed to him in writing by your Excellencies on behalf of the Tycoon and Government of Japan, for the attentions and cordial reception bestowed upon those Envoys by the Sovereign, Government, and people of Great Britain; a record standing in painful contrast with the unfriendly demeanour of the Japanese Ministers towards the Representatives and subjects of Her Majesty in this country.

The Undersigned, nevertheless, unhesitatingly proclaims, and challenges the Japanese Government to disprove the fact, that the subjects of no nation with which Japan is in relation have given less cause for ill-will on the part of the Japanese authorities than the authorities and subjects of the great British nation, which the Japanese Government, regardless of its duty to the interests of the Tycoon and his Dynasty, has so easily been persuaded to treat with distrust and disregard.

By a happy and rare good fortune, which could not reasonably have been expected, during the period that British subjects, of all classes, have resided in Japan, and thousands of British sailors have frequented its open ports, no noticeable instance of violence against Japanese has been complained of regarding one of them, and yet in numbers they greatly exceed all other foreign residents in Japan.

Such has been the anxious care of the British authorities to engage their countrymen to adopt the conduct of friendship and conciliation, and to accommodate themselves to the difficult situation of the Government of this country.

While the good sense and forbearance of the British residents have ensured these unprecedented and happy results, those same British subjects do not and cannot forget that few nations of the world are as powerful, and none more determined than their own, to demand and obtain reparation for unprovoked outrages committed on its subjects.

The Undersigned is bound to add that four years of intercourse between the subjects of Great Britain and Japan have proved that the Japanese people are friendly and well-disposed, having no cause arising out of habits or prejudices to entertain hostile or fanatical feelings towards foreigners. The authorities and official class of this nation, from the Ministers and Daimios to the yaconins, have alone evinced a culpable jealousy and distrust towards foreigners, which threaten to endanger the interests and tranquillity of the peaceful inhabitants of this country.

Notwithstanding the amicable and conciliatory dispositions of the British Government, and the corresponding conduct of the British Representatives in Japan in their relations with the Tycoon's Government, emanating from a sincere desire to avert, in the interests of peace and commerce, all cause of absolute dissension, the Japanese Government would on its part appear, under evil advice and influence, to have resolved to try the risk of withholding reparation for absolute outrages, and to brave the inevitable consequences of its unfriendly and distrustful demeanour towards the British Government and nation.

In explanation of this uncalled for and ill-advised conduct, the Undersigned is willing to hope that the Tycoon and Government of Japan are not as yet adequately aware of the power and determination of Great Britain to enforce reparation for unprovoked grievances, even in this distant and extreme region of the world.

The Undersigned, in now approaching the specific reparation which is required from the Japanese Government, and which will not be deviated from, modified, or discussed, desires solemnly and earnestly to explain and impress upon your Excellencies as responsible servants of the Tycoon, for the information of His Majesty and the Supreme Council of this Empire, that there is a serious difference between open hostilities, or in other words war, as declared between nations,—and the adoption of such enforced measures of coercion as are necessary to ensure acquiescence to moderate demands should they be indiscreetly refused or attempted to be evaded.

No loss or ruin to Japan is involved by the preliminary measures which are at present contemplated to awaken the Japanese Government to a due sense of its responsibilities, should it refuse or evade to comply with the reparation now peremptorily demanded; but a persistance in such refusal must necessarily lead to a very different and disastrous situation of affairs.

The reparation now demanded for the murders and murderous assaults committed upon British subjects has been affixed by Her Majesty's Government with a considerate regard for the difficult situation of the Japanese Government and its political embarrassment. But the penalty imposed, and the measure of compensation demanded for the

sufferers and their families, now computed in thousands, will if the Japanese Government continue to be ill-advised, inevitably expand into millions, to indemnify the costs of armaments which must be employed by Great Britain, should all serious warnings fail to ensure the redress imperatively demanded for these unprovoked and flagrant outrages.

Notwithstanding the evil designs of interested counsellors, the intelligent Ministers of the Tycoon are already aware that the sincere desire of Great Britain is to preserve peaceful relations of friendship and commerce with Japan ; but it is of vital interest to Japan that the Tycoon's Government should be guided in its councils by the knowledge that Great Britain will not tolerate even a passive defiance of its power, or refusal of its just demands.

If, however, the Ministers of the Tycoon now in office, setting aside all considerations of ordinary prudence, and devoting themselves to devices calculated to gain time, cause Japan to drift into hostilities with a great Power with which it is utterly unable to cope, upon those Ministers will fall the heavy responsibility of all the calamities which may ensue.

Having thus discharged his duty and conscience by the earnest remarks which precede, the Undersigned has the honour to state to your Excellencies that he is instructed to make the following explicit and peremptory demands upon the Japanese Government :—

First. An ample and formal apology for the offence of permitting a murderous attack on British subjects passing on a road open by Treaty to them.

Secondly. The payment of 100,000*l.* as a penalty on Japan for this offence.

The mode, manner, and form of the apology will be regulated in Conferences between the Undersigned and Commissioners appointed by the Japanese Government, as well as the mode and manner of payment of the money reparation demanded.

Twenty days from this date is assigned to the Japanese Government for its reply, which must be of a categorical character, either consenting to or rejecting the demands here made.

At the expiration of the twenty days assigned for the reply of the Japanese Government, should that reply either be a rejection or evasion, or otherwise than a positive acceptance of the reparation demanded, the British Admiral now assembled here with a considerable force will, within twenty-four hours after the receipt of such refusal of these demands, or in the event of no reply whatever being received at the expiration of that period from the Japanese Government, proceed to enter upon such measures as may be necessary to secure the reparation demanded.

The conduct of these measures will thenceforth necessarily be in the hands of the Admiral commanding-in-chief Her Majesty's naval forces.

The Undersigned for his own part is bound to remind the Japanese Ministers that upon the occurrence of the outrage on the 14th of September, in his extreme desire to leave to the Japanese Government the legitimate mode of affording redress, he exercised a discretion, since entirely approved of by Her Majesty's Government ; but which obliged him at the same time to bear the burden of much obloquy on the part of the foreign residents of Yokohama.

The Undersigned may even now apprise the Japanese Government that, so strong is his desire, while carrying out the full tenour of his instructions, to avoid the infliction of loss or suffering upon the unoffending inhabitants of Japan, that he will so express his views to the Admiral ; but resistance or attempted evasion of the operations of coercion which may be rendered necessary will evidently render all such considerations impracticable.

It becomes, therefore, the imperative duty of the Undersigned earnestly to warn the Japanese Ministers that the slightest molestation, injury, or violence attempted to be offered by the Japanese authorities, the adherents of Daimios, or others, to the persons or property of British subjects at the ports open to foreigners during the continuance of the preliminary measures, should they be rendered necessary, will alter the whole nature of the operations, and result in the immediate exercise of serious hostilities, the extent, duration, and consequences of which cannot be foreseen ; but the whole weight and responsibilities of which will rest with the Japanese Government and its advisers. The present demands of the British Government are sufficiently defined and explicit, as are also the first consequences of a refusal to accede to them.

The Undersigned having acquitted himself of his duties in thus earnestly stating and explaining to the Tycoon's Government what is peremptorily required at its hands, and the penalties which must inevitably attend a non-compliance with the same, proceeds to acquaint your Excellencies with the further measures which, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government, will be adopted to enforce a far more important portion of the reparation rendered necessary, and required for the barbarous murder of the 14th of September from the Prince of Satzuma, by whose adherents that deed was perpetrated.

The Japanese Ministers have written, and have stated to the Undersigned on various occasions, and have openly avowed to the Ministers of other foreign States that the Japanese Government could not pursue or arrest malefactors within the domains of the Daimio Prince Satzuma. This is no reason why the adherents of this Prince, who were the actual murderers, should escape condign punishment; and the British Government, taking into mature consideration the difficulties which thus obstruct the Tycoon's Government, is itself constrained to demand satisfaction and redress from the Prince of Satzuma..

A naval force will, therefore, be directed to proceed to a port appertaining to the Prince of Satzuma, where will be demanded from him:—

1. The immediate trial and capital execution, in the presence of one or more of Her Majesty's naval officers, of the chief perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Richardson, and of the murderous assault upon the lady and gentlemen who accompanied him.

2. The payment of 25,000*l.* sterling, to be distributed to the relatives of the murdered man and to those who escaped the swords of the assassins on that occasion.

In the event of the refusal, delay, or evasion of the Prince of Satzuma to carry these demands into immediate effect, such measures of coercion will immediately be adopted against him as the Admiral may judge best calculated to obtain the reparation demanded.

The Undersigned, out of courtesy and high consideration for the Tycoon's Government, makes to it the above communication regarding the course to be adopted with the Prince of Satzuma; considering also that the Government of the Tycoon may deem it expedient in the interests of Japan to advise the Prince of Satzuma to comply at once with the demands of the British Government, necessitated by the barbarous outrage committed by his retainers, at the head of whom was his father, Shimadzoo Saboolo, upon an unoffending British subject. With this object, a high officer might be despatched by the Japanese Government charged with averting the consequences of any obstinate or ill-advised conduct on the part of the Prince of Satzuma, in ignorance of the power and determination of the British nation to enforce redress for unprovoked injuries.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Yokohama, April 6, 1863.

Inclosure 2 in No. 28.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, April 6, 1863.

THE accompanying note will be delivered to your Excellencies by Mr. Eusden, Japanese Secretary of this Legation, through the Governor of Foreign Affairs whom you may appoint to receive it.

As you cannot become immediately acquainted with all its contents, it becomes urgently necessary that I should request your Excellencies' first attention to two points:—

1. That, desirous of acting with the most considerate regard for the delay attendant upon the communication you may desire to make to His Majesty the Tycoon at Kioto, and the delay likewise attendant upon translation, ample time being also allotted for mature reflection, I have announced to you that I will await for a period of twenty days from this date the reply of the Japanese Government to the communication which I now have the honour to make in the note referred to.

But I have earnestly to inform your Excellencies that the instructions which both the Admiral Commanding-in-chief and myself have received will render it impossible for us to prolong that period by a single day or hour.

2. I have suggested in my note the expediency and advantage of the Tycoon's Government charging a high officer to accompany the British ships-of-war which will convey the demands I am instructed to make from the Prince of Satzuma. To this point I have to request a speedy reply, as it is evident my communication to the Prince cannot be delayed during the above specified period of twenty days. Mr. Eusden will await at Yeddo in the vessel which conveys him during two days the decision of the Japanese Government respecting this latter point.

The ships destined to proceed to Kiusiu will then immediately leave.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 28.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

ON receipt of a despatch dated April 6th, with an annexed Memorandum, we have understood all you communicated in the same, and we will immediately forward a report (on the subject) to His Majesty the Tycoon.

As regards your man-of-war going to the domains of (the Prince of) Satzuma, and there entering into discussion, it is such that you, understanding the state of affairs in this Empire, it needs no further communication; therefore it is to be feared whether the said undertaking may not originate an unexpected calamity, increase confusion tenfold, and create discord amongst us; and it causes us great sorrow (to think) that this undertaking might injure (put aside) the law of our Empire, and cause many irregularities. Therefore it is desirable that the said mission of men-of-war to (the domains of the Prince of) Satzuma should be given up.

However, as the said point (in question) occupied the attention of our Government very much, we request you to leave the settlement of the same for some time in our hands. Consequently, it is impossible to accede to your request to send an officer of high rank, as mentioned in yonr despatch, on board the man-of-war.

We will, of course, send you the answer on this point from His Majesty the Tycoon; but in order to give you an immediate reply to your despatch, we communicate this.

With respect and consideration.

21st of 2nd month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (8th April, 1863).

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.

Inclosure 4 in No. 28.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, April 11, 1863.

I HAVE received the reply which you have written to my supplementary note dated the 6th instant. Before I can take into consideration the observations you therein make respecting the naval expedition which, I have announced to you, will proceed to present the demands I am instructed to make upon the Prince of Satzuma, I have to request you to inform me with the least possible delay how soon my detailed note addressed to your Excellencies, and dated the 6th instant, will be laid before His Majesty the Tycoon and Council.

According to the delay or promptness with which His Majesty and Council will be made aware of that serious communication (which contains also the demands which I am instructed to make upon the Prince of Satzuma) my further immediate action will be guided.

An urgent communication.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 28.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

ON receipt of a despatch dated 11th April, we have understood that you wish to know when the contents of the document annexed to your despatch of the 6th April, lately sent to us, will be sent and laid before His Majesty the Tycoon and our colleagues. The said document was already despatched on the 22nd instant (April 9th) by a special courier, after having been translated; and we consequently presume that if there is no difficulty in crossing the rivers owing to the heavy rains, that despatch will reach its destination to-day, 25th (12th April) or to-morrow, 26th (13th April). In the meanwhile we beg you to bear in mind that we will send you an answer as soon as we receive their reply. But in order to send you an immediate answer, we send you this beforehand.

25th of 2nd month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (April 12, 1863).

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.

Inclosure 6 in No. 28.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Prince of Satzuma.

Your Highness, *Yokohama, April* 9, 1863.

IT is well known to you that a barbarous murder of an unarmed and unoffending British subject and merchant was perpetrated on the 14th of the month of September last, the 21st day of the 8th month of the 2nd year of Bung-kew of Japanese reckoning, upon the tokaido near Kanagawa by persons attending the procession and surrounding the norimon of Shimadzoo Saboolo, who, I am informed, is the father of your Highness.

It is equally known to you that a murderous assault was made at the same time, by the same retinue, upon a lady and two other gentlemen, British subjects, by whom he was accompanied; the two gentlemen having been severely and seriously wounded, and the lady escaping by a miracle.

The names of the British subjects here referred to are as follows: Charles Lenox Richardson, murdered; Mrs. Borradaile; Mr. Woodthorp Clarke, severely wounded; Mr. William Marshall, severely wounded.

This event filled with great and just indignation the British Government and people, and excited the sympathy of, and produced a painful impression upon, all civilized countries.

Impressed with friendly and considerate feelings towards the Government of the Tycoon, with whom the Queen of Great Britain, my august Sovereign, is in relations by Treaty of Peace and Amity, I acted with proper consideration for the Tycoon's Government by leaving in its hands the legitimate means of speedily arresting and bringing to capital punishment the murderer from among Shimadzoo Saboolo's retinue.

This necessary forbearance on my part has been entirely approved by my Government, and appreciated and acknowledged by the Government of the Tycoon.

A different course proposed at the moment to be adopted in the excitement attending this barbarous outrage might have resulted in the capture, and perhaps death by summary retribution, of Shimadzoo Saboolo himself.

Six months have now elapsed since the perpetration of this unprovoked outrage, during which period my Government has been duly informed by me of the circumstances attending it: while the Tycoon's Ministers have held out to me from time to time assurances and hopes that the murderers would be given up by your Highness, according to the Tycoon's desire, and sent to Yeddo for trial and execution.

But I have had occasion to report to my Government that, removed in your distant domains from the direct influence of the Supreme Government, and shielded also by certain privileges and immunities which belong to Daimios of this Empire, you had utterly disregarded all orders or decrees of the Japanese Government calling upon you to afford justice by sending the real criminals to Yeddo. They have not been arrested or sent, and no redress has consequently been afforded by the Tycoon's Government, however desirous it may be of doing so.

In the meanwhile I have received the explicit instructions of my own Government how to act in this matter.

The Tycoon's Government may be impeded by the laws of the country, and more especially by political embarrassments, from enforcing its desires upon Daimios of the Empire in regard to criminal acts committed by their adherents. But when British subjects are the victims of those acts, Japan, as a nation, must, through its Government, pay a penalty and disavow the misdeeds of its subjects to whatever rank they may belong.

Under instructions from my Government I am now about peremptorily to demand from the Tycoon's Government an apology, and the payment of a considerable penalty, for permitting the murderous attack made by your retainers on British subjects passing on a road open to them by Treaty.

But the British Government has also decided that those circumstances constitute no reason why the real delinquents and actual murderers should be shielded by your Highness, or by any means escape the condign punishment which they merit, and which they would be subjected to for great crimes such as they have committed in all other parts of the world.

It has therefore been determined by my Government, and I am instructed to demand of your Highness as follows:—

First. The immediate trial and capital execution, in the presence of one or more of Her Majesty's naval officers, of the chief perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Richardson and of the murderous assault upon the lady and the gentlemen who accompanied him.

Secondly. The payment of 25,000*l.* sterling, to be distributed to the relations of the murdered man and to those who escaped with their lives the swords of the assassins on that occasion.

These demands are required by Her Majesty's Government to be acceded to by your Highness immediately upon their being made known to you. And upon your refusing, or neglecting or evading to do so, the Admiral commanding the British forces in these seas will adopt such coercive measures, increasing in their severity, as he may deem expedient to obtain the required satisfaction and redress.

The Commander of Her Majesty's ship of war charged with the delivery of this letter is made acquainted with the specific demands which I have the honour to communicate to you in this letter; and according as they are accepted or refused he has received instructions either to carry out and witness their execution within a period of days which will be named, or in the event of a refusal to commence at once coercive operations pending the arrival of additional forces.

Your Highness is therefore earnestly requested seriously to consider the course you will adopt upon receipt of this communication, the terms of which it is not in my power to modify, alter, or discuss.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 29.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received June* 12.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, April* 14, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for the information of your Lordship, copies of two despatches which I have addressed to Rear-Admiral Kuper, covering copies of the notes I had presented to the Japanese Ministers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 29.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Rear-Admiral Kuper.

(Extract.) *Yokohama, April* 8, 1863.

I DEEM it to be essential, and I have the honour herewith to inclose for your information a copy of a note I have addressed to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs,* comprising the demands I have been instructed to make as reparation for the murders and outrages of which British subjects have of late been the victims in this country.

Your presence here with a portion of the fleet under your command has enabled me to adopt this first step towards carrying out the instructions which I have received connected with this subject, and with which you are acquainted, and has enabled me also to affix the number of days which, after the advantage of consulting with you, and under all the circumstances, it is most desirable to await the reply of the Japanese Government.

At the expiration of that period I shall have the honour to communicate to you the nature of the reply I may have received, and the prospect which may exist, or otherwise, of any satisfactory settlement of the differences at issue.

Inclosure 2 in No. 29.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Rear-Admiral Kuper.

Sir, *Yokohama, April* 9, 1863.

I BEG to transmit herewith for your information a copy of a letter addressed to the Prince of Satzuma, the original of which, accompanied with a Dutch translation, I shall, upon the return of the "Havoc" from Yeddo, have the honour to request you to cause to be transmitted by a ship of war to the Prince at Kagosima, in the Island of Kiusiu.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

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* Inclosure 1 in No. 28.

No. 30.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received June* 12.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, April* 14, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Lordship's information a copy of a highly interesting despatch I have received from Mr. Acting Consul Enslie. The translation of the letter incorporated in this despatch, and purporting to be addressed by certain Daimios of the Empire to the Tycoon, is, I think, important as disclosing the spirit and genius which pervades the Feudal Chieftains of this country, and the difficulties which must thus encircle the Tycoon's Government in its relations with foreigners.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 30.

Acting Consul Enslie to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Hakodadi, March* 9, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to forward to you the last fortnight's news from the south, and at the same time inclose translations of certain authentic documents which I have been fortunate enough to obtain.

You are already aware that the Yeddo Government has issued several proclamations to the Daimios, tending to explain the cause and object of the changes made in the various Government Departments and in the intercourse with the Daimios. The Daimios of the Opposition party were, however, not satisfied with these declarations, and have sent the following answer to Yeddo. This document is signed by the eleven Daimios of Satsuma (Matsdaira Satsuma no Kami), Daimio of Mito (Mito Tjcoonagoon Suma); Daimio of Saga (Matsdaira Figen no Kami); Daimio of Foosokawa (Jitshoo no Kami); Daimio of Awa (Matsdaira Awa no Kami); Daimio of Aidsu (Matsdaira Figo no Kami); Daimio of Mori (Daigenno dai ioo); Daimio of Kooroda; Daimio of Aki (Matsdaira aki no Kami); Daimio of Jiono matja iama (Date Totonomi no Kami); Daimio of Wakasa (Saka Wakasa no Kami), and has created considerable excitement among the friends of Government:—

"We have to express our thanks for several acts lately passed by you, and for your plans for the future.

"You felt the necessity of exonerating the Daimios from the troublesome and expensive journeyings to Yeddo; unfortunately the changes made by you are very imperfect, although you gave us excellent reasons which ought to have induced you to effect a complete change instead of adopting semi-measures.

"If we must economize in order to fortify and prepare Japan to defend itself and dictate its laws to foreigners, we imagine that more money would be saved and our object more speedily attained if we were completely exonerated from the journey to Yeddo. You informed a Daimio who made this observation to you that the relations between the lords of Japan and the Chief of the Government could not be completely closed. But these relations might be kept up by deputies sent to you by the Daimios: these deputies would communicate our ideas to you. As you say you feel the necessity of resisting the encroachments of foreigners we hope you will make radical changes.

"We have to thank you, secondly, for the just punishment inflicted upon the Daimios and other members of Government who have behaved so cowardly in their intercourse with foreigners. The punishment is very light when compared with the crime, but we hope it will be a salutary warning. We, however, regret to say that those who profited by these punishments are unworthy of the confidence you place in them.

"You also speak to us for the first time about some persons you have sent to the foreign nations. We do not approve of this mark of respect shown to people who might misinterpret your intentions and imagine that you endeavour to obtain the object in view by entreaty. It is an undeniable fact that the barbarians have gladly consented to your proposition never to open the ports which have not yet been opened, and to restrict their liberty and privileges in the ports already opened; they felt too delighted and too much honoured in receiving Japanese, who although not high-born, are respectable persons, and who must have given a lesson in politeness and diplomacy to these nations who are not yet formed ('imada fhirakadz aroo kooni'). We ought not, however, to humble ourselves so much. You appear to be very satisfied and astonished at the result. This is because you unfortunately allow yourself to be fascinated by the high-sounding expressions used by the foreign 'Yakoonins' at Yokohama, called 'Ministeroos,' although it is now fully proved that they only wish to amuse themselves and frighten you. Besides

this they are the first to tremble, and when you address them as a superior ought to speak to an inferior (*lit.*, 'a smaller person') they become very humble. It is also an undeniable fact that the Ministeroos have been severely reprimanded by their respective Governments, and that the latter have endeavoured to palliate the bad conduct of their Representatives by the extremely friendly and attentive manner in which they received the persons sent by you. These apologies ought to have been made by the Ministers; two of them have already been punished by their Sovereigns and are now in disgrace. We are surprised that notwithstanding all these proofs you do not comprehend, as we do, that you represent the Great Niphon.

"You ask us whether we demand the total expulsion of foreigners. No; this is not exactly what we wish; at least we only want this expulsion on certain conditions. Allow us to explain our wishes. It has been justly affirmed that the Treaty of Commerce was granted to the Tehitsroa (English, French, Russians, and Americans) and the Dutch, as a great favour, and after repeated and humble demands, and therefore bore no resemblance to a legal contract. Instead of enjoying this privilege as a favour, they wish to assert that it is their legal right; the majesty and dignity of our country cannot endure such audacious conduct. They must be allowed, as in former times, to gain money without defrauding our nation. We do not understand the necessity of all these foreign 'Yakoonins;' the only person required is a chief of the factory or of the merchants, who would have to learn our rules and regulations of commerce; this would save you a great deal of trouble.

"You say that they do not see matters in the light we do; all we have to do, if this is the case, is to withdraw the privileges we have granted to them. It is a law that everybody who abuses a favour loses it *ipso facto*.

"Part of your proclamation is incomprehensible. You say, 'In fifteen years everything will be ready!' What do you mean by this? Do you wish to affirm that Japan will be great and powerful then, and able to resist the encroachments of the barbarians; or do you wish to say you will then be able to expel them? In the first place you own that Japan is weak; this is a disgrace for the country: in the second you appear to be willing to submit to insults during fifteen years. You therefore are wrong in both cases. Why not say with us, Japan is ready, and has ever been ready? What is the difference between to-day and 250 years ago? Had not the foreigners large vessels then as now? Had they not artillery and large armies? Did they not know the tactics of war? Had they not large kingdoms? The only difference is, that their vessels were then propelled by sails; now, however, they use steam. So much the better; they will leave quicker. Every Japanese sighs when he thinks of the glorious past, and looks at the present. Remember how the barbarians respected the majesty and power of Niphon. They respected our slightest wishes; Japan was delivered from their presence. One single nation left hostages in Japan as a proof of the good faith of the others. This was, however, a great mistake, as their presence in Japan excited the cupidity and envy of the other nations.

"It is very difficult for us to understand you when you say the world has changed, and that it is difficult for a nation to seclude itself. You therefore suppose that other nations are like Japan and China! You say the world has changed! Do you wish to repeat what an insane member of the Gorogio said, when he insinuated that we ought to adopt the customs, arts, and sciences of the foreigners! What science? To exchange a precious stone for a tile. As you say that the Tehitsroa have arts and sciences, it will be very easy to satisfy their wishes, as we only demand that the foreigners shall first be punished, and then subjected to the old regulations of Nagasaki. Many of you would regret to see the commercial intercourse draw to a close, as you pretend that some useful articles would be inaccessible, particularly guns, which you say must make Japan more powerful than all the other nations. We have, however, refuted these objections by saying—

"1. Japan has been deprived of these articles during many thousand years.

"2. That it would be very easy to send our vessels to China, in order to buy them from the miserly foreign merchants who bring them hither; they would be delighted to sell them to us, even after having been punished and sent out of our country.

"We regret to see that for some time past you have been making references to the customs and governance of foreign nations, and you frequently speak directly and indirectly about imitating foreign nations, and concentrating the Government offices. In making such insinuations you expose yourself to severe criticism, and excite distrust among your most faithful and devoted partisans. Is there any authority among foreigners worthy of bearing the name of power? Have they a Mikado who is the grandson of the Kamis? Are not all our high families of celestial origin? It is absurd to wish to unite

every power in one person; you might with equal justice say, let us have one farmer, one merchant, and one labourer! You are better aware than we are that power proceeds from the Tenshi (Mikado), who has distributed it among the great families of Japan. This is a divine order established by the Kamis, and he who wishes to change it pretended to be wiser than the heavens.

"If you, however, absolutely wish to imitate foreigners, you must consult with our Sovereign, who is above everybody, and the supreme chief, as is also the case with foreign nations. As he has confided the government to your care, and has instructed you to decide matters of general interest, you must use your power prudently; if the honour and safety of Japan is endangered, you alone cannot decide upon the measures which are to be adopted. If, for instance, a fire breaks out, it is useless for you to order the owners of houses which are in danger to protect houses which are safe, because the proprietor will endeavour to save the house which is liable to be destroyed by the flames.

"You appeared to understand this a few months ago; you then decided to accept the Mikado's invitation; now, however, you hesitate, and postpone your journey. It is difficult to understand why you hesitate. Is it because some Daimios have expressed their intention of going to Kioto? It is, however, quite natural that all the Daimios should be convoked to Kioto, and several Daimios have probably manifested their intention of going to Kioto during your residence there, in order to suggest this plan to you.

"As regards the advice you give us about the purchase of foreign vessels, we fully believe this is dangerous for the country. A naval force is useless if it does not move about, if the vessels do not visit distant countries, and if the sailors do not exercise themselves. In order to have a navy, intercourse must be kept up with other nations, and we wish to abolish this intercourse.

"Unfortunately, a great error in the foundation of all your arguments upon this subject is, Japan is not yet ready. Several Daimios have recently requested you to 'place the foreign question in their hands' ('I kokoono guva ware wareni makasoo beshee').

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAMES J. ENSLIE.

P.S.—You have probably been informed that the Yeddo Government has issued an order that all the public granaries must be filled with hulled rice, instead of rice in a raw state. Such an order is only issued in case of great emergency, or when war is expected.

J. J. E.

No. 31.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received June 12.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, April* 14, 1863.

I AVAIL myself of the occasion to report to your Lordship that both M. de Bellecourt, my French colleague, and Captain Massot, of the French Imperial corvette "Duplex," on station here, have formally acquainted both the Admiral and myself that the instructions they had received were to the effect that they should adapt their course of action in Japan under the present circumstances in perfect accord with the policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government.

I have the satisfaction to add that the French Admiral in his flag-ship and one or two other vessels are daily expected here. The support which we shall derive from this moral, if not material, co-operation, especially in regard to the safeguard which may be extended to foreign residents, and the impressions it should produce upon Japanese counsels, are sufficiently obvious.

No. 32.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received June 12.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, April* 14, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a letter which I have received from the Japanese Ministers respecting the destruction by fire of the building which had been destined to be the future British Legation residence at Yeddo.

I have only to observe, in respect to this communication, that the Japanese Ministers evidently endeavour to conceal the fact of this act having been perpetrated by political incendiaries, and in all probability also with the connivance of the Japanese Government itself.

In connection with this subject a rumour even prevails that several of the Daimios who most actively opposed the establishment of foreign Legations at Gotengyama actually paid to the Japanese Government the amount expended upon the British Legation building, and which is stated to have amounted to 40,000 dollars (about 8,000*l.*), and upon which the Government assented to its destruction.

There is one point, however, in the Japanese Ministers' communication which I deem it right to correct. In saying that I had consented to the construction of a fresh building on another spot, and for which they thank me, the Ministers, designedly or otherwise, make a wrong statement. I have distinctly declined to consent to any new arrangement, leaving Sir Rutherford Alcock when he arrives free to enter upon this subject in the manner which he may deem most expedient.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 32.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

HEREWITH we make the following communication.

When the British Legation at Goteng-yama was almost completed, it unexpectedly caught fire, and was burned down to the ground, as you were lately informed. This caused us great sorrow, and we sympathize with you.

For our Government it is likewise a great pity, not only that such a large sum of money has been lost, but also that all the trouble in erecting (the building) has thus suddenly proved to have been fruitless.

Although the name and the whereabouts of the criminal are unknown, the consequences of his stealing into the compound towards daybreak on the 13th (February 1) are made known in the inclosed document.

Most probably this event must be ascribed to the envy of those persons who were displeased that the foreign Legations were to be erected on the place of recreation to which the name of Goteng-yama had been given, as you are well aware of.

Thus it is very doubtful whether one will be able to ensure safety there, if the building were to be erected on the same spot.

We therefore proposed to you through Maba Iniobu-shöo-yu to stop the work of the present Legations, and to enter into negotiations for another spot. And you have agreed to this, taking into consideration the present state of affairs in Japan, for which we are much obliged.

We also communicate that the French and the American Ministers have consented to this.

With respect and consideration.

25th of 12th month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (February 13, 1863).

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 32.

Communication of the Officials in charge of the new Legation at Goteng-yama, when it was destroyed by fire.

(Translation.)

THIS morning in the middle of Oshe (about 2 o'clock in the night), we went the rounds, but saw nothing suspicious. After our return the Legation began to burn, it having the appearance as if it had been set fire to with powder, and the eastern side likewise began to burn.

Whilst it was immediately being made known at the temporary office, the Legation was in one blaze of fire.

At the same time shots were heard outside the gate to the southward.

Although we at once sent in every direction, no suspicious persons were found.

But one of the posts of the wooden fence near the drawbridge was cut through, and he articles as mentioned in the inclosed paper were left there.

We send in this communication.

13th of 12th month (February 1).

One saw, one bag containing six candles, one match 3 feet 7 inches long, one pair ot sandals, one pair of wooden clogs, four lucifers, and two flints. Two packets of powder were left under the stable near the Great Gate.

No. 33.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received June* 26.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, April* 29, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the arrival in this port from Shanghae, on the 26th instant, of Rear-Admiral Jaures, in His Imperial Majesty's ship "Semiramis."

I had the honour to pay my respects to the Admiral, when he most cordially and unreservedly stated to me the entire sympathy entertained by His Imperial Majesty's Government with the justice of the cause on which our demands upon the Japanese Government for reparation are based.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 34.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received June* 26.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, April* 30, 1863.

THE Ministers left at Yeddo have, as it would appear, under instructions from the Tycoon himself, evinced some indications of appreciating the serious situation of affairs.

These Ministers, invested with no power during the absence of the Tycoon and principal members of his Council, in respect at least to the difference pending with Her Majesty's Government, or from other causes, had preserved during the interval after the reception of my note a profound silence, which I had feared would have been continued to the end, and the contingency of a resort to coercive measures appeared likely to become a reality.

In this situation of affairs my colleague of the United States called upon me on the 21st instant, and in a lengthened conversation informed me that immediately after the receipt of a communication which had reached Yeddo from the Tycoon's Ministers, written on their journey to Miako, some of the Governors for Foreign Affairs had come to him, and although confined to his bed by sickness, had earnestly urged him to see me at Yokohama, and to induce me to accede to the request which was about to be made to me for an extension of the term accorded.

Mr. Pruyn left me to return to Yeddo with the final declaration on my part that I could form no conception what might be my decision until I had received and maturely considered the letter which he had informed me I was about to receive from the Japanese Government.

The same evening I received the letter referred to from the Japanese Ministers, a copy of which in translation I have the honour to inclose.

Takemoto Kai no Kami, the Envoy charged with the delivery of the letter, addressed himself in the meanwhile to my colleague of France, M. Duchesne de Bellecourt, soliciting in the name of the Japanese Government his good offices in supporting the application they had addressed to me for an extension of thirty days to the period already assigned.

The next stage in these proceedings was the arrival from Yeddo, on the 24th instant, of Arima Tootomi no Kami, Vice-Minister of the Second Council, who sought an interview directly with myself. He reiterated the same request that the term should be extended to thirty days beyond the period originally fixed; and, in a long sitting of several hours, made no statement worthy of record beyond that of the impossibility of the Ministers left at Yeddo giving any reply to my note preferring the demands until the Tycoon returned to Yeddo, and that he was expected to do so in thirty days.

I had in the meanwhile, after the most anxious consultation with Admiral Kuper, come to the decision that it was advisable and expedient to prolong the term I had originally fixed, by fifteen days, and the draft of my reply was so prepared. I therefore caused it to be translated to the Vice-Minister, who, after some further conversation, left me to return to Yeddo, and my despatch (a copy of which I have the honour to inclose) followed him to the Ministers.

This was succeeded by a brief note, a copy of which is likewise annexed, which I addressed to the Ministers in consequence of my having been informed that the Vice-

Minister, Arima Tootomi no Kami, had spoken of his intention to return to Yokohama for the purpose of obtaining my final decision.

I now proceed to submit to your Lordship the various considerations by which I was guided in granting an extension of the term I had originally fixed.

First, the paramount principle of action which I have traced for myself in the conduct of the present differences is to endeavour to attain, by every possible means, the reparation I have been instructed to demand, without an appeal to coercive measures so long as a reasonable chance existed of my doing so within a moderate period.

Secondly, the absence of the Tycoon and his principal Ministers at Miako and the stress laid upon the alleged necessity of their deliberating in Council upon the matter at issue, together with the want of all discretionary power of action on the part of the Acting Ministers for Foreign Affairs at Yeddo, were unexpected contingencies, the consideration of which could not be altogether rejected.

It thus appeared reasonable that sufficient time should be afforded to the Ministers at Yeddo, in order that they might be invested with instructions from the Tycoon beyond the mere command that they should apply for a delay until he returned to Yeddo.

But it is a grave and important fact that the demands for reparation at this conjuncture, preferred by Her Majesty's Government, form but an incident in the revolutionary crisis through which this country is passing. The agitating question which is at this moment engaging the struggle between contending parties at Miako is, whether foreigners in general shall be suffered, under any conditions whatever, to remain in Japan; and at the hour at which I write reports prevail that the Tycoon, overpowered by the Mikado and the more powerful Daimios, has been compelled to renounce his foreign policy, and that by this recantation he has saved his own life, while some of the more powerful Daimios have undertaken to urge a war of expulsion or extermination against foreigners.

Such, my Lord, at the departure of this mail is the situation of affairs so far as they can be penetrated through the darkness and confusion which pervades passing events at this moment in Japan. For my own part, invested as I find myself with an overpowering responsibility, whatever unexpected emergencies may spring up around me, my action shall be tempered by what I conceive to be the course most conducive to avert a total rupture in our relations with this country, if such be possibly consistent with our national honour and dignity.

Inclosure 1 in No. 34.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE send you the following communication.

After the translation of your despatch dated April 6, 1863, we sent it by an express courier to our colleagues, who were in attendance on His Majesty the Tycoon on his journey, as we lately communicated to you. They then immediately laid it before His Majesty the Tycoon, and have sent us a written reply, which we have just received.

It is a law of our Empire that (matters of importance) must first be discussed at a conference of the Tycoon's Guardian the Regent, and the Council of State, and then a decision is taken, and that it is not to be settled any other way; besides, it is very inconvenient to take any decision, owing to the residence elsewhere on the journey. But in order not to lose too much time, and to facilitate our doing in a proper manner what you have communicated, (it is desirable) the number of days should be diminished (increased?) from what was originally proposed, and if from this date thirty days (were allowed to) elapse the Tycoon would be back in his castle. It has subsequently been communicated to us that His Majesty the Tycoon undoubtedly believes that such an unavoidable delay of days will be acceptable to the British Government, which proposition we now make to you, and we request most earnestly that you will accede to it.

With respect and consideration.

4th of 3rd month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (21st April, 1863).

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 34.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, April 24, 1863.

I HAVE received the communication, dated the 21st instant, made to me by your Excellencies under direction of the Tycoon's Ministers, asking for an extension of the

term accorded for the definite reply of the Japanese Government to the demands which the British Government has made upon it.

You state you have been instructed to ask for an additional term of thirty days, dating from the 22nd instant.

The Tycoon's Government, acting with its usual regrettable want of frankness and confidence, has afforded me no real or sufficient reasons for this demand; nor has your Envoy Takemoto afforded any better reasons to the Minister Plenipotentiary of France, to whom he has addressed himself to intercede and exercise his just influence with me to obtain this extension of the term.

In so serious a crisis, of which His Majesty the Tycoon was fully aware even before his departure from Yeddo, no Government has been left at Yeddo invested with powers even to offer guarantees or interchange assurances which might become imperatively necessary.

No guarantee exists that His Majesty the Tycoon will not defer his return to Yeddo for five months, the period originally fixed, and even when that event takes place, your Excellencies and your Envoy Takemoto speak of arrangements and discussion being entered upon respecting the categorical and unchangeable demands made after all discussions had failed, and all reparation had been withheld during many months.

Your Excellencies' instructions have for their evident object to gain time by any excuses or arguments which may present themselves: It is my duty, on the other hand, to see that the demands made by Her Britannic Majesty's Government are not trifled with.

The circumstance of the absence of His Majesty the Tycoon from Yeddo, and the fact of his Ministers not having assembled round His Majesty at Miako till the 20th instant, may engage the consideration of Her Majesty's Government when I report these facts; but I reject as utterly unacceptable your reasons for delay until the return of His Majesty to Yeddo.

To remove every shadow of doubt of my desire not to precipitate a crisis in presence of an accidental obstacle, such as your being invested with no powers to furnish me with a reply to my note of the 6th instant at the expiration of the term allotted, I now inform your Excellencies of the decision to which I have come after anxious consideration. It is as follows: Before engaging the Admiral commanding Her Majesty's naval forces in these seas, and now with a squadron at Yokohama, to defer the adoption of coercive measures after the 26th instant, in consequence of the non-settlement of the demands, I will now, in consequence of your strong appeal in writing to myself, and indirectly to my colleague the Minister of France, await the time absolutely required once more to communicate with, and receive an answer from, the Tycoon's Ministers at Miako.

I assign an ample period for the accomplishment of this purpose by according fifteen days, dating from the 27th instant inclusive, whether your communication takes place by land or by sea.

But I beg you seriously to observe that the reply which I require to enable me to withhold immediate measures of coercion at the expiration of the new term must be of a character to remove all doubt as to the assent of the Tycoon's Government to the demands made upon it.

No further arguments for delay can be received by me. The Tycoon's Government will be considered as having refused the demands, and coercive measures will be entered upon.

If at such a moment the Ministers at Yeddo are still invested with no powers of meeting so critical a contingency beyond those of seeking for further delay, the Tycoon's Government is alone responsible for the consequences attending such a situation of affairs.

It is not the intention to molest the peaceable Japanese inhabitants on shore at Yokohama, or at the other ports open to foreign trade in Japan, unless danger is threatened to them; but the British fleet will at once appear in other parts of Japan, where its presence may be less agreeable to the interests of the Tycoon and his Government.

The demands to be made upon the Prince of Satsuma are apart from those to which this despatch relates. I reserve to myself the intention to carry into effect that portion of my instructions at any moment at which it may be convenient to do so, unless in the meantime the Tycoon's Government itself satisfies those demands, the nature of which has been made known to it.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 34.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, April 25, 1863.

HAVING understood from my colleague the Minister of France that Arima Töotomi no Kami had observed to him that as I had not given a definite answer to your Excellencies' letter of the 21st instant, he should return to Yokohama to discuss further upon the subject, I consider it extremely important that your Excellencies should understand that my letter addressed to you and dated yesterday did contain my definite answer.

An urgent communication.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 35.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 26, 1863.

YOUR despatches to that dated the 30th of April have been received and laid before the Queen.

With reference to your despatch of that date, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve of your having granted the Japanese Government a further period of fifteen days within which to comply with the demands of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 36.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received July 16.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, May* 11, 1863.

MY despatch of the 30th April will have apprised your Lordship of the circumstances under which I had extended the term allotted to the Japanese Ministers for their definite reply to the demands for reparation which I had preferred.

On the 1st instant I received a further despatch from the Japanese Ministers, the chief purport of which was again to solicit that the term should be extended to thirty days. I have the honour to inclose a copy of their despatch.

In this situation I sought occasion to meet and confer with Admiral Kuper, and with my colleague of France, and with the French Admiral, respecting the general condition of affairs.

I have already had the honour to report to your Lordship the unreserved and cordial manner in which the French Representatives had espoused our cause.

On the 3rd instant two Envoys, Takemoto Kai no Kami and Takemoto Hayato no Kami, came down from Yeddo, and announced their anxious desire to hold an interview with us.

On the 4th and 5th instant, long and protracted interviews took place.

The general result of these conferences was the further fresh accordance of a term of seventeen days dating from the 6th instant.

On the 9th instant I received a communication from the Japanese Ministers, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, informing me that His Majesty the Tycoon would leave Miako on the 8th instant, and that he would reach Yeddo on the 24th instant. Considering, therefore, that the day named for the Tycoon's return immediately followed that which had been fixed for the definite reply of the Tycoon's Government to the proposals we had communicated, my colleague of France entirely concurred with me in the expediency of replying in an assuring spirit to the Japanese Ministers, and we accordingly wrote to them in identical terms, stating that coercive measures would not be precipitated if indeed it should turn out to be a fact that the Tycoon was about to re-enter his capital.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of my note in reply.

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Inclosure 1 in [illegible] No. 36.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to [illegible] Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE have to express to you our heartfelt thanks on th[illegible]e receipt of a letter dated April 24th, in reply to ours of the 4th day of our 3rd mont[illegible]h (April 21), for kindly acceding to our request to put off the day for a definite answer, an[illegible]d that you have post-poned it for fifteen days, to commence from the 27th instant, having t[illegible]aken into considera-tion the peculiar circumstances we are placed in. We immediately ma[illegible]de it known (by courier) to His Majesty the Tycoon, because we wish, as much as possi[illegible]ble, to give the definite answer within the time specified.

But although you have stated in your letter dated 25th April, that th[illegible]e letter of the 24th is your last and definite answer, yet the postponement we requested [illegible]is the time we asked for, and this is no longer to be obtained, and yet it is very desirable [illegible]that it should be granted; therefore we request you once more to take it into mature consi[illegible]deration.

With esteem and respect.

13th of 3rd month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (April 30, 1863).

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KA[illegible]MI.
[illegible] KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO[illegible]

Inclosure 2 in No. 36.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE send you the following communication.

We have been informed that His Majesty the Tycoon intends to leave Miako on the 21st instant (May 8th), and if unfavourable weather and the swelling of the rivers do not impede his continuing his journey, he will return to the Castle here on the 7th of the 4th month (May 24th). However, as soon as we learn that His Majesty has left on the said day, we will let you know. In order that you may be acquainted with the above as soon as possible we send you this beforehand.

With respect and consideration.

22nd of 3rd month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (May 9th).

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 36.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, May 11, 1863.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Excellencies' letter dated the 9th instant, informing me that His Majesty the Tycoon was expected to leave Miako on the 8th, and to arrived in Yeddo on the 24th instant, and I am rejoiced to receive this communication.

Considering, however, that the delay fixed at the last interview with Takemoto Kai no Kami expires on the 23rd instant, it is very desirable that your Excellencies keep me from time to time exactly informed of the progress of the Tycoon's journey; for should His Majesty indeed, on that day, be within one day's reach of Yeddo, your Excellencies will not find on my part, nor on the part of my colleague the Minister of France, any difficulty in awaiting the time necessary for the arrival and establishment of His Majesty in his capital.

On the other hand, my colleague of France and myself cannot too strongly state to your Excellencies that we distinctly expect that the engagements made with us by Takemoto Kai no Kami in respect to restoring calm and order at Yokohama, and in furnishing supplies for the inhabitants and the fleet, be strictly maintained.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 37.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received July* 16.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, May* 12, 1863.

THE Tycoon's Government has long struggled to present to foreign Representatives a semblance of absolute power and authority, occasionally referring to the obstacles opposed to it by the undefined supremacy of the Mikado, and by the real and powerful influence of hostile Daimios. Serious and threatening political contentions have already arisen out of these causes. The Treaties concluded with foreign States, and the presence and unrestricted commercial operations of foreign merchants, especially at Yokohama, have furnished matter for their recriminations. The Tycoon and his Government have been in this contest on the defensive, for it was they who entered into the bond of relationship with the Western States, no matter under what influences. The Tycoon's Government has not disavowed the engagements into which it has entered by Treaties; but it has endeavoured to abate the resentment of the hostile party by cultivating no friendly relations with foreign States, especially with the Representatives of Great Britain and France, nations which they have soon apprehended were likely and able, on all occasions, to vindicate their rights. Hence a seeming preference to other States, which to them appeared otherwise situated.

Murders and outrages, of which British subjects have been more frequently the victims, intermingled with alarming rumours of attacks upon the foreign settlements—a belief in which was encouraged by the Government—has filled up the interval of the temporizing policy of the Tycoon's Government; while trade has flourished, despite of political intrigues, as it ever must where enterprising British merchants and native dealers and producers are thrown into contact.

But the Mikado's party has meanwhile gained the ascendancy. Several powerful Daimios of this Empire asserting rival claims to sovereignty, more or less well founded, have adopted the expedient of elevating the Mikado from a noiseless and spiritual seclusion to a position of traditional supremacy which the Tycoon can hardly resist. Hence the mandates which, during the last few months, have successively reached Yeddo; hence the degradations and confiscations of the revenues of the Tycoon's partizans; hence the arrogant declarations of the Daimios, and the absolute commands of the Mikado to the Tycoon, enjoining him at once to expel foreigners, as disclosed in the annexed translations transmitted to me by Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Hakodadi; and hence, finally, the summons of the Tycoon to Miako.

At such a crisis in the internal situation of this country I had the honour to receive your Lordship's instructions in regard to the reparation to be demanded for the murder and outrages committed in September last upon Mr. Richardson and other British subjects.

With the progress of my proceedings while carrying out those instructions I have had the honour to keep your Lordship fully informed.

The loyal, frank, and energetic co-operation of the French naval and diplomatic authorities has afforded no slight consistency to the decisions I have successively arrived at in perfect unanimity with Admiral Kuper.

Inclosure 1 in No. 37.

Acting Consul Enslie to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Hakodadi, April* 4, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to forward you the accompanying inclosures. No. 3 is the reply of the Tycoon to a despatch of the Mikado, which to my regret I have as yet been unable to obtain.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAMES J. ENSLIE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 37.

The Mikado to the Tycoon of Japan.

(Translation.)

THE insolent intrusion of foreigners has now lasted during several years, and it is extremely difficult to say when it will end.

These barbarians occasion deep affliction to the Great Niphon, from its Sovereign down to the lowest native. I have frequently written to you upon this subject, partly for myself and partly for my people; and as I have already told you, this calamity does not cease.

The foreigners must either be banished by force or they must be all removed to Nagasaki and Hakodadi. Measures must be adopted to render it impossible for them to assert their pretensions, and if they are allowed to remain in Japan, let it appear that they are not here.

If these measures are not adopted, a war will break out. Do not delay these important reforms, and if they must be allowed to trade, their commerce must be restricted and duly controlled.

Endeavour to settle this important affair with the Daimios; but I must add that these perverse and barbarian foreigners ought to be sent out of our country.

12th month.

Inclosure 3 in No. 37.

The Tycoon to the Mikado of Japan.

(Translation.)

IN reply to your despatch we beg to state that we fully agree with you. We intend to hold serious conferences with the high Officers of State, and we shall personally inform you of the result when we meet you at Kioto.

Inclosure 4 in No. 37.

The Tycoon to the Mikado of Japan.

(Translation.)

YOU have informed me that great anxiety is felt at Kioto, as it is not sufficiently protected if the banished foreigners intend to create disturbances. We are well aware that Kioto might be in danger if the barbarians revolted, but allow us to remind you that up to the present time Kioto has always been confided to the care of the Government of the Tycoon, and we have never neglected this duty.

If you, however, consider the protection of Government insufficient, we shall send several Daimios to watch over your safety. We have already commanded the principal Daimios to fortify Japan and defend it if the barbarians revolt. We therefore request you will inform us which Daimios you prefer.

When we are at Kioto this matter shall be amply discussed, and we shall then be able to consult about the manner in which the foreigners must be banished, and about the internal governance of our country.

No. 38.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received July* 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, May* 12, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a communication I have thought it advisable to make to the Japanese Ministers, apprising them of the declared total value of the property belonging to British subjects which is exposed to risk in the present situation of affairs, and especially should hostilities ensue consequent upon a non-settlement of the demands for reparation preferred by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 38.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, May 8, 1863.

IN the present situation of affairs it becomes my duty to communicate to your Excellencies that the value of the private and business property of British merchants and

other British subjects residing in Yokohama, according to the lists they have separately and in detail recorded, amounts in the total to 2,967,575 Mexican dollars.

This measure of precaution has been adopted lest the sinister reports in circulation of the intended designs of loonins, or Daimios' retainers, as well as the possible acts of prisoners liberated from the gaol by the Japanese authorities against the foreign Settlement, should be realized.

I have in the meanwhile to acquaint your Excellencies that some British subjects have already been robbed by their fugitive servants.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 39.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 22, 1863.

HER Majesty's Government approve your proceedings, as reported in your despatch of the 11th of May, with reference to the demands which you had been instructed to make upon the Japanese Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 40.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received August 6.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, May* 15, 1863.

BY the last mail I was unable to transmit to your Lordship a copy (now herewith inclosed) of a despatch addressed to me by Mr. Consul Winchester.

Inclosure in No. 40.

Consul Winchester to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Kanagawa, May* 4, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that pursuant to your instructions I sought an interview with the Governor at 11 A.M. for the purpose of drawing his attention to the alarm and inconvenience which the sudden exodus of the Japanese from this place and Kanagawa was sure to occasion.

The conversation commenced by my informing the Governor that you had sent me to inquire the meaning of the sudden and simultaneous leaving of great numbers of the population which had been going on all night, and was still continuing, and that you had hoped the same was not in consequence of any orders of the Government.

The Governor replied that the people had been informed of the differences between Her Majesty's Government and that of the Tycoon; that they knew the limit of days originally imposed; that thirty days had been asked for to enable the Tycoon to return to Yeddo with a view to the settlement of the question, and that only fifteen had been granted. Under these circumstances the people had been greatly terrified and excited, and had been told in reply to their anxious inquiries that they were at liberty to go or stay as they pleased.

I then stated to the Governor that such a measure as the withdrawal of the Japanese from the foreign settlement was in itself one of the acts of all others most likely to precipitate events in a sense unfavourable to the amicable settlement of the questions between the British Government and that of the Tycoon; that a step of this nature was calculated to create the greatest alarm, and to be highly prejudicial to the permanent interests of all concerned, and should not be encouraged or ordered, except in the last resort when all negotiations had failed. To this the only reply given by the Governor was that no constraint had been put on the people, they had been simply told to please themselves. I rejoined to this that this step was a bringing on of the evils of war before there was any occasion; that the Governor must know that negotiations were still going on; and I declared that in no case would any trouble fall on Yokohama, and requested that he would issue a circular to calm the minds of the people.

The Governor stated he would send officers among the people to induce them to remain, but would not promise to send round any circular.

At 12 noon the Governor had requested all the Consuls to meet him, and I therefore dispatched Mr. Flowers, who had taken pencil notes of the interview, to acquaint you with the unsatisfactory result.

My colleagues then entered the audience room, with the exception of the French Vice-Consul, and the Governor told us at some length that his object was to inform us that the guard would be changed to-morrow; that as there were troubles on hand the Daimio officers would be replaced by others under his immediate command, who would be more completely under his orders. He evaded any statement as to whether the numbers of the guard should be increased. Inquiries were then made by the American Consul and others with respect to the exodus. The neutrality of the Settlement was insisted on in becoming terms.

It was represented that the withdrawal of the Japanese involved all nations equally: that nothing was so likely to bring on war as to act as if it were certain.

The Governor reiterated that the Government had left the matter to the people themselves—to go or stay.

The United States' Consul stated that the accounts received by him of the character of the circular gave it a much more peremptory tone; that it was very unlikely the people would leave unless ordered by the Government.

I then suggested that he should furnish a copy of the circular. He evaded the demand by saying he would do so, but must first refer to Yeddo.

At this stage the general interview broke up, and the Governor was left by me with the Prussian and Portuguese Consuls.

Such is a very hurried account of what took place.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

P.S.—Mr. Loureiro, Acting Consul for Portugal, has since told me that the Governor said to him he would be very sorry if any Portuguese suffered in consequence of being mistaken for English, but that it was impossible for the Japanese to distinguish. He promised to give the Portuguese notice of any hostile movement on Yokohama likely to involve their safety.

C. A. W.

No. 41.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received August* 6.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, May* 27, 1863.

I HAVE to report to your Lordship that the temple occupied by the United States' Legation at Yeddo was destroyed by fire on the early morning of the 24th instant. As yet it has not been discovered whether this event is attributable to accident or to political incendiaries. It should, however, be remarked, that my colleague of the United States has on more than one occasion told me that the Japanese Government had urgently solicited him to abandon Yeddo during the Tycoon's absence, and to reside in Yokohama.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 42.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received August* 6.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, May* 27, 1863.

I HAD the honour to inform your Lordship by the last mail that I had been officially informed that the Tycoon would return to Yeddo on the 23rd instant. I now inclose copies of some further correspondence with the Japanese Ministers respecting a postponement in the departure of His Majesty from Miako.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 42.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE lately informed you in writing that His Majesty the Tycoon would leave Miako on the 21st instant (May 8), and would return to the Castle on the 7th of the 4th month (May 24), but we have now received a communication from Miako, stating that unavoidable circumstances will compel His Majesty to delay his departure for some time.

We send you this in order that you may have an early notice.

With respect and consideration.

28th of 3rd month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (May 15).

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 42.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, May 18, 1863.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellencies' letter informing me that His Majesty the Tycoon would not leave Kioto on the 8th of May to return to Yeddo, as you had previously announced.

I have to express to your Excellencies my great disappointment and regret at this communication under existing circumstances. It remains for me only to state that, notwithstanding this unexpected change in the intentions of His Majesty with respect to the period of his return to his capital, I shall await with much anxiety the important and definite instructions which may reasonably be expected by the Government at Yeddo from His Majesty at Kioto in regard to foreign affairs.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 43.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received August 15.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, June* 11, 1863.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 27th ultimo, I have the honour to inclose a copy of an official letter I have received from Mr. Pruyn informing me of the destruction of the United States' residence at Yeddo, accompanied with some particulars connected with that event.

Mr. Pruyn, I am satisfied, is quite justified in entertaining some suspicions that the fire was not accidental, although he commences by disculpating the authorities from all connivance.

It is well known that the Japanese Government has long resorted to every means of persuasion to induce the United States' Minister to reside at Yokohama, and with this view they had even offered to indemnify the American Legation for the inconvenience and expense which might be occasioned by their removal. Mr. Pruyn continued, however, to reside in a temporary residence at Yeddo after the destruction of the Legation, and thus baffled in their attempt to necessitate his departure, the next act of the Japanese authorities appears to have been a resort to terrorism. I am told that Mr. Pruyn was at dinner when a Vice-Governor came in breathless haste to urge his instant departure, for that the Governor could not guarantee the safety of his life for an hour, and then Mr. Pruyn at once embarked.

The measure next adopted by the authorities was to effect without chance of failure the departure of the United States' Consul and family, and some American missionaries from Kanagawa on the opposite side of the bay to this settlement.

Some yaconins roused the Consul at night, and announced the imminent peril to which they alleged he was exposed, and their inability to afford them any protection. Some of these families embarked immediately on board the United States' ship of war "Wyoming," as they had no immediate means of finding residences at Yokohama, where the whole are now located.

To render these measures thoroughly complete, the Swiss Mission, which had proceeded to Yeddo to negotiate respecting their Treaty, which had been promised, and was to have been on the same footing as that with Prussia, were conducted for safety on board a Japanese steamer each night, and finally returned in the same steamer a few days ago to Yokohama, without having as yet accomplished the object of their mission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Pruyn's letter, and have the honour to inclose a copy of what I have written.

E. ST. J. N.

Inclosure 1 in No. 43.

Mr. Pruyn to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Legation of the United States in Japan, June* 9, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inform you of the destruction by fire of the buildings occupied by the United States in Yeddo on the 24th ultimo at 2 A.M.

As I have already unofficially stated to you the fire originated in the kitchen or a small building adjoining, and in fifteen minutes from the time of its discovery enveloped so completely the entire buildings as to allow me only opportunity to save the public archives.

My interviews with the Japanese Government in relation to the cause of the fire, and provision for another residence, and my temporary removal to this place, must be my apology for the delay in this official announcement.

I have no wish to attribute the destruction of the Legation buildings to design, nor have I any reason for any such belief, from the great desire which has been constantly shown to have me take up my residence in this place.

Some occurrences calculated to excite suspicion had attracted my notice, which I had frankly stated to the Government; while their force has been admitted, I am nevertheless assured that the evidence taken establishes beyond a doubt that the fire was accidental.

The Government has prepared plans for a temporary residence for me in the large temple within the inclosure which was not destroyed, and I suppose the work for such temporary residence has commenced. I remained in Yeddo one week after the fire to arrange this, refusing to leave the city even for a visit to this place, until I had positive assurances of such provision for my residence at Yeddo.

I had fixed the time of my departure from Yeddo on such visit for the 1st of June, but was induced to leave late in the evening of the day preceding, on receiving notice from the Government of the discovery of an organization to attack myself and the guard that night. I was informed that an additional force had been sent for my protection; but that in the event of a night attack, some accident might happen to me. The additional argument was strongly urged that my removing that afternoon would leave them free from apprehension for my safety, and enable them to act with more vigour against the conspirators (loonins), whom the Government at the very time were causing to be surrounded.

Under these circumstances I did not feel at liberty to refuse leaving a few hours earlier than I had intended.

It is my present intention to resume my residence at Yeddo early next month.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT H. PRUYN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 43.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Mr. Pruyn.

Sir, *Yokohama, June* 12, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 9th instant, upon the subject of the destruction by fire of that portion of the temple at Yeddo which was occupied by the United States' Legation.

I beg to express my extreme sympathy and deep regret at this untoward and

unexpected event. That it was occasioned by the act of political incendiaries, of which you have some suspicion, I have little doubt, judging from the context of past and passing events of a similar character. The general plan (now evident, and not disavowed by the Japanese Government) for the expulsion of foreigners from localities where their presence is most distasteful, is visibly enacting before our eyes. The multiplicity of grievances, and absence at present of fitting opportunity, having special matters on hand, alone retards the sweeping away of the ill-advised and futile efforts which more or less hostile parties in Japan oppose to the entire and complete execution of Treaty obligations. For myself I beg leave to declare that I will enter upon that work systematically, taking the obstructions presented to us seriatim in the order of their importance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 44.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received August 15.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, June* 12, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for the information of your Lordship, a copy of a despatch I have received from Captain Vyse, who had entered upon his functions at Hakodadi.

The Proclamations of the Governor referred to are likewise inclosed, and afford some assurances that no aggressive acts against foreigners are likely to arise at that distant port, much further removed from passing political influences than Yokohama, or even Nagasaki.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 44.

Consul Vyse to Lieuteaant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Hakodadi, May* 18, 1863.

I HAVE the honour of reporting my arrival on the 12th ultimo at the above-mentioned port, where all appeared in peace and tranquillity.

In accordance with your instructions, impressing upon me the necessity of furnishing you, by whatever opportunity that may present itself, by sea or by the Japanese land route, with every information which is attainable, bearing upon passing events, I take this early opportunity of inclosing copies of four official notices, circulated privately to each Japanese house by the Governor, giving information as to what is likely to happen, urging at the same time upon those under his jurisdiction to prepare themselves in the event of an emergency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. HOWARD VYSE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 44.

Orders issued by the Governor to the Inhabitants of Hakodadi.

(Translation.)

AT this time, although the common people have begun to shut up their houses, as there is no war, they must be opened, and mercantile business must be carried on as usual.

Hereafter if there should be a war I shall hear from Yeddo, and it will be told to you.

25th of 3rd month (12th May, 1863).

(Signed) GOVERNOR OF HAKODADI.

Speech addressed to all the Government Yakonins by the Governor of Hakodadi.

I have heard from the Governor at Yeddo. After some time (this expression "oté" may mean several years) a war may break out, or it may not; although this is not yet decided, I have to order you to be prepared, and to practice the sword exercise.

25th of 3rd month (12th May, 1863).

The Treaty between European countries and Japan is finished. Henceforth Hakodadi and Nagasaki will be the only ports opened to foreigners. If the foreigners, however, persist in their claims, a war will break out.

27th of 3rd month (14th May, 1863).

(Signed) GOVERNOR OF HAKODADI.

In Hakodadi there is not the least chance of a war breaking out. If there should be a war in Yeddo, the large bell (in the Governor's house) will be sounded, and it will then be time to shut up your shops. Until, however, you hear this bell, business must be carried on as usual. In Hakodadi there will be no war.

27th of 3rd month (14th May, 1863).

(Signed) STREET GOVERNOR OF YEDDO.
GOVERNOR OF HAKODADI.

No. 45.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received August* 15.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, June* 12, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for the information of your Lordship, copies of a despatch, with its inclosures, addressed to me by Mr. Consul Winchester in respect to measures adopted by the Japanese Government at Yokohama with the alleged object of affording protection to foreigners at the present crisis.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 45.

Consul Winchester to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Kanagawa, May* 31, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to submit to your attention the details of an important interview with the Governor to which I was summoned, along with my colleagues, this forenoon.

The first intimation, received about 8 A.M., was to the effect that the Governor wished to see the Consular Corps at 1 in the afternoon. A second notice reached me at 11·30 A.M., stating that the Governor was at the Custom-house, and wished to see the Consuls as soon as they could make it convenient.

Proceeding to the Custom-house, I waited some time, the Governor being engaged with the American Consul.

We were at length requested to come to the Governor's presence, and found him, with Mr. Fisher, in one of the upper rooms of the building. After sitting down, I gathered that they were concluding a conversation in which it had been arranged that, in consequence of the presence of a band of loonins in this neighbourhood, the Consul and American missionaries resident at Kanagawa were, for their greater safety, to remove at once to Yokohama, it being provided that a Japanese guard should take care of their house and furniture during their temporary absence, and that compensation for the expense and trouble of removal should be borne by the Japanese Government.

The Governor then proceeded to inform us that there were large numbers of loonins in Yeddo and its vicinity; that these men had been roaming about committing numerous outrages on the highway, entering the shops and warehouses of respectable merchants for the purpose of extorting money by threats and violence.

It is impossible, said the Governor, to prevent these people from coming on the tokaido; and he was particularly anxious that foreigners of all nations should be warned against riding or walking in that direction. Not only was there danger on the high road, but there were strong apprehensions that these outlaws, who were united in gangs more or less formidable, might introduce themselves into Yokohama and commit isolated assaults and homicides, or, combining in larger bodies, attack the Settlement in force. It was the duty of the Japanese Government, according to Treaties, to protect the Settlement and foreign residents from injury, and it was desirous of doing so in the most effectual manner. With this view the Gorogio had sent for the Governor and directed him to arrange all the necessary measures. A battalion of the Tycoon's own guard, commanded by officers of rank ("Hattomotos"), would be sent down to reinforce the Daimios' guards, and would be distributed in barracks and posts around the Settlement. These troops would patrol day and night. Additional accommodation would have to be built for them, and a strong detachment would be placed in the new Examination House in the East Hatoban.

These arrangements would probably last for thirty days, within which time the Gorogio expected to be able to clear the district of these troublesome intruders. In the meantime, looking to the possible confusion which might attend the joint action of Japanese and foreign troops, they hoped to be able to meet the crisis, which the Governor repeatedly averred was one of great danger, with the native soldiery; but if their ability to do so became doubtful, there would be no hesitation in requesting the aid of the foreign troops.

To these statements we replied in a general way that it was very gratifying to be assured of the solicitude of the Tycoon's Government for the safety of the settlement, but that the inconvenience of mixing up the Japanese and foreign soldiery before it became really necessary would be the result of stationing any detachment of Japanese soldiers in the centre of the bund; that the native and foreign residents must in such case be in constant contact with each other, and that collision and other complications would ensue.

Such a post was not wanted, as the gun-boats were anchored so as to command the whole of the sea-front of the foreign quarter, and if necessary the Admirals and other senior naval officers of the respective nations would direct additional guard-boats to row along the sea-front. The proper line for the Japanese guards to be posted was round, but not in, the Settlement, for so long as the ships of war were in harbour any attack from seaward would be impossible.

[The Governor said that] only the usual Custom-house officers would remain at the new hatoban, and he would be glad if the gun-boats could be anchored as near the shore as possible, and the arrangements I had spoken of with respect to the row guard-boats were continued.

I then pointed out to the Governor that these measures of precaution and defence were likely to lead to considerable apprehensions among the Japanese residents and servants, and that if proper measures were not taken to quiet such, we would surely have a return of the distressing panic which occurred at the commencement of the month. It was imperatively necessary that the Governor should provide against this both here and at Kanagawa, it being certain that the removal of the American Consul would create great alarm.

To this last observation the Governor accorded his full assent, repeating that within ten or fifteen days if the Government found itself unable to repress these bands of outlaws, the aid of foreign troops would be demanded.

Finally, the Governor requested that in making known to our several communities the state of affairs, we would be good enough to announce that the officers in charge of the Tycoon's troops were gentlemen of birth and consideration in Japan, much superior to the Daimios' officers whom we have been accustomed to see, and that any unnecessary threatening display of fire-arms would be felt by them as a special indignity.

The Governor further informed me that with a view of facilitating communication with foreign Ministers and naval Chiefs and Consuls, certain officers would be named and deputed to convey information and reports in case of emergency.

During the course of the interview we endeavoured to obtain from the Governor a more definite statement of the strength of the reinforcements; he evaded this, however, by speaking of it as a single battalion—an idea hardly consistent with the numbers of posts and new barracks which we were given to understand were in contemplation. We heard nothing of any batteries or works to be thrown up; but I should not be astonished if under cover of the present excitement such were intended.

Undoubtedly the Japanese Government is quite capable of creating a fictitious alarm, and under its cover compassing their darling object of controlling the movements or (it may be) getting rid of this community.

I forward at once a copy of this despatch to Admiral Kuper, and to-morrow will issue a notification to the British community in terms to be submitted to you.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 45.

Consul Winchester to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Extract.) *Kanagawa, June* 2, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your information, copy of the notification issued to British subjects consequent on Sunday's interview with the Governor.

Notwithstanding the apparent abandonment, at the moment, of the intention to place a Japanese guard on the East Hatoban, it became evident on Monday that the military control of the bund was an object of such importance that its accomplishment was not to be foregone without a struggle.

Ishibashi, the interpreter, was sent to inform me that the Governor adhered to his original views, and that he had betaken himself to the British flag-ship, in the hope of obtaining an assent to his wishes.

It is unnecessary to advert to the discussions with yourself, the French Minister, and Admiral, which have terminated in the withdrawal of this proposal, the carrying out of which would have created the greatest alarm among the foreign community.

What are the real facts hidden under the excitement so carefully unveiled to us it is as yet impossible to say. It seems to be clearly coincident with the arrival of Mito and his men to take care of Yeddo, and has enabled the Government successfully to attain two objects they have long had at heart—the retreat of the American Minister from Yeddo, and of the American Consul and missionaries from Kanagawa. It is possible that these two points gained, the system of terror will be relaxed for another fortnight, when further turns of the screw will be added, involving the confinement of foreigners within the canal or their expulsion from the settlement. All these are well understood landmarks in the programme of the Conservative party, who are so utterly blinded by extravagant appreciation of their own miscalled heroism as to fancy themselves equal to the burden of a foreign war, and to attribute foreign forbearance to fear.

Inclosure 3 in No. 45.

Circular addressed by Consul Winchester to the British Residents at Yokohama.

Kanagawa, June 1, 1863.

THE Undersigned was yesterday informed by the Governor of the presence of numerous bands of loönins in Yeddo and this neighbourhood, and warned that foreigners walking or riding along the tokaido will run great risk of being attacked.

The Undersigned would in any circumstances feel it his duty, out of regard to individual safety, to caution his countrymen against exposing themselves on a highway known to be infested by truculent outlaws. At the present moment it is especially desirable that relations should not be complicated by the occurrence of other untoward events. The demands now being made have arisen out of the commission of atrocious homicides, and from what is taking place the community can form an estimate of the inconvenience of having to demand redress for lesser injuries.

The Governor further announced that with the view of providing for the security of the foreign settlement and residents against isolated or combined attacks on the part of these outlaws, the present Japanese soldiers were to be reinforced by a battalion of the Tycoon's guard, whose special duty it will be to patrol the outskirts of Yokohama; and his Excellency further begged me to inform my countrymen that the officers of this corps (being Hattamotos) were persons entitled to respect and consideration in Japan.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

No. 46.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received August 15.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, June* 13, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information and convenience, a copy of a despatch I have addressed to Vice-Admiral Kuper, and which consists of a summary of my negotiations with the Japanese Ministers since the departure of the last mail, and which, with the inclosures referred to, I have the honour to lay before your Lordship in greater detail by this occasion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 46.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Vice-Admiral Kuper.

Sir, *Yokohama, June* 12, 1863.

THE result of the conferences which have taken place between myself and the Japanese Envoys from Yeddo since I had last the honour of informing you of the situation of affairs may be condensed as follows:—

Takemoto Kai no Kami, the Envoy with whom, as you are aware, I was previously in communication, did not keep his engagement of returning to Yokohama, arising, as alleged, from ill health, but probably from other causes. Two other Envoys did, however, replace him; and the whole purport and tenour of three long and protracted conferences I held with them on the 7th and 8th instant, and at one of which you were present, was to arrange the details of the mode, time, and manner of payment of the pecuniary demands made by Her Majesty's Government upon Japan, exclusive of the demands on Satsuma.

Various and widely differing proposals with this object were made by the Governors, ranging from ten months to ten years, as the term to be allotted for the payment of the whole; while I, on my part, insisted that, having extended all due consideration to the Tycoon's Government, and exhausted all patience, ten days was the limit of the term which I would now further await a settlement of the question in hand; and that in default of such being accomplished, I should be constrained to leave in your hands the execution of the measures to be adopted under such contingency as directed by Her Majesty's Government.

At the last of the interviews referred to, the Governors made finally a proposal to the effect that the sum of 140,000 dollars should be paid within a term of ten days, dating from the 9th instant. A long discussion then ensued as to when and in what proportions the remainder would be liquidated. I suggested the payment of 60,000 dollars at short intervals, *i.e.*, week by week; this was eventually modified to 50,000 dollars per week, thus covering the whole amount in six weeks.

The Governors returned to Yeddo, undertaking to be with me this day, the 12th instant, bearing the approval, or otherwise, of the Tycoon's Government to this arrangement.

This morning I am placed in possession of a despatch from the Gorogio, translation of which I have the honour to inclose for your information, by which you will observe that the conditions proposed by me are formally and officially accepted. In the same despatch I am informed that a member of the Gorogio will come down to Yokohama to-morrow (the 13th instant) for the purpose of discussing the subject of the demands made upon the Prince of Satsuma, which I had informed the Envoys must also immediately be determined. The Gorogio also refer to other matters of the nature of which I am ignorant; but there is every reason to believe they may be of a very unsatisfactory character with regard to our relations generally with Japan: the chief object and persevering designs of the rulers of this country, to judge from the context of past and passing events, being to bring about the voluntary abandonment or enforced expulsion of foreigners,—if not from all the open ports, certainly from Yokohama.

In support of these conclusions I have the honour to inclose the translation of a Proclamation which has been very generally circulated in Yeddo within the last two days, and which has fallen into my possession this morning.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 46.

Proclamation sent round by the Governor of Yeddo to the Head-men of every Street in that City, for the information of its Inhabitants.

(Translation.)

AS we are now going to enter upon the negotiations with regard to the closing of the ports,* and which will possibly result in war, bad people and robbers might profit by the occasion to create confusion and commit outrages, our Government has therefore taken precautions; but you (the people), as you have been for 300 years in the enjoyment of peace and quietness through the care and vigilance of the Government, must now yourselves also take the necessary steps to prevent the occurrence of such confusion or outrage.

The preservation of order in the different quarters of Yeddo is particularly to be cared for by you, and any one among you who has good plans to propose with that object, let him come and propose it to the Governor of Yeddo.

(*June* 9, 1863.)

No. 47.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received August 15.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, June* 14, 1863.

AT the last moment of the departure of the mail, I rise from a conference with the Governors of Foreign Affairs, and it is with no small satisfaction that I lay before your Lordship the written undertaking of the Japanese Government to satisfy the demands I have been instructed to make upon it on the part of Her Majesty's Government, so far as regards the pecuniary indemnities, apart from the demands on the Prince of Satsuma.

On the 11th instant I received a communication from the Japanese Ministers, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, formally, and for the first time, assenting to the demands referred to, as well as to the specific amounts and periods of payment which I had insisted upon.

This was followed by a further communication, herewith inclosed, informing me of the sudden illness of the Minister, one of the Gorogio, who was to have come down, and stating that the two Governors, with whom I had last been in communication, would supply his place.

This morning, accordingly, I have been in conference with the Governors, the result of which is the formal signing and sealing of a specific and obligatory engagement, a copy of which I have here the honour and satisfaction to lay before your Lordship.

I dispatch the mail, to return to my conference with the Governors respecting the subject of the reparation demanded of the Prince of Satsuma, respecting which they have a communication to make.

Thus far matters have progressed without the firing of a shot. I trust I may be in a position to reiterate this remark when the whole of the demands shall have been satisfied. But I cannot venture to be over sanguine at a moment when this country is in the very throes and effervescence of internal commotion—a contest which may enable us to be passive, and perhaps even eventually conduce to our advantage, but which, on the other hand, may speedily and forcedly engage us in hostilities.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 47.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE send you the following communication.

In reference to the manner in which the sum of 110,000*l.* sterling shall be paid down, we agree to the arrangement entered into with Kikoochy Iyo no Kami and Sibata Sadataro. But with regard to Satsuma, as we wish to have a discussion with you

* "Sa-Kao;" "Sa," to close, "Kao," port.

relative to another matter, and intend to send one of us to have an interview with you the day after to-morrow the 27th instant (June 13th), we will at the same time enter into some arrangement about that; therefore we request you to take it into consideration.

With respect and esteem.

25th of 4th month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (June 11).

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.
OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 47.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE send you the following communication.

In our despatch of yesterday's date, 25th of 4th month (June 11), we informed you that some of our colleagues would go to Yokohama on the 27th day (your 13th of June), and have an interview with you; but Inowooyay Kawatsi no Kami was suddenly taken ill to-day, therefore some of us cannot go to-day: but we intend to send Kikoochy Iyo no Kami and Sibata Sadataro to you on the 27th day (your 13th June), to have an interview with you relative to Satsuma.

With respect and consideration.

26th of 4th month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (12th June, 1863).

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 47.

Agreement.

(Translation from the original in Japanese and Dutch:)

ON this 14th day of June, 1863, we, the Undersigned, Kikoochy Iyo no Kami and Sibata Sadataro, Governors for Foreign Affairs, deputed by the Japanese Government to settle and arrange with Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires the proportions and periods of payment of the indemnity demanded by the British Government in so far as they regard the sum of 10,000*l.* sterling demanded for the families of the two English guards murdered at Her Britannic Majesty's Legation at Yeddo on the 26th of June, 1862 (2nd year of Bung-kew 5th month), and in respect to the sum of 100,000*l.* sterling for the murder of Mr. L. Richardson on the tokaido on the 14th September (24th of the 8th month) last, do hereby undertake and agree to liquidate and pay unto Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires the said several amounts in the proportions and at the specified periods hereunto affixed, that is to say:—

	Dollars.
First payment on the 18th day of June, 1863 (3rd of the 5th month)	140,000
Second payment on the 25th day of June, 1863 (10th of the 5th month)	50,000
Third payment on the 2nd day of July, 1863 (17th of the 5th month)	50,000
Fourth payment on the 9th day of July, 1863 (24th of the 5th month)	50,000
Fifth payment on the 16th day of July, 1863 (1st of the 6th month)	50,000
Sixth payment on the 23rd day of July, 1863 (8th of the 6th month)	50,000
Seventh payment on the 30th day of July (15th of the 6th month)	50,000
Total of payments	440,000

At the exchange of 5*s.* per Mexican dollar, equal to 110,000*l.* sterling.

The above arrangement is true and correct.

(Signed) KIKOOCHY IYO NO KAMI. (L.S.)
SIBATA SADATARO. (L.S.)

I accept the above conditions.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE. (L.S.)

No. 48.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received August* 27.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, June* 20, 1863.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 14th instant by the last mail, I have the honour to lay before your Lordship a recital of what has passed in the eventful fortnight which has succeeded.

At the last moment I transmitted to your Lordship a translation, in copy, of a formal and written engagement entered into with me by the Japanese to pay by instalments, at the periods specified, the pecuniary portion of the indemnity demanded by Her Majesty's Government. That Agreement was signed on the 14th instant.

Thus far my instructions being on the very eve of accomplishment, I proceeded on the following day to enter, with the same Envoys, upon the subject of the demands preferred upon the Prince of Satsuma, which the Envoys declared that they desired and were empowered to settle in a manner equally satisfactory.

The general purport and result of a very extended Conference, with the Ministers, with which I will not weary your Lordship's attention, was to the effect that, on the part of the Envoys, they acknowledged the justice of the demand on Satsuma; that the arrest, conviction, and capital execution of the murderers of Mr. Richardson were also in accordance with their own laws; and that the only obstacle which presented itself was the impossibility to find the murderer (for the policy of this Government leads it, on all occasions when such is possible, to acknowledge the guilt of only one person at a time); that the Prince of Satsuma had been in constant correspondence with the Tycoon's Government, and declared his desire and willingness to arrest the actual murderers when this was practicable, and that both the Tycoon's Government and the Prince of Satsuma would not relax in their efforts to effect this object. They (the Envoys) therefore proposed that the money-portion of the demands (25,000*l.*) should be paid by the Tycoon's Government, and that we should await the arrest of the murderer in order to carry out the other portion of the demands.

I replied, that my instructions were urgent and peremptory; that the flight of the murderer, unless by the connivance of the Prince, was an inadmissible excuse, and the presumption that only one person was implicated equally inadmissible; that if one, therefore, had fled, others must be within the reach of Satsuma; that while the Japanese Government acknowledged its inability to arrest the criminals within the territories of the Prince of Satsuma, on the other hand it claimed for the Tycoon a right of sovereignty over the Prince's domains, and stated that it would be an act of hostility on our part if we proceeded ourselves upon Satsuma, who could not be considered an independent Prince.

I added, that this anomalous and unusual situation of affairs could only be dealt with by corresponding proceedings, which were not resorted to under ordinary circumstances.

Finally, I insisted that the indefinite period to which they postponed the arrest of the culprits could not be entertained by me; and the Envoys returned to Yeddo, to return to me in a day or two with a more reasonable project of settlement.

The day now approached for the payment of the first instalment of the indemnities, which in the Conference above referred to was no more alluded to, further than that the Envoys declared their satisfaction that it had been so happily settled and disposed of.

On the 17th instant, the day preceding the payment, I received an official message from the Governor through Mr. Eusden, desiring to be informed at what hour I desired the money, which was all ready at the Custom-house to be brought to this Legation.

One P.M. was affixed for that purpose.

I need hardly enlarge on the astonishment I experienced when a few hours before the appointed time I received a visit from the Governor of this place, who stated that he exceedingly regretted having to communicate that he had received orders from Yeddo not to pay the money. At the same moment I received a despatch from one of the Members of the Gorogio, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, confirming the Governor's statement, and informing me that he would himself come down to make some communication to me.

I at once broke off all further discussion with the Governor, but, at his earnest request, granted twelve hours to proceed to Yeddo to communicate my decision of placing the solution of matters by coercive measures in the hands of the Admiral, unless the whole of the money, and not only the instalment, were paid into my hands at the expiration of the time I had acceded to await.

The Governor departed in hot haste to Yeddo, and returned to me as the clock struck the hour appointed. He stated the Minister would inevitably be at Yokohama in a few hours, but I replied that under no circumstances would I receive any Japanese authority, whatever might be his rank, unless he came preceded by the indemnities. No Minister, however, arrived from Yeddo, but I received a further written communication, a copy of which is inclosed. Mr. Eusden, the Japanese Secretary of this Legation, was summoned by the Governor to receive a communication, of which he furnished me with a report, herewith inclosed.

And Mr. Winchester, in the meanwhile, reported to me the substance of an interview held by the Governor with the Consular authorities, a copy of which I have also the honour to inclose.

I then, without the slightest hesitation, proceeded to address Admiral Kuper, placing the solution of affairs in his hands. I have the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch.

Inclosure 1 in No. 48.

The Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the money which had been agreed on to be paid to-morrow the 3rd instant (June 18), cannot be delivered on that day, owing to an unforeseen circumstance. I will discuss this matter with you when I come to Kanagawa; therefore I have to request you to wait until the 7th instant (June 22).

With respect and consideration.

2nd of 5th month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (June 17).

(Signed) OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI,
3rd Member of the Gorogio.

Inclosure 2 in No. 48.

The Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

I HAVE the honour to send you the following communication.

I intended to have left to-day, the 4th instant (June 19), in order to have an interview with you; but as I was suddenly taken ill, I could not depart, and as soon as I am better I will see you.

With respect and consideration.

4th of 5th month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (19th June, 1863).

(Signed) OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 48.

Mr. Eusden to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Yokohama, June* 20, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that at the request of the Governor of Kanagawa I called on him this day, as he said he had a communication to make, which, as you had declined to receive any more official visits respecting the indemnity, he wished to be conveyed through me.

The purport of this interview, which lasted two hours, was that the Tycoon's Government had received orders from the Mikado not to pay the indemnity, which order they were bound to carry out, in the first place because it emanated from the Mikado, and secondly, because they feared an outburst of public indignation if not complied with; also if not carried out, the Tycoon might have to pay for it with his life.

The Governor further stated that Ogasawara Jewsio no Kami would enter into more particulars in regard to this matter, when he paid you his intended visit in a few days.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. EUSDEN.

Inclosure 4 in No. 48.

Consul Winchester to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Kanagawa, June* 20, 1863.

THIS morning I received a note from M. de Bellecourt, the French Minister, requesting me to give M. Van der Voo, his Delegate, any assistance which my experience might suggest, at a Conference to which the Governor had called all the foreign Consuls, at 10 A.M.

I assured M. Van der Voo, who presented the note, of my readiness to comply with M. de Bellecourt's request, stating at the same time that as yet I had not received the summons. Thinking it might have been taken to the residence of the Consular Interpreter, I promised to let him know before 10 whether I was to be present or not.

On learning at Mr. Dohmen's that no invitation to the Conference had been received for me there, I went to M. Van der Voo's house, and found he had just left. I called on M. de Bellecourt to inform him of the reason why I was unable to comply with his wishes. M. de Bellecourt, on hearing my statement, at once sent directions to M. Van der Voo to withdraw from a Conference to which the English Consul had not been invited, and on their receipt M. Van der Voo left the Custom-house.

About 11·45 a Government interpreter came to me with a message, to the effect that the Governor had not invited me to the Conference, presuming that I would be fully informed, through you, of the nature of the communication which he was to make to the other Consuls.

I have received from M. von Brandt the following account of the Governor's statement:—

After explaining the terms of the arrangement made with Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires on the 14th, he stated that, on the night of the 17th, he had received commands not to pay the money next day; but to inform the Chargé d'Affaires that Ogasawari Jewsio no Kami, one of the Gorogio, would come down on the 22nd to confer with Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires. That the Chargé d'Affaires was very angry, but had consented to two delays, the last expiring at 9 P.M. yesterday; and that the Governor had gone to Yeddo, but without result.

Yesterday the Gorogio received a letter from the Tycoon commanding them not to pay the money. It being impossible for the Gorogio to communicate with officers of inferior rank, the Governor of Foreign Affairs, Sawa Kansitziro, was directed to convey their wishes through Yohawa, one of the Vice-Governors of Kanagawa, who was then in Yeddo. This Vice-Governor had reported the commands of the Gorogio without delay, and the Governor had at once informed Mr. Eusden of its tenour, which was to the following effect:—

The Tycoon had every intention to pay, but if he did so, would immediately lose his life. The Tycoon was the friend, and the Mikado the enemy of foreigners. The latter had forbidden the Tycoon to pay, and the former was compelled to obey, or lose his position.

He (the Governor) did not know what Ogasawari Jewsio no Kami was to say to Colonel Neale, but in any case the orders were not to pay. Neither was the Governor aware when this member of the Gorogio would come down, for he was sick.

He (the Governor) certainly believed no indemnity would be paid, for the rumour of such an intention had spread through the country, and the loonins and bad people said, "Why pay the money to these poor fools, to these bad foreigners?"

The opinion of the Tycoon's Government was that the money ought to be paid, and the proof of this was that when Mr. Eusden took the ultimatum to Yeddo (6th April) the Tycoon, who was still there, ordered the Gorogio to do so (this extraordinary statement was twice re-affirmed in reply to questions put by M. von Brandt). On the way to Miako, however, the Tycoon had received a communication from his spiritual superior which had made him reflect.

Subsequently a great many things had occurred at Miako.

The Governor thought it his duty to inform the Consuls, because the Japanese Government had done nothing, and he would be very sorry if the British Admiral did anything.

On his return from the Conference, M. von Brandt called a meeting of Prussian subjects, to whom he communicated what had occurred.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure 5 in No. 48.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Vice-Admiral Kuper.

(Extract.) *Yokohama, June* 20, 1863.

AS a happy termination to a long and patient exercise of moderation in my communications with the Japanese Government, upon the subject of the demands I have made upon the Japanese Ministers, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government, I had the honour to inform you by my despatch of the 14th instant, that Envoys sent down from Yeddo had at last definitively and in writing accepted, in the name of the Tycoon's Government, the pecuniary portion of the demands (exclusive of the separate demands on the Prince of Satsuma, left to be settled immediately afterwards); and that in faith of the explicit arrangements entered into, they had signed and sealed an obligatory bond, a copy of which I have transmitted to Her Majesty's Government.

The stipulations of this bond provided that the first instalment, consisting of 140,000 dollars, should be paid on the 18th instant.

It is with deep regret that I have now the honour to inform you that the Japanese Government has not only broken their faith in the most flagrant manner by failing to make any payments whatever up to this date, but that I have received official information through the local Japanese authorities that it is not the intention of the Japanese Government to pay the indemnities which a few days back they had solemnly engaged to liquidate.

All efforts at conciliatory diplomatic action which I have undeviatingly exercised having thus failed, I have the honour, in pursuance of our respective instructions, to request you to adopt such prompt coercive measures of reprisal, and such other measures as you may deem expedient, to punish in the first instance the Tycoon's Government for its flagrant breach of good faith, and calculated to bring them to a due sense of their engagements.

No. 49.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received August 27.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, June* 24, 1863.

IN my preceding despatch of the 20th instant by this mail, I had the honour of laying before your Lordship the train of circumstances which conduced to my determination of immediately breaking off diplomatic relations with the Japanese authorities, and of my placing in the hands of Admiral Kuper the enforcement of the demands for reparation I had with so much patience and moderation urged upon the Japanese Ministers, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government.

Before proceeding to relate the proceedings of the Tycoon's Government since the date of my preceding despatch, I hasten at once to announce to your Lordship that I have received within the walls of Her Majesty's Legation the whole amount of the indemnities demanded by Her Majesty's Government from the Government at Yeddo, amounting to 110,000*l.* sterling, represented by 440,000 Mexican dollars; the reparation affixed for the families of the guards murdered at Her Majesty's Legation on the 26th of June is comprised in this amount.

The money is in course of formal delivery, and will occupy four days to count; but the whole is under charge of my own guard, and more than half the amount has already been shipped on board Her Majesty's ships at this anchorage.

The indemnities having been paid, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ogasawara Jewsio no Kami, referred to, arrived on the 23rd instant from Yeddo; Her Majesty's gun-boat "Havoc" closely following the steamer in which he came. Immediately afterwards I received, in common with my colleagues, the written communication which it devolves upon me here to lay before your Lordship. I annex two other versions of this document from the original Japanese.

I quickly responded to this missive, as did my colleagues of France and of the United States.

I have resolved to deal with the now-declared intention of expelling us from this country as an unmeaning menace, so far as I have the immediate support of Her Majesty's fleet, and so long as Admiral Kuper is uninterruptedly enabled to afford me such support.

I must, however, candidly record that, but for the presence at this anchorage of so powerful a squadron (and the same opinion is doubtless entertained by my colleagues),

we should, at the hour at which I write, forcedly have taken our leave of this country, pending the ulterior decisions of the Treaty Powers.

The attitude now assumed by my French colleague and myself is that of a defensive expectancy, while we are resolved to maintain our footing at this the principal port of Japan, where our own trade especially has progressed so prosperously; and I can perceive no immediate reason why we should not be enabled to preserve a continuous hold and footing at this port, with the combined resources of the British and French naval forces, and the small contingent of French land forces which are shortly expected from Shanghae.

I trust to be better enabled by the ensuing mail more accurately to define the present impenetrable situation of affairs, and the degree of peril with which our establishment in Japan is menaced.

I shall in the meanwhile, regardless of all threatening and collateral contingencies however serious, pursue my course to obtain by measures of arrangement or by coercive means the remaining reparation for past outrages which I have been instructed to obtain from the Japanese Government and from the Prince of Satsuma. To that work I shall devote myself so soon as the last dollar of the indemnity now in course of reception is secured on board Her Majesty's ships.

Inclosure 1 in No. 49.

The Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation from Dutch translation of Japanese despatch.)

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I have received full powers to settle as follows:—

I have been instructed by His Majesty the Tycoon, who is now at Miako, and who received this order from the Mikado, to close the opened ports and to remove the subjects of Treaty Powers, as our nation does not wish to have any relations with them; thus this matter will be discussed with you afterwards.

With respect and consideration.

9th of 5th month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (24th June, 1863).

(Signed) OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

(Translation of the original Despatch in Japanese by M. von Siebold, with the aid of his Teacher.)

I hereby communicate the following in writing:—

Because the feelings of the inhabitants (of Japan) are inimical to foreign intercourse, I have received orders from His Majesty the Tycoon, now residing at Kioto, to remove foreigners and close the ports, leaving the negotiations of it in my hands.

Although I myself intend to communicate the particulars verbally to you, I now communicate this to you beforehand.

With respect and consideration,

9th of 5th month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (24th June, 1863).

(Signed) OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

(Translation of the original Despatch in Japanese, by Mr. Satow, with the aid of his Teacher.)

I communicate with you by a despatch.

The orders of the Tycoon, received from Kioto, are to the effect that the ports are to be closed and the foreigners driven out, because the people of the country do not desire intercourse with foreign countries. The discussion of this has been entirely entrusted to me by His Majesty. I therefore send you this communication first, before holding a Conference respecting the details.

Respectful and humble communication.

(24th June, 1863.)

(Signed) OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 49.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, June 24, 1863.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, has received, in common with his colleagues, and with extreme amazement, the extraordinary announcement which, under instructions from His Majesty the Tycoon, his Excellency has addressed to him.

Apart from the audacious nature of this announcement, which is unaccompanied by any explanations whatever, the Undersigned is bound to believe that both the Spiritual and Temporal Sovereigns of this country are totally ignorant of the disastrous consequences which must arise to Japan by their determinations thus conveyed through you to close the opened ports, and to remove therefrom the subjects of the Treaty Powers.

For himself, as Representative of Her Britannic Majesty, the Undersigned has to observe, in the first instance, that the Rulers of this country may perhaps still have it in their power to modify and soften the severe and irresistible measures which will, without the least doubt, be adopted by Great Britain most effectually to maintain and enforce its Treaty obligations with this country, and, more than this, to place them on a far more satisfactory and solid footing than heretofore, by speedily making known and developing any rational and acceptable plans directed to this end, which may be at present concealed by His Majesty the Tycoon or by the Mikado, or by both, to the great and imminent peril of Japan.

It is therefore the duty of the Undersigned solemnly to warn the Rulers of this country that when the decision of Her Majesty's Government, consequent upon the receipt of your Excellency's announcement, shall have in due course been taken, the development of all ulterior determinations now kept back will be of no avail.

The Undersigned in the meanwhile has to inform your Excellency, with a view that you may bring the same to the knowledge of His Majesty the Tycoon, who will doubtless make the same known to the Mikado, that the indiscreet communication now made through your Excellency is unparalleled in the history of all nations, civilized or uncivilized; that it is, in fact, a declaration of war by Japan itself against the whole of the Treaty Powers, and the consequences of which, if not at once arrested, it will have speedily to expiate by the severest and most merited chastisement.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 50.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, June* 24, 1863.

CONSEQUENT upon the payment of the indemnities demanded of the Government at Yeddo, I deemed it expedient to resume my diplomatic action, and with that view addressed a despatch of which the inclosed is a copy to Vice-Admiral Kuper. I have likewise the honour to inclose the Admiral's reply.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 50.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Vice-Admiral Kuper.

Sir, *Yokohama, June* 24, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that this morning, at one hour after midnight, I was verbally informed that the Japanese Government purposed immediately to pay the indemnities, and requesting to be informed at what hour the money might be brought to this Legation.

I replied that I would be prepared to receive the payments at 6 A.M., provided the whole amount of 440,000 dollars was brought together at one time, as the arrangements entered into with regard to its payment by instalments was null and void, and could not be renewed in consequence of breach of good faith of the Japanese Government.

I was assured that the whole amount would now be paid, and at 5 A.M., an hour before the time affixed, several carts arrived laden with dollars, which are in course of due reception. Under these circumstances I hasten to state that it will be desirable that coercive operations on the part of the squadron under your command should be arrested, while I enter upon communications with the Tycoon's Ministers for the satisfactory settlement of the remaining portion of the demands.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 50.

Vice-Admiral Kuper to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *"Euryalus," at Yokohama, June* 24, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of this date, informing me of the payment by the Japanese Government of the indemnity of 440,000 dollars.

I have accordingly suspended the prosecution of the coercive measures about to be commenced.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS L. KUPER.

No. 51.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, June* 26, 1863.

I HAVE the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that the whole of the indemnity money, amounting to 110,000*l.* sterling, represented by 440,000 Mexican dollars, which I accepted at the average rate of exchange of 5*s.* per Mexican dollar, has been received and embarked in equal parts on board Her Majesty's ships "Euryalus," "Encounter," and "Pearl." A trifling expenditure has necessarily been incurred in shroffing and preparing the money for embarkation.

I purpose requesting Admiral Kuper to direct the conveyance of the treasure to Hong Kong, there to remain in custody of the Commissary-General until I shall receive your Lordship's instructions respecting its disposal.

I furnished a receipt to the Japanese authorities, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 51.

Receipt.

Yokohama, June 26, 1863.

RECEIVED from the Governors of Foreign Affairs acting on behalf of the Japanese Government, and in three separate payments, that is to say, on the 24th, 25th, and 26th instant, the sum of 440,000 Mexican dollars, representing 110,000*l.* sterling, being the amount demanded of the Government of Yeddo by the British Government, as reparation for murders and outrages committed upon British subjects on the 26th of June and 14th September, 1862.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE,
Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires.

(Signed) G. R. JENKINS, *Special Accountant.*

No. 52.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, June* 27, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch I have received from Mr. Consul Morrison, containing some observations on the progressive increase of our

trade with this country, although affected by the present situation of affairs. With reference to Mr. Morrison's concluding remarks, I avail myself of this opportunity of adding that the whole import and export trade of Japan with the Treaty Powers reaches no less a sum than 7,000,000*l.* sterling, of which one-half is in the hands of British merchants.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 52.

Consul Morrison to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Extract.) *Nagasaki, June* 20, 1863.

NOTWITHSTANDING the present apparent tranquillity trade does not revive. Large transactions were concluded a few weeks ago, the native traders selling off their stocks of produce at greatly reduced prices, and buying foreign goods, of which they thought it desirable to lay in a supply.

The Treasury showed the example in this proceeding by getting rid of large quantities of produce held in monopoly by them (and so known as Treasury cargo), hitherto sold only to the Chinese Guild, in spite of frequent endeavours on the part of the Consuls to break through the system.

Want of money has unmasked their assertions that they had no more than was necessary to fulfil old contracts with the Chinese, and led them to pass a barrier which neither Treaty stipulations nor desire for profit could before induce them to do. The quantities sold within a few weeks to foreigners have amounted in value to nearly 160,000 dollars.

I inclose a Memorandum (furnished me by a gentleman here) showing the descriptions and quantities sold and on hand. The articles "awabi" and "irico" are shell-fish greatly consumed in China. All efforts to procure copper have been hitherto unavailing.

Treasury Cargo.

Estimated quantity.			Estimated value.
Sold, say 3,730 piculs irico	..	..	53,000 dollars.
„ 2,042 „ awabi	..	..	31,725 „
„ 3,300 „ copper	..	..	72,000 „
On hand, say 7,000 piculs irico.			
„ „ 35 „ awabi.			
In Miako 3,000 „ copper.			
„ „ 12 „ shark fins.			

Nagasaki, May 1863.

(Signed) GEO. S. MORRISON.

No. 53.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, September 5,* 1863.

YOUR conduct, as detailed in your despatches of the 20th and 24th of June, is approved by the Queen.

The entire payment of the indemnity required by the Tycoon is a proof that the Japanese are not regardless of our friendship.

The punishment of the murderers of Mr. Richardson will, I conclude from your despatch of the 24th of June, have been exacted before this time from Prince Satsuma.

The insolent intimation to foreigners to leave Japan has been properly answered by you, as well as by the Representatives of France and of the United States.

But the mysteries of Japanese intrigue, and of the hostilities which are said to be pretended, and may turn out to be real, cannot be fathomed at this distance, and Her Majesty's Government will not trammel you with needless or unsuitable instructions.

I am glad to find that you have on the spot so friendly and able a colleague as the French Minister, and that the Admiral derives such valuable assistance from the French Admiral.

It is very desirable that all the foreign Representatives should act harmoniously together, whether in peace or war.

No. 54.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received September 14.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, July* 11, 1863.

HER Majesty's Consul at Hakodadi has recently transmitted to me two voluminous and interesting reports respecting passing political events and current rumours in this country, drawn up with much zeal and assiduity by Mr. Student Interpreter Lowder.

Press of time impedes my transmitting to your Lordship longer extracts than those which I send by this occasion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 54.

Extracts from a Report by Mr. Lowder on the present State of Affairs in Japan.

THE merchants and common people in Hakodadi are, for the most part, firm friends of the foreigners. Three years ago they were very much displeased at the arrival of so many "tojins" (foreigners). During these three years, however, they have prospered and made so much money, that they have become strongly attached to us, and if it were not for restraints put upon them by their own Government, trade and mercantile business would be carried on in a way hitherto unsurpassed for profit and friendly feeling.

Those who formerly earned a scanty living by the most menial and degrading services are now the owners of large shops and godowns, and are daily making their fortunes. All this they attribute to intercourse with foreigners.

Nor are these friendly feelings confined to the people actually in Hakodadi. Thirty miles in the country the same opinions are expressed, not openly, as the farmers are afraid of being reported to the Government, but among friends and intimate acquaintances these opinions are freely put forward and discussed; and the good feeling entertained by these poor people towards foreigners has been experienced again and again, and often proved by their readiness to do all in their power to make those foreigners comfortable who go into the country either on pleasure excursions or for botanical purposes.

These friendly feelings have been also professed by several yaconins, who have known foreigners intimately. Many of them are strongly attached to us, our manners and customs, and have even gone so far as to say that in case of a war breaking out between the two nations they would not fight against their friends.

The Japanese are wholly dependent upon rice for their living. The wealth of the Government and of the Daimios depends upon the crops they gather in during the season. For some time past the Government has levied heavy taxes upon the Daimios in order to fortify their country. At the same time the Daimios have been storing up their rice in case of hostilities breaking out. The natural consequence of these deductions is, that their income has been gradually decreasing, and at the present time they complain very bitterly against the Government. They say, "We have given you all you require of us, but we see no improvements. Japan is not fortified, and you tell us you are not ready for war."

This scarcity of rice affects the working classes also no less than the Daimios. In many places the former are almost starved. The lower officials also, after expending a large portion of their small income in clothing (for they are obliged always to appear in silk), find that they have barely sufficient left to provide themselves with daily food.

There are some who attribute these difficulties solely to the Government. Others trace back the primary cause to the arrival of foreigners in Japan, saying that if foreigners had not come there would have been no fear of a war, and consequently no reason for the Daimios to store up their rice. The former, again, argue that the policy pursued by the Japanese Government towards foreigners has been such as to justify a war, and therefore maintain that the Government is responsible for all the present difficulties.

Again, the merchants and some few of the Daimios have gained so much money by their intercourse with European nations that they are very desirous that foreigners should remain in the country, and one or two of the latter have requested the permission of Government to open their ports to foreigners. They have in every case received the permission, but with a conditional clause, viz., that a Government Custom-house shall be

established at such a port, and that all trade shall be carried on through the Government officials.

From the foregoing remarks it may be gathered that, of the two factions, that which is favourable to foreigners is by far the most numerous.

On the 9th of the 3rd month Takemoto Kai no Kami (Ometské), Matsdaira Iwami no Kami (Governor of Kanagawa), and Owari Sama, having assembled the members of the Gorogio, met together in Yeddo to discuss what course should be pursued with regard to the demands of the English Government.

Owari Sama, being the first in rank, spoke as follows:—

"We are here assembled to discuss the question of entering upon a foreign war. The English have made a claim upon our Government for 3,000,000 dollars; they say if we do not pay this sum they will fight us. I have received instructions from the Mikado as to the course he wishes us to pursue. All the Daimios are at the present time very poor; and although we might carry on a war of a year or two, after this period our stores would be exhausted.

"It is impossible under these circumstances to begin hostilities with foreign nations. The Americans were the first to make a Treaty with Japan. They profess to have come here for the purpose of trading with our country, and pretend to entertain very friendly feelings towards us. I have therefore been ordered by the Mikado to request the American Minister to represent to the English authorities that we consider their demand upon the Government for indemnity for an outrage committed by Satsuma very unjust; that as nothing has been further from our thoughts than a war with foreign Powers, we are wholly unprepared to fight; and to request that the same friendly intercourse which we have enjoyed since their arrival may long continue to exist between us.

"The Gorogio have been assured by the American Minister that it is his firm opinion that these arguments, coming through him, will avail to delay the English from beginning hostilities.

"We do not know yet whether his conjectures are correct, but he begs us to put faith in his assertions. He may be deceived; the English seem as eager to fight, and as difficult to be restrained, as Satsuma himself.

"Be this as it may, there is no immediate danger of a war. We have been deeply insulted by the English, and must avenge the honour of our nation. Return, therefore, to your countries, and store up as much rice and provisions of all kinds as you can collect. Let no rice leave your territories, and turn all your saleable commodities into money. By this means we shall, in a few years, be enabled to drive the barbarians from our country.

"The Mikado has, moreover, ordained that Yokohama must be closed, and foreigners only permitted to reside at Nagasaki and Hakodadi. To effect this end without a war will be very difficult. Every artifice must be resorted to to induce them to leave. The members of the Gorogio must be careful and wise, and must not give up until they have exhausted every argument they can put forward to bring about the desired end without having recourse to arms.

"In the event of their refusing to leave Yokohama, the following Daimios are to take their positions at the places opposite their names, and thus surround Yokohama."

No. 55.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received September* 14.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, July* 12, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to transmit a copy of a despatch addressed to me by Mr. Consul Winchester, relative to the circumstances attending the firing into a steamer under United States' colours, named the "Pembroke," by two Japanese armed vessels belonging to the Prince of Nagato.

Matsdaira Daizen no Daiboo, Prince of Nagato, is one of those Daimios of this country who has been consistently inimical to foreigners. He is known as the intimate friend of the Prince of Satsuma, and as the enemy of the reigning Tycoon and his Dynasty. In my despatch of the 23rd of February of this year I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a remarkable letter addressed by this Daimio to the Tycoon expressive of his repugnance to foreign intercourse. His territories are situated in the southern extremity of the Island of Niphon; and one of his castles is situated at Hangi Tokuyama, on the sea-coast, and the other at Futziu, in the Straits of Van der Capellen.

Immediately upon this event having been made known to Mr. Pruyn, the United States' sloop of war "Wyoming," which was at this anchorage, is about to leave, ostensibly for Nagasaki, but I am informed, upon the best authority, to the locality where the outrage was committed, with the object of seizing the two vessels which had fired at the "Pembroke."

Inclosure in No. 55.

Consul Winchester to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Kanagawa, July* 11, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that one of the Governors of Yeddo arrived here yesterday to give information of an event which has taken place in the Inland Sea.

I was requested to be present at the Custom-house this morning at 10 A.M., when the Governor from Yeddo stated that an American ship on the 10th day of the 5th Japanese month (25th June) entered the Bay of Nagato, and was fired into by two men-of-war belonging to the Prince of Nagato; after which the American vessel went away.

A rough report of this occurrence was received from the officers of the Prince of Nagato resident at Simonoséki, and was by the Governor of that town forwarded to Kioto and Yeddo. This occurrence has been communicated to the United States' Minister here, and further inquiry will be at once made into the subject.

It is believed that the vessel was the little American steamer "Pembroke" on her way from this port to Shanghae, viâ Nagasaki and the Inland Sea.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

No. 56.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received September* 14.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, July* 13, 1863.

I HAVE the satisfaction of transmitting herewith to your Lordship the letter of apology addressed to me by the Japanese Government, expressive of regret at the murders and outrages committed in this country upon British subjects during the course of last year.

I transmit this paper in original Japanese, accompanied by a literal translation, as well as by a translation of the Dutch version.

Thus the demands I have been instructed to make upon the Government at Yeddo have been happily brought to a satisfactory and successful issue; not, however, without the most persistent efforts on my part to resist all difficulties and obstructions opposed by the distracted Government of this country at so serious a crisis.

In respect to the apology, however expedient I had deemed it to abstain from being over-exacting as to the terms in which it should be expressed,—especially as the payment at last, without comment, of the indemnity was of itself an acknowledgment of the justice of the reparation demanded,—still I was nnder the necessity of twice declining to accept two other written apologies tendered to me, as in translation they were obscure and undefined.

The third I conceive to be clear and acceptable; and it remains for me to trust it will be found sufficiently satisfactory by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 56.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Literal Translation from the Japanese.)

WE communicate with you by a despatch.

Last year at the British Legation in Yeddo a wicked and murderous act took place. Again, on the tokaido a British subject was murdered. Such unfortunate affairs were for us highly to be regretted. Thus we hope that affairs likely to break off the inter-

course between the two countries may not again arise. We desire to inform you thus much.

Respectful and humble communication.

(July 3, 1863.)

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.
OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

(Dutch Translation from the Japanese.)

WIJ hebben de eer aan uwe Excellentie het volgende mede te deelen.

Werleden jaar is een gruweldaad en een moord gepleegd geworden in de Britsche Legatie te Jedo; en op nieuw op de tokaïdo, toen een Britsche onderdaan is vermoord en anderas gekwetst geworden.

Het doet ons ongemeen leed, dat deze betrenrens, waardige voorwallen hebben plaat gegrepen, en hopen dat zulke voowallen niet her haald zullen worden, waardoor de vriendschappelijke betrekkingen tusschen beide Rijken verbroken konden worden.

Met eerbied en achting voorgesteld.

Dan 18den van 5de maand van 3de jaar var Boen-kue.

(W. g.) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.
OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

(Translation from the Dutch version.)

WE have the honour to send you the following communication.

Last year an outrage and murder was committed at the British Legation at Yeddo, and again on the tokaido when a British subject was murdered, and others wounded.

We are extremely sorry for these occurrences, and hope such events may not again occur to interrupt the friendly relations between the two Governments.

With respect and consideration,

18th day of the 5th month of the 3rd year of Bung-kew (July 3, 1863).

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.
OGASAWARA JEWSIO NO KAMI.

No. 57.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received September 14.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, July 13, 1863.*

THE demands which Her Majesty's Government have made upon the Government at Yeddo as reparation for outrages committed upon British subjects having now been fully satisfied, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that unless any unforeseen incidents should intervene, I purpose, within a few days, to execute my instructions in respect to the Prince of Satsuma, which a combination of circumstances rendered it necessary to retard until the other demands had been acceded to.

Vice-Admiral Kuper has kindly offered to accommodate me and some of the members of this Legation speaking Japanese on board his flag-ship. I have deemed it advisable to be present when communications are opened with the Prince of Satsuma. The veil which has hitherto hidden from us the real sentiments and intentions of this Chief and other powerful Daimios of this Empire, from whom we have been so scrupulously secluded by the Tycoon's Government, will, I trust, in some measure be removed.

The Admiral purposes to proceed with his flag-ship and the greater portion of his squadron, leaving the "Encounter" and two smaller vessels at this anchorage. Yokohama, under the political circumstances which have of late sprung up, by which the Tycoon's and Mikado's parties are fully occupied in their rival contentions, has by a strange anomaly been voluntarily left to be defended by the British and French Admirals, and is at present in no degree menaced with danger from molestation or attack.

No. 58.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 22, 1863.

HER Majesty's Government accept as satisfactory the apology of the Japanese Government for the murderous outrages committed last year on British subjects, which is inclosed in your despatch of the 13th of July; and they approve your having consented to the terms in which it is drawn up.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 59.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office; September* 22, 1863.

YOUR despatches to the 13th of July have been received and laid before the Queen.

I have the satisfaction of informing you that Her Majesty's Government approve your conduct as reported in these despatches, and that they are glad to find that you have obtained the indemnity and the apology which you were instructed to require.

You will thank the French Admiral and Chargé d'Affaires for their judicious co-operation.

No. 60.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received September 26.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, July* 28, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for the information of your Lordship, copies of a correspondence which has taken place between Vice-Admiral Kuper and myself upon the subject of the departure of the squadron for the territories of the Prince of Satsuma.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 60.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Vice-Admiral Kuper.

Sir, *Yokohama, July* 15, 1863.

THE demands which I have been instructed to make upon the Government of the Tycoon at Yeddo, as a penalty upon Japan for murders and outrages committed upon British subjects, having been fully satisfied, it becomes my duty to carry out the remaining portion of my instructions, which relate to the reparation to be sought from the Daimio Prince of Satsuma, whose adherents were in one case the perpetrators of those outrages, but whose subjection to the Tycoon's authority is avowedly restricted.

The moderation and patience which has hitherto attended my relations with the Japanese Government has resulted so far in the successful accomplishment of my instructions; I deem it, however, to be incumbent upon me to lose no further time in discussions with the Japanese Ministers with regard to the dependence or independence with which the Prince of Satsuma may be subjected to or be invested.

I have, therefore, the honour to request you to direct such portion of the squadron under your command as you may deem expedient to proceed, as early as practicable, to the territory of the Prince of Satsuma, with the view that I may be enabled to prefer the demands I have been instructed to make, and, in the event of a refusal on the part of the Prince to accede to those demands, that I may be in a position to call upon you to adopt such coercive measures as you may consider best calculated to enforce their acceptance.

I think it highly desirable that I should be present when the demands are preferred, as the Prince of Satsuma may not improbably make communications of a political character, which, in such case, it would be necessary for me to take into consideration before or during the continuance of coercive operations.

With this view I have the honour to request you to be so good as to direct that accommodation be afforded to me on board the squadron under your command, as well as for four or five members of this Legation, nearly all of whom speak the Japanese language, and might be usefully distributed, as you may deem convenient, over the ships.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 60.

Vice-Admiral Kuper to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, "*Euryalus*," *at Yokohama, July* 17, 1863.

IN reply to your letter of the 15th instant, I have the honour to inform you that arrangements will be made for a portion of the squadron under my command to proceed to the territory of the Prince of Satsuma, and for the reception on board of yourself and such members of the Legation as you may consider necessary to accompany you.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS L. KUPER.

No. 61.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received September* 26.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, July* 29, 1863.

AT the close of the last mail I was enabled to address your Lordship for the purpose of transmitting the written apology of the Tycoon's Government for outrages committed during the course of last year upon British subjects. The money indemnities had already been paid, and thus my instructions, as far as they regarded exclusively the Government at Yeddo, had been successfully carried out.

At this moment the most unexpected intelligence was received here that an American merchant steamer proceeding from hence by the Inland Sea to Shanghae had been fired into with heavy artillery, by some armed vessels belonging to the Daimio Prince of Nagato, Matsdaira Daizen no Daiboo, in the narrow straits of Simonoseki. The United States' steam-sloop "Wyoming," Captain Macdougal, at anchor in this harbour, immediately proceeded to the scene of this occurrence, with the intention of boarding and seizing the steamer and brig bearing the Japanese flag above referred to.

At the period that this outrage was enacting, the Netherlands corvette of 16 guns "Medusa," quitted Nagasaki for Yokohama with the Dutch Consul-General on board. Information had been received at Nagasaki of the "Pembroke" having been fired into; but Captain de Cazembroot, commanding the "Medusa," nevertheless determined upon proceeding by the Inland Sea and through the Straits of Van der Capellen or Simonoseki, judging it to be little probable that the Prince of Nagato would venture to fire upon a ship of war, more especially bearing the flag of a nation long allied in terms of friendship with Japan. The "Medusa," however, upon her entry into the Straits received the concentrated fire of eight batteries, and of the armed vessels which had fired into the "Pembroke."

During the interval further intelligence reached Yokohama that the French aviso "Kien-chang," bearing a pennant, and bound from hence to Shanghae, had, when at anchor in the Straits, been fired upon by the same vessels and batteries, and hulled in seven places, narrowly escaping destruction by slipping her cable, and running out by the Bungo Channel.

Upon receipt of this information at Yokohama, the French Admiral Jaurès, within the space of twenty-four hours, departed with his flag-ship the "Semiramis," and gun-boat "Tancrède."

The destruction of one of the batteries, guns, and munitions of war, by the French Admiral, is minutely described in a semi-official letter addressed by the interpreter attached to the flag-ship to the editor of the local paper, upon the return of the "Semiramis," which was absent a week from this anchorage, a copy of which I have the honour likewise to inclose.

In the meanwhile the United States' sloop "Wyoming" returned, having entered

the Straits, engaged the batteries and ships, doing much damage to the latter, but obliged, notwithstanding, to return without having accomplished the full object of her mission.

An accurate statement, as I am assured, of the operations of the "Wyoming" is contained in the inclosed extract from the "Commercial News."

Subsequent to the departure of the French Admiral in his flag-ship, Admiral Kuper dispatched Her Majesty's ship "Coquette," on the 20th, to communicate with Admiral Jaurès, and to be at his disposal in case of need. The "Coquette" was not fallen in with, however, by the "Semiramis," on her return, and at the hour at which I am writing has not returned. It is a subject of much speculation, therefore, whether she has entered the Straits, been fired at, and engaged the batteries, thus completing the series of outrages and insults directed against the flags of three of the Treaty Powers.

In the meanwhile it became imperative, in the opinion of my colleagues of France, the United States, the Netherlands, and myself, that we should meet in conference with reference to these events; and the result of our deliberations, unanimously agreeing to suggest a conjoint action on the part of the Naval Commanders, is set forth in the Minutes a copy of which I have the honour to inclose.

In accordance with one of the Resolutions adopted, I have transmitted a copy of our proceedings to the Gorogio at Yeddo, accompanied by some observations on my own part, a copy of which I have likewise the honour herewith to inclose to your Lordship.

In common with my colleagues I feel utterly unable satisfactorily to penetrate the mysterious policy and proceedings of the Tycoon's Government, if, indeed, any defined policy with regard to foreigners is determined upon.

In words, the Tycoon's Envoys have assured my colleagues of France and myself that the Mikado's edict of expulsion, conveyed to the Representatives of the Treaty Powers as a matter of obligation by the Tycoon, was a dead letter with respect to all action in regard to it. The defence of Yokohama has been left to the unrestricted care of the British and French Admirals, so far so, indeed, that the Admirals have been applied to by the local authorities with reference to the changes of post and movements of their own Japanese guards in this vicinity.

Trade is conducted uninterruptedly, and provisions are freely supplied to the fleet at Yokohama and to the foreign inhabitants. Pilots are readily supplied when required by the ships of war which have proceeded to chastise the outrages committed by the Daimio of Nagato. Those pilots have discharged their functions under the destructive fire of the batteries manned by their own countrymen. Public works connected with the foreign Settlements are scrupulously continued without cessation. And finally (though above all), the indemnity money, amounting to the considerable sum which it does, was quietly paid to me without the firing of a shot. And the apology required rendered under no influence of immediate pressure.

On the other hand, the Tycoon's Ministers carefully abstain, on all occasions, to declare or define of whom consist the hostile party. No expression of regret has escaped them in regard to the enormous outrages and insults enacting in the Inland Sea; no assurances that they shall cease; nay, further, when questioned recently by my colleague of France as to the course which would probably be pursued by the Tycoon upon hearing of the outrages which had been committed, the Envoy replied that the Prince of Nagato might very probably have been ordered to fire upon all foreign ships, and that in such case his conduct would be approved, and that, therefore, the Tycoon would be bound to assent to such approval, at least in appearance. Steam-ships and munitions of war continue to be purchased by the Tycoon's Government. Troops are conveyed to Osaka, for the ostensible purpose of protecting the Tycoon himself, but it is not said against what enemies. In general, all confidence with foreign Representatives is withheld.

Amidst these conflicting facts and perplexing circumstances, your Lordship will readily conceive that I cannot possibly or with prudence lay down for my guidance any very defined course of action with respect to the contending parties in Japan. So long as trade is uninterrupted and the Settlements unmolested, I will not evoke or forcedly precipitate the dubious action of the Tycoon's Government at Yeddo, until, at least, it is indubitably hostile.

Inclosure 1 in No. 61.

Extract from the "Japan Herald."

To the Editor of the "Japan Herald."

Dear Sir,

I AM authorized by Admiral Jaurès, Commander-in-chief of the French forces in China and Japan, to communicate to you the following account of the proceedings of His Imperial Majesty's ships "Semiramis" and "Tancrède," and my own experiences in the recent retaliatory visit of those ships to the Straits of Simonoseki.

We left Yokohama on the morning of the 16th, and arrived in the Bungo entrance to the Inland Sea on the morning of Sunday, the 19th. We anchored in the channel and prepared for action.

Early on the morning of Monday we ran, under slow steam, into the entrance of the Simonoseki Channel, looking out for the batteries. When about two miles from the Nagato side of the channel we saw the flashes and smoke of two guns fired from the midst of the trees, and soon after made out Cho-fhoo, the castle of Saki-noski, a member of Matsdaira Daizen no Daiboo's family, and on proceeding a little further on, on the same *i.e.*, northern, or Nagato side, a battery of five 25-pounder guns. The Admiral decided upon the destruction of this battery, and not of the castle. We then came to anchor about three-quarters of a mile from the battery, near the village of Tanoura, in the Province of Bouzen. When anchored, it was found that the current put us stem on to the battery. About half-an-hour was spent in putting springs on our cable, and a hawser to a Japanese junk moored at some distance from us.

During all this time the Japanese gunners remained at their guns, not even pointing them at us; had they done so, they might have raked us fore and aft; we therefore thought that the guns were fixed in the one position, viz., pointed up the narrowest part of the channel, but when we took the battery we found this not to be the case, the guns being perfectly mounted on good European-fashioned carriages. When broadside on, the frigate fired a 60-pounder rifle-ball, which went right over the battery. The second carried right into the middle of the parapet, and sent earthwork and stones, turf and sand-bags, flying around in every direction. Still no answer was returned by the Japanese.

We continued the bombardment till nearly 11 o'clock, sending in the shells every five minutes, and making beautiful practice. I was then sent on shore, in company with M. l'Abbé Girard, to the town of Tanoura to distribute the Proclamation of Admiral Jaurès to the effect that the country people had nothing to fear on that side, that he had come only to punish the Prince of Nagato for having fired into a vessel under the French flag, and inviting them to send provisions on board against payment.

We found our way to the house of the Mayor without difficulty, not being molested in any way by the people, who crowded round us in great numbers, and we were received by this official with all honours and politeness. He thanked us for the Proclamation, and in our presence sent it by a messenger to the Prince of Bouzen.

During this trip on shore I had heard both the frigate and the "Tancrède" recommence their fire, and on going on board I learned that the Admiral had ordered the "Tancrède" to run in towards Simonoseki, and that, when she came into the narrowest part of the passage, the battery opened fire upon her; our guns, however, soon silenced the battery. I saw one gun toppled over by a shell, and two or three Japanese gunners fly into the air. The "Tancrède" was hit in three places; one shot went into her hull, one into the mizen topmast, and one cut away the fore-topmast, which only stood then by the stays.

At noon, after the men's dinner, the Admiral ordered a landing, and I had the good luck to be ordered to accompany Captain Duquilliot, the Commander of the troops. We landed in all 250 men, 180 sailors and 70 Chasseurs of the 3rd Battaillon d'Afrique.

On nearing the shore to the right of the battery, protected from her by a projecting bluff, the boat's rifled gun sent a few shells into the bushes as a precaution, but nobody stirred. We landed in good order, and made, in three divisions, for the battery. After we had well entered into the bushes, we were attacked by the Japanese in several isolated troops of three or four, some with rifles, some with swords, but most with old Brown Bess, of Dutch manufacture. These lay concealed, aiming at us as we approached. They were immediately charged and bayonetted. Some few made a stand, but generally took to immediate flight. I think there must have been about twenty killed this way.

Passing through this brushwood, we came upon the battery. It was quite deserted. The parapet was all ploughed up by our shells. One gun lay upset; another had its truncheons knocked off, and pools of blood in all directions. The dead had all been carried

away. In a hollow road behind the battery we found some clothes soaked with blood, and some accoutrements. The guns having been spiked, the Commandant ordered brushwood, mats, and all other inflammable materials to be placed under the gun-carriages, which were then fired. The powder-magazine was found outside the battery, in a very safe position in a hollow road. The powder and all the ammunition was thrown into the sea.

While this was going on in the battery, M. Layrle, Chef d'Etat-Major of Admiral Jaurès, advanced by the right of the battery (keeping up a continual fire with Japanese hid in the bushes) to a village called Aidaga-mome, which was abandoned by the peasants, and evidently used as dwelling-places for the troops belonging to the batteries. In the middle of this town there was a large building a little way up the hill, half temple half palace like, in which there was found a great deal of powder and ammunition, which, having been fired by us, blew up with a tremendous noise just as we were re-embarking.

On entering the battery I went at once to the principal building, where I found a good quantity of Japanese armour and arms, but no one in the house. In looking about I found several Japanese translations of Dutch books on fortification and gunnery, one of which (which I have now in my possession) was marked at the page where it treats of attacking ships that are carried away by the current.

Having thus accomplished our object, destroyed the battery and guns, and also burned the village (the quarters of the soldiers), we re-embarked.

I must not forget to mention that during the re-embarkation the frigate, the "Tancrède;" and the boats' guns opened a heavy fire on some spot to the right of us, but hidden by the bushes. On going on board I learned that they had seen about 2,000 Regular Infantry, some men on horseback, and even field artillery, coming down upon us from Simonoseki by the road along the shore. They fired a few shells amongst them, which, exploding in their midst, did them considerable damage, and they speedily retreated.

We had in all three men wounded, belonging to the Chasseurs, two by musket-balls and one by a stab of a dagger of a Japanese who was lying wounded on the ground, and stabbed him as he passed by.

It is difficult to arrive at any estimate of the casualties of the Japanese, but there was abundant testimony in the batteries that their loss there must have been very considerable, besides that which the shell-practice, at a range of 3,000 yards, did upon their advancing column.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) F. BLEKMAN,
Interpreter attached to the French Admiral.

Inclosure 2 in No. 61.

Extract from the "Japan Commercial News" of July 24, 1863.

WE are indebted to the kindness and courtesy of D. de Graeff van Polsbroek, Esq., His Netherlands Majesty's Consul-General in Japan, for the following authentic account of the attack upon the "Medusa" in Simonoseki Bay; and to Captain de Casembroot, of the "Medusa," for the interesting map of the Bay of Simonoseki, which we publish this day for the information and gratification of our readers:—

"On the 9th instant His Netherlands Majesty's steam-ship 'Medusa' (16 guns) left Nagasaki on her way to Kanagawa by the Suo-o Nada or Inland Passage, and at some distance from Nagasaki she met His Imperial Majesty's despatch-boat 'Kien-chan,' Commander Lafond, who informed the 'Medusa' that she had been fired upon by the forts at Simonoseki and by two foreign-built vessels (one under the Japanese flag) lying in that harbour.

"The Captain of the 'Medusa' had previously decided to pass through the Inland Sea, and therefore had a Japanese pilot provided by the Governor of Nagasaki.

"On the morning of the 11th of July the 'Medusa' weighed anchor in the neighbourhood of Ay-sima, where she had awaited daylight to run into Simonoseki Straits. On entering this strait two blank shots were fired from one of the batteries, and were immediately answered by eight similar ones from the brig before the town. As yet the 'Medusa' did not think that these signals would be followed by any hostile act, more especially as the opposite shore of Kiu-siu was lined with native junks. Having approached the brig, she and a barque, without any flag, and a very heavily armed battery on the hill opened fire upon the 'Medusa.' Upon the brig ('Lanrick') flew the flag of the Daimio of Nagato—being a blue flag with three white balls in a triangle and

a white stripe above; from the peak no flag flew. The two vessels lay behind a bank in about two fathoms of water, and therefore the 'Medusa' could not possibly approach them nearer than three cables' lengths. The 'Medusa,' after the manner of all ships of war, immediately responded to the forts and the ships with shot and shell.

"Steering slowly up the stream the 'Medusa' kept up a constant fire against the ships and batteries, the latter being all armed with heavy artillery (mostly 24-pounders and 6-inch shells). It was already discovered that there were six batteries at least. The 'Medusa' silenced the biggest of them, which mounted eight very heavy guns, but the others, which were behind trees and rocks on the heights, kept firing away upon her. A few well-directed shots from the 'Medusa' somewhat staggered the firing on board the two ships, but she got it all the heavier from the batteries on shore as she was steaming past within reach of them.

"She being exposed to the cross-fire of four batteries in front of Simonoseki, and the correct aim of the enemy's shot and shell having begun to tell on the hull of the 'Medusa,' the Commander was induced to give up all idea of sinking the two ships, which unfortunately were in too shallow water.

"It became now a matter of impossibility to return with effect the fire of all the batteries which fired on the 'Medusa,' and she being in doubt also as to the intentions of some batteries on the Kiu-siu side, she determined to make a dash through the Straits, firing as quickly as she could all the time. To prevent the great disaster of having her boiler, screw, or rudder hit by the large calibre of the enemies' shot, she determined to steam slowly through, answering the enemies' fire all the time.

"When it is considered that the 'Medusa' was under a heavy fire from seven batteries for an hour and a-half, it is wonderful that she did not sink, and that she has to deplore the loss of so few men killed.

"Of thirty-one enemies' shots, seventeen pierced the hull of the 'Medusa,' the remainder passing through her rigging and funnel; three 8-inch shells of the enemy burst on board. A 30-pounder shot killed three and wounded two men in one battery on board the 'Medusa.' A similar shot soon after struck a sailor of the first class commanding a gun, inflicting a mortal wound on him from which he died soon after. The Consul-General had a very narrow escape from being killed by this ball, which passed quite close to him. Another ball entered the starboard, smashing a pistol-rack and scattering splinters and balls in all directions, and wounding two sailors very severely; those are still in a dangerous state. This particular ball passed between the Captain and Midshipman Wissel, both having a narrow escape, but suffering only slight injuries from splinters. Lieutenant Thurkow and a non-commissioned officer also had a miraculous escape from another ball which entered the ship. The manner in which splinters and bolts flew about the ship was indescribable.

"Considering that three shells had exploded on board, and that seventeen balls had entered the ship and caused her much injury, it is astonishing that only four men were killed and five wounded.

"The orders of the Commander were carried out with the greatest coolness, and the men behaved very well—few of them having ever been under fire before.

"It is impossible to determine the loss of the enemy, but it must be considerable, as they mustered in great force in the batteries, and the 'Medusa's' grape-shot and 8-inch shells told with great effect among them, and must have caused great destruction in the batteries. All her shots which missed the batteries went into the town, whereas all the enemy's shots which missed the 'Medusa' went into the junks beyond her on the Kiu-siu side. In the broadest part the strait is about 1,200 Dutch yards wide, and in the narrowest about 900 yards wide."

We have been furnished the following account of the trip of the United States' steamer "Wyoming," by E. S. Benson, Esq., who was passenger on board:—

"Information having reached Yokohama on the 11th instant that the American steamer 'Pembroke' had been fired into by two Japanese armed vessels, Captain Mc Dougal immediately issued the necessary orders to prepare for sea. Coal and stores having been taken on board, we got under weigh at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 13th instant, entered the Bungo Channel on the 15th, and anchored at the Island of Hime Sima. The next morning (16th instant) we proceeded towards the Straits of Simonoseki, the western entrance of the Inland Sea. On the northern shore of the narrow passage is the Province of Nagato, governed by the Prince of Tchu-shu.

"Within the past year he purchased the steamer 'Lancefield' and brig 'Lanrick,' the former for 125,000 dollars, and the latter for about 25,000 dollars.

"On nearing the Straits a signal gun was fired from a masked battery on the northern shore, which was repeated by two others to the westward towards Simonoseki.

"Rounding the point on the southern side of the entrance, a barque, brig, and steamer were discovered lying at anchor close to the north shore; the steamer and the brig were immediately made out to be the 'Lancefield' and 'Lanrick,' the barque's name we did not know. All the vessels were flying the Japanese flag at the peak, and the private colours of the Prince of Nagato at the main. We now steered directly for the vessels, when a battery of three guns on the northern shore, about 50 feet above the level of the sea, opened fire on us, cutting up the rigging between the main and mizen mast. We then ran up the American flag, and, still steaming on, were fired on by a battery of four guns: to this we replied with a broadside.

"We were now rapidly approaching the vessels; the barque was close in-shore; about fifty yards outside of her, and one length ahead, lay the brig another length ahead; and fifty yards outside the brig was the steamer.

"The main channel was outside of all these vessels. Captain McDougal gave orders to run the 'Wyoming' between the steamer and the brig. As we got abreast of the barque she opened a broadside fire from three guns; in less than two minutes we were abreast of the brig and received her fire from four brass 23-pounders. We now had the steamer on our port side, her guns, like the others, being trained on the channel, she fired a few swivels and small arms only. In passing we gave then all our guns on both sides hulling both the brig and steamer. Keeping close round the bows of the steamer we stood over towards the southern shore receiving a constant fire from six batteries, the steamer, brig and barque. We here got aground, but backed off without much difficulty. The steamer 'Lancefield' having steam up, slipped her cable, keeping close along the northern shore, either with the intention of escaping or of running on shore to examine the damage caused by our first shots. The 'Wyoming' was now manœuvred into position and a 11-inch shell was planted in the steamer direct amidships, about one foot above the water line. In an instant, volumes of steam and smoke issued out of her fore and aft; her boiler was exploded. After dropping two more shells into her hull, the order was given to cease firing on the steamer, and to direct the shots upon the different batteries, the barque and the brig, all of which were loading and firing as rapidly as possibly. Quite a number of shell exploded in the batteries, and considerable damage was down to the town.

"In passing out of the Straits we delivered a few very effective shots into the brig, and the last seen of her she was fast settling by the stern; the fire from the batteries was kept up throughout, but somewhat slackened on our return.

"By that time we had four men killed outright and seven wounded (one since died). The armament of the 'Wyoming' being only four 32-pounders and two pivot guns, opposed to six shore batteries of an average of three guns each, the barque six, the brig eight, and the steamer two; making in all, thirty-four guns, mostly 32-pounders,—Captain Mc Dougal very wisely concluded to withdraw from so unequal a contest and proceed to Yokohama for more force. The Captain, all his officers, and crew behaved with the utmost coolness and bravery. The 'Wyoming' was run into the midst of the enemy's vessels, receiving and returning broadsides at pistol range, at the same time sustaining a hot and continuous fire from shore batteries. When the successful shot struck the steamer our crew gave three hearty cheers. The action lasted one hour and ten minutes; we were hulled eleven times, and received twenty or thirty shots in the masts, rigging, and smoke-stack.

"One 32-pound shell came through, immediately below the tackles of the forward broadside gun, and exploding, killed one man and wounded five others."

Inclosure 3 in No. 61.

Agreement entered into by the Representatives of France, the United States, Great Britain, and Holland, to take immediate measures for the Reopening of the Inland Sea.

LES Soussignés, Représentants au Japon de la France, des Etats Unis, de l'Angleterre, et des Pays Bas, se sont réunis le 25 Juillet, 1863, à Yokohama, à l'effet d'examiner l'état actuel des choses au Japon, et de prendre à cet égard une résolution.

Après discussion il a été convenu qu'il est indispensable pour le maintien des droits consacrés par les Traités conclus avec le Japon de procéder immédiatement à la réouverture de la Mer Intérieure, toujours pratiquée jusqu'à présent, et dont la libre circulation vient d'être inopinément interrompue par les agressions outrageantes dont le Daimio de

Nagato s'est rendu coupable en faisant canonner des batteries érigées sur les côtés de ses Etats les bâtiments de commerce et de guerre de plusieurs des dites Puissances Contractantes, et qu'en conséquence il y a lieu d'inviter les Amiraux et autres officiers commandants les forces navales des Puissances ci-dessus désignées à prendre toutes mesures qu'il jugeront propres à amener ce résultat.

Dans ce but, aussi bien que dans l'intérêt de la protection de leurs nationaux dans les ports ouverts, les dits Représentants déclarent qu'il leur paraît nécessaire d'établir une action combinée des forces navales et militaires disponibles dans ces mers. Il est en outre convenu que le Gouvernement du Taïcoun sera informé de cette décision afin que ce Gouvernement soit mis à même de prendre immédiatement et activement, s'il le peut, les mesures nécessaires pour effectuer par ses propres moyens les objets seul indiquées, attendu que son action, si elle était aussi énergique et prompte que les circonstances actuelles l'exigent, pourrait dispenser les Agents des Puissances Contractantes de se livrer aux opérations dont les Soussignés ont exposé ci-dessus les motifs.

(Signé) DUCHESNE DE BELLECOURT, *Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français.*
ROBT. H. PRUYN, *Minister Resident of the United States in Japan.*
EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE, *Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires.*
D. DE GRAEFF VAN POLSBROEK, *Consul-Général des Pays-Bas au Japon.*

Inclosure 4 in No. 61.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, July 28, 1863.

THE Undersigned has the honour to transmit to your Excellencies a translation of the resolutions arrived at by the Representatives of France, the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands in Japan, at a meeting held by them on the 25th July.

The outrages and insults which the Daimio of Nagato, Matsdaira Daizen no Daibo, has ventured to undertake by firing into the ships of war of France, the United States, and the Netherlands, is looked upon by the Undersigned as an attempt to carry out the edicts of the Mikado, communicated through the Tycoon, for the expulsion of foreigners.

This will be resisted by a force the extent of which cannot at present be contemplated.

No reasonable man in Japan can doubt as to what must be, even in one year, the fate of this country if the outrageous and lawless attempt to cancel solemn Treaties by treacherous and violent acts is not immediately abandoned.

But if there are Daimios in Japan who do not understand that the solemn obligations imposed by Treaties cannot and never have been set aside by violence in any part of the world, the whole people of this country will suffer by the ignorance or unreasonable arrogance of those Daimios.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Tycoon have, however, within the last few days, informed the Minister of France that the Tycoon's Government is able to punish Daimios who commit acts of war or other outrageous deeds. If so, let the Government with all speed destroy the batteries of the Daimio of Nagato and remove his guns

But it is essential that the Tycoon's Government should perfectly understand that there are certain acts which, according to the law of all civilized nations, must instantly be resented; and above all others is an insult offered to a national flag.

Vessels under the flags of the United States, of France, and the Netherlands, have been successively fired into, and men have been killed and wounded among their crews; and the ships of those nations have inflicted a preliminary punishment upon this Daimio and his vessels and forts. No delay is admissible in the destruction of these batteries. The first foreign vessel fired upon by this Daimio, namely, the American vessel "Pembroke," was on the 26th June; thus thirty days have now elapsed during which the Tycoon's Government might have arrested the outrages of this Daimio if enabled to do so.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 62.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received October* 28.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, August 25,* 1863.

I HAVE the honour to transmit a translation of a letter addressed to me by the Tycoon's Ministers, informing me of His Majesty's return to Yeddo.

It is the prevailing belief that the Tycoon left Miako much against the will of the Mikado, and that he eventually resorted to some show of menace by the array of his personal troops and guards before he effected his object of returning to his capital.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 62.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE send you the following communication :—

His Majesty the Tycoon returned to the castle here yesterday, the 16th (July 31st), travelling by water.

Our colleagues Midzoono Idzumi no Kami and Itakoora Soowo no Kami likewise returned, forming part of his suite.

With respect and consideration.

17th day of the 6th month of the 3rd year of Bung-kew (August 1, 1863).

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.

No. 63.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received October* 28.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, August* 26, 1863.

I HAD the honour to inform your Lordship, upon closing the last mail, that I was on the point of embarking on board the flag-ship of Vice-Admiral Kuper, and of proceeding with the squadron under his command to Kagosima, the capital of the Prince of Satsuma. I deemed it right to acquaint the Tycoon's Government of my intentions; and I accordingly addressed them a letter; a copy of which I have the honour to inclose. I promptly received a reply, soliciting me, at least, to postpone the projected expedition. I had hardly received this written communication, a copy of which is likewise inclosed, when a Vice-Minister came down from Yeddo and sought an interview with me, on the 5th instant. Far from urging further arguments to dissuade me from the intention of proceeding to the territory of Satsuma, he stated that the Tycoon's Government purposed sending a Japanese steamer with us, having a high official on board. No steamer, however, appeared then or at any subsequent period.

The squadron, consisting of Her Majesty's ships "Euryalus," "Pearl," "Perseus," "Argus," "Coquette," "Racehorse," and "Havoc," weighed from its anchorage at Yokohama on the 6th instant.

I was accompanied by most of the members of Her Majesty's Legation, distributed over Her Majesty's ships,—their more or less proficiency in the Japanese language, it was deemed, might be highly useful, and the result has confirmed this expectation.

Under easy steam and sail Her Majesty's squadron reached the entrance of the Bay of Kagosima on the evening of the 11th instant, and anchoring-ground was found about 10 P.M., after some difficulty, in the extreme depth of water which was found generally to prevail in that noble bay.

Early in the morning of the ensuing day the first boat, containing two officials, came off from the shore to the flag-ship. They inquired the nationality of the ships, whether it was our intention to proceed farther into the bay, whether a native pilot was on board, what number of guns the ship carried, and other questions of this nature, which, having been replied to, the boat returned to Kagosima.

Her Majesty's squadron, a few hours afterwards, weighed and cast anchor off the batteries of the town. A second boat with four other officials came off immediately to the flag-ship, and stated that it was understood to be the intention to deliver a letter

addressed to the Prince of Satsuma. My despatch, as originally written, a copy of which I have already had the honour to transmit to your Lordship,* and amended only in respect to the altered dates, together with a supplementary letter announcing the Admiral's arrival with the squadron, and my own presence on board, were delivered to the officials, who undertook to return, with a receipt, copies of both of which, in their amended form, I have the honour to inclose.

This they did in a few hours, and at the same time informed me that the Prince of Satsuma was not at Kagosima, but at a residence inland, about fifty miles distant; the officials again came on board, and stated that they were charged by the three members composing the Prince of Satsuma's Council to request that Admiral Kuper and myself would come on shore, where a building for the reception of foreigners had been specially arranged for our interview. Great anxiety was evinced that we should accede to this proposal; and they urged that it would be impossible to commit to writing all that might be discussed. Admiral Kuper fully concurred with me in replying that the only business which had brought us to Kagosima was fully set forth in the despatch I had presented, and which was clearly conveyed in three languages—English, Japanese, and Dutch. We declined to proceed on shore, or enter into any discussions. The officials departed much disconcerted that we should not land. Viewed by the light of the occurrences which followed, it may be well assumed that treachery and violence was in store for us had we unsuspectingly fallen into their designs.

On the 13th instant several officials, one of whom was stated to be of superior rank, again came alongside the flag-ship, accompanied by numerous two-sworded adherents in several boats. They entered into a long parley before coming on board; requested to know whether I would personally receive the high official; of this they were assured. They then requested permission that he should be accompanied on deck by at least forty of his adherents, which was acceded to by the Admiral, who at the same time directed a guard of marines to be drawn up, with fixed bayonets, facing the gangway by which they entered. Upon reaching the deck these armed retainers of Satsuma were disposed of in single file along the line of guns, and at once assumed their natural position of sitting in a kneeling attitude. The high personage referred to then finally decided upon ascending the ship's side. I received him, the Admiral being present, when he exhibited the utmost agitation and confusion; he was speechless; when one of his attendant officers stated that he was charged to speak for his chief; and that he had to inform me that he was the bearer of the written reply to my despatch, but that they had some serious matters to add in connection with it.

No sooner had he proceeded thus far, when it was found that a boat, waving a flag, had reached the ship and communicated something, which, when made known to the chief official, caused him to rise suddenly and leave the cabin, return to it, and leave it again. Finally, I was informed by him that he must return to the shore immediately, as he had received a message to the effect that a mistake had been made in the despatch, which must be rectified; upon which he hurriedly left with the undelivered despatch, if, indeed, he had been the bearer of any such.

During the interval occupied by these communications the batteries on shore were constantly manned, and the guns diligently trained and pointed at the ships of the squadron, and especially on the flag-ship, the whole of them being within range.

These and other suspicious circumstances induced the Admiral to determine upon shifting the anchorage of the squadron to as convenient a position, though still partially within range, as the extreme depth of the water would admit.

As the Japanese officials were descending the ship's side, the anchors of the squadron were weighing.

Contrary to my expectation, the official last referred to returned late in the evening to the flag-ship at the new anchorage, and delivered into my hands the answer to my despatch preferring the demands. A careful translation of that document I have here the honour to lay before your Lordship. Having no further communication to make to me, the bearer of the letter left the ship.

I deemed the general tone and purport of this reply of Satsuma's Councillors to be utterly unsatisfactory. It raised the question whether, according to the laws of Japan, a Daimio, travelling with his retinue, is not fully justified in beating or thrusting off the road all persons who encounter him on the highway. It raised also the question whether or not the Tycoon was free from blame for not having inserted in the Treaty these assumed and extravagant privileges. The indemnity demanded, it is said in the reply, will be an after consideration, when it had been decided whether the Tycoon or the Daimio was to blame.

* See Inclosure 6 in No. 28.

Such being the general purport of the reply which I had received, I considered it to be my unavoidable and immediate duty to call upon Admiral Kuper at once to resort to such preliminary measures of coercion, by reprisals or otherwise, as he might deem most expedient and best calculated to arouse the Prince of Satsuma to a sense of the serious nature of our mission.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch addressed in that sense to the Admiral.

A relation of what ensued I can best convey to your Lordship by laying before you the succinct and graphic despatch which Admiral Kuper addressed to me at the close of the operations which were enacted.

It would be unbecoming in me to indulge in expressions of admiration at the able and gallant manner in which the operations, suddenly rendered necessary, were determined upon, and immediately carried out by the ships of Her Majesty's squadron, under the immediate command and direction of Vice-Admiral Kuper, upon whom it devolves to bring to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government the spirited incidents and all-sufficient results which attended the combat at Kagosima. The strength of the batteries, mounting eighty-one guns, the gale blowing during the action, the comparatively severe loss sustained by us, especially in the untimely fate of those brilliant and deplored officers, Captains Josling and Wilmot, of the flag-ship, will be duly appreciated by Her Majesty's Government.

I did not hesitate to convey to Admiral Kuper my unqualified opinion that enough had been effected to vindicate the outrage committed upon British subjects by the adherents of Satsuma, at least until I had the honour to receive your Lordship's further instructions.

The chief agent of that outrage is generally understood to have been Shimadzoo Saboolo, the father of the Prince: his guards but obeyed his instructions. No power as yet brought to bear upon Japan by Her Majesty's Government is calculated to coerce the Prince of Satsuma to deliver up his father to condign punishment, as the principal perpetrator of the outrage committed.

It was determined upon this to return to Yokohama, when, after a series of severe gales and typhoons prevailing at this season on this dangerous coast, the squadron returned to this anchorage on the 24th instant.

Thus I have the satisfaction to report to your Lordship that the instructions with which I have been charged, onerous as they were palpably and in fact, and having reference to the outrage of last September, have been carried out in letter and in spirit. The indemnities demanded of the Tycoon's Government are afloat on board Her Majesty's ships. I have had the honour to transmit to your Lordship the written apology of the Government of Yeddo; and in respect to the Prince of Satsuma having ill-advisedly sought to evade the specific demands which Her Majesty's Government deemed it advisable to direct me to make upon him, after due consideration of all the circumstances, and after long forbearance, his capital is in ashes, his foundries destroyed, and his steamers burnt.

It remains for me to trust that Her Majesty's Government may deem that my instructions have been thus fulfilled in a manner best adapted to the difficult circumstances with which I have been, and still continue to be, surrounded.

In conclusion, I trust your Lordship will pardon me if I do not resist the natural impulse of desiring to bring under your Lordship's notice the special and unlooked for services rendered on the occasion of the expedition to Satsuma of Messrs. Eusden, Gower, Macdonald, Willis, Fletcher, Von Siebold, and Satow, of this Legation. In their absence all communications with the shore at Kagosima must have failed. Interpreters from the shore were held back and never appeared; an attempt to impede all explanations rendered nugatory by a ready knowledge of their own language, which they found on board. Nor shall I have accomplished my duty were I to omit to solicit your Lordship's favourable notice to the devotion with which these members of Her Majesty's Civil Service exposed themselves to the anticipated perils of naval combat, unaccompanied by any ostensible prospect of the ordinary honours and rewards attending the exposure of life in the profession of arms.

P.S.—I have the honour to annex to this despatch memoranda of interviews held on board Her Majesty's ship "Euryalus" with the officers of the Prince of Satsuma.

Inclosure 1 in No. 63.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, August 3, 1863.

SO far back as the month of April last, the Undersigned informed the Gorogio that, under all the circumstances attending the peculiar relations between the Tycoon's Government and the Daimio Prince of Satsuma, the Government of Her Britannic Majesty had determined to seek, directly, reparation from that Daimio, in respect to the condign punishment of the actual perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Richardson, on the 14th September last, on the tokaido near Kanagawa, and the payment of an indemnity for the benefit of the relations of the persons murdered and injured by his adherents.

The execution of this portion of the instructions which the Undersigned received from his Government has been deferred, chiefly out of consideration for the political difficulties of the Tycoon's Government, which has itself adopted the course of avoiding further reference to the subject.

The Undersigned, moved by the same sentiments of consideration which four months ago induced him to inform the Gorogio of the demands about to be made on the Prince of Satsuma, now also informs your Excellencies that within the period of three days the Undersigned will proceed with a large portion of the squadron under the command of Vice-Admiral Kuper to the Prince of Satsuma's territories to prefer the demands, and to adopt coercive measures against this Prince, should he refuse to comply with those demands, or should himself adopt a hostile attitude from the forts and batteries he assumes the independent right to erect.

The immediate settlement of this matter has now become peremptorily necessary.

To mark the friendly disposition which the Undersigned entertains on behalf of his Government towards that of the Tycoon,—although those relations, on the part of the Tycoon's Ministers, the Undersigned is bound to add, are involved in mystery and undefined,—the Undersigned again writes to the Gorogio to take the commands of His Majesty the Tycoon, in respect to sending a functionary of the Government on board the squadron, to accompany it to the territories of the Prince of Satsuma, should it be so deemed to be expedient.

A serious and urgent communication.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 63.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.) *Yeddo, August* 4, 1863.

ON receipt of your despatch of the 3rd August, we have fully understood that you intended to go, within three days, to the territory of the Prince of Satsuma, with the men-of-war now lying in the Bay of Yokohama, in order to demand satisfaction for the murder of a British merchant on the tokaido last year. But owing to the present unsettled state of affairs in our Empire, which you witness and hear of, we are in great trouble, and intend to carry out several plans. Supposing now something untoward were to happen, then all the trouble and care both you and we have taken would have been in vain and fruitless; therefore we request the said departure may be delayed for the present.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 63.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Prince of Satsuma, or, in his absence, to the Regent or other High Officer for the time being administering the Government of the Prince of Satsuma, Hiuga Ohosumi, and the Loo Choo Islands.

Your Highness, *Yokohama, August* 1, 1863.

IT is well known to you that a barbarous murder of an unarmed and unoffending British subject and merchant was perpetrated on the 14th of the month of September

last (21st day of 8th month of 2nd year of Bung-kew of Japanese reckoning), upon the Tokaido, near Kanagawa, by persons attending the procession and surrounding the norimon of Shimadzoo Saboolo, who, I am informed, is the father of your Highness.

It is equally known to you that a murderous assault was made at the same time by the same retinue upon a lady and two other gentlemen, British subjects, by whom he was accompanied, the two gentlemen having been severely and seriously wounded, and the lady escaping by a miracle.

The names of the British subjects here referred to, are as follows:—

Charles Lenox Richardson, murdered.

Mrs. Borradaile.

Mr. William Clarke, severely wounded.

Mr. William Marshall, severely wounded.

This event filled with great and just indignation the British Government and people, and excited the sympathy of and produced a painful impression upon all civilized countries.

Impressed with friendly and considerate feelings towards the Government of the Tycoon, with whom the Queen of Great Britain, my august Sovereign, is in relations by Treaty of peace and amity, I acted with proper consideration for the Tycoon's Government by leaving in its hands the legitimate means of speedily arresting and bringing to capital punishment the murderers from among Shimadzoo Saboolo's retinue.

This necessary forbearance on my part has been entirely approved of by my Government, and appreciated and acknowledged by the Government of the Tycoon.

A different course proposed at the moment to be adopted in the excitement attending this barbarous outrage might have resulted in the capture, and perhaps death, by summary retribution, of Shimadzoo Saboolo himself.

Ten months have now elapsed since the perpetration of this unprovoked outrage, during which period my Government has been duly informed by me of the circumstances attending it, while the Tycoon's Ministers have held out to me from time to time assurances and hopes that the murderers would be given up by your Highness, according to the Tycoon's desire, and sent to Yeddo for trial and execution.

But I have had occasion to report to my Government, that removed in your distant domain from the direct influence of the Supreme Government, and shielded also by certain privileges and immunities which belong to Daimios of this Empire, you had utterly disregarded all orders or decrees of the Japanese Government calling upon you to afford justice by sending the real criminals to Yeddo. They have not been arrested nor sent; and no redress has consequently been afforded by the Tycoon's Government, however desirous it may be of doing so.

In the meanwhile, I have received the explicit instructions of my own Government how to act in this matter.

The Tycoon's Government may be impeded by the laws of the country, and more especially by political embarrassments, from enforcing its desires upon Daimios of the Empire in regard to criminal acts committed by their adherents; but when British subjects are the victims of those acts, Japan, as a nation, must through its Government pay a penalty and disavow the misdeeds of its subjects, to whatever rank they may belong.

Under instructions from my Government, I denianded from the Tycoon's Government an apology and the payment of a considerable penalty, for permitting the murderous attack made by your retainers on British subjects passing on a road open to them by Treaty. Both these demands have been accceded to.

But the British Government has also decided that those circumstances constitute no reason why the real delinquents and actual murderers should be shielded by your Highness, or by any means escape the condign punishment which they merit, and which they would be subjected to for great crimes, such as they have committed, in all other parts of the world.

It has thereupon been determined by my Government, and I am instructed to demand of your Highness, as follows:—

First. The immediate trial and execution, in the presence of one or more of Her Majesty's naval officers, of the chief perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Richardson, and of the murderous assault upon the lady and the gentlemen who accompanied him.

Secondly. The payment of 25,000*l.* sterling, to be distributed to the relations of the murdered man, and to those who escaped with their lives the swords of the assassins on that occasion.

These demands are required by Her Majesty's Government to be acceded to by your Highness immediately upon their being made known to you. And upon your refusing, neglecting, or evading to do so, the Admiral commanding the British forces in these seas

will adopt such coercive measures, increasing in their severity, as he may deem expedient to obtain the required satisfaction.

The commander of Her Majesty's ship of war charged with the delivery of this letter is made acquainted with the specific demands which I have the honour to communicate to you in this letter, and, according as they are accepted or refused, he has received instructions either to carry out and witness their execution, within a period of days, which will be named, or in the event of a refusal, to commence at once coercive operations pending the arrival of additional forces.

Your Highness is therefore earnestly requested seriously to consider the course you will adopt upon receipt of this communication, the terms of which it is not in my power to modify, alter, or discuss.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 63.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Prince of Satsuma.

Your Highness, "*Euryalus*," *August* 12, 1863.

THE letter which I have addressed to your Highness, and which accompanies this, has been written some time ago, and its purport communicated to my Government. But it now becomes necessary for me to inform your Highness that I have myself arrived at this anchorage with the British Admiral, and a portion of the squadron under his command, and hope to receive a satisfactory communication in reply to my letter. If within the space of twenty-four hours no such satisfactory communication is received, I shall be under the necessity of calling upon the Admiral Commanding-in-chief to adopt such coercive measures as he may deem expedient, until the necessary satisfaction is obtained.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 63.

Kawakami Tajima, Minister of the Prince of Satsuma, to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

IT is just that a man who has killed another should be arrested and punished by death, as there is nothing more sacred than human life, and although we should like to secure them (the murderers), as we have endeavoured to do so since last year, it is impossible for us to do so, owing to the political differences at present existing between the Daimios of Japan, some of whom even hide and protect such people: besides this, the murderers are not one, but several persons, and therefore find easier means of escape.

The journey to Yeddo (undertaken by Shimadzu Saboolo) was not with the object of committing murders, but to conciliate the two Courts of Yeddo and Kioto; and you will easily, therefore, believe that our master (Shimadzu) could not have ordered it (the murder). Great offenders against the laws of their country (Japan), who escape, are liable to capital punishment. If, therefore, we can detect those in question, and, after examination, find them to be guilty, they shall be punished, and we will then inform the Commanders of your men-of-war at Nagasaki, or at Yokohama, in order that they may come to witness their execution. You must, therefore, consent to the unadvoidable delay which is necessary to carry out these measures. If we were to execute eriminals condemned for other offences, and told you that they were the offenders (above referred to), you would not be able to recognize them; and this would be deceiving you, and not acting in accordance with the spirit of our ancestors.

The (Provincial) Governments of Japan are subordinate to the Yeddo Government, and, as you are well aware, are subservient to the orders received from it.

We have heard something about a Treaty having been negotiated in which a certain limit was assigned to foreigners to move about in; but we have not heard of any stipulation by which they are authorized to impede the passage of a road.

Supposing this happened in your country, travelling with a large number of retainers as we do here, would you not chastise (push out of the way and beat) any one thus disregarding and breaking the existing laws of the country? If this were neglected Princes could no longer travel. We repeat that we agree with you that the taking of

human life is a very grave matter. On the other hand, the insufficiency of the Yeddo Government, who govern and direct everything, is shown by their neglecting to insert in the Treaty (with foreigners) the laws of the country (in respect to these matters) which have existed from ancient times. You will, therefore, be able to judge yourself whether the Yeddo Government (for not inserting these laws) or my master (for carrying them out) is to be blamed.

To decide on this important matter, a high official of the Yeddo Government, and one of our Government, ought to discuss it before you, and find out who is in the right.

After the above question has thus been judged and settled, the money indemnity shall be arranged.

We have not received from the Tycoon any orders or communications by steamer that your men-of-war were coming here. Such statements are probably made with the object of representing us in a bad light. If it were not with this object you would certainly have them in writing from the Gorogio; and if so we request you to let us see them.

In consequence of such mis-statements great misunderstandings are caused.

All this surprises us much. Does it not surprise you?

Our Government acts in everything according to the orders of the Yeddo Government.

This is our open-hearted reply to the different subjects mentioned in your despatch.

29th day of the 6th month of the 3rd year of Bung-kew (13th August, 1863).

(Signed) KAWAKAMI TAJIMA SHISSEI, *Minister.*

Inclosure 6 in No. 63.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Vice-Admiral Kaper.

Sir, "*Euryalus*," *off Kagosima, August* 14, 1863.

HAVING embarked at Yokohama, as arranged, on the 6th instant, with some of Her Majesty's Legation on board the squadron under your command, we arrived on the 12th instant at this anchorage, and I availed myself of the immediate opportunity offered to me, by some officials of the Prince of Satsuma coming off to your flag-ship, to deliver to them the despatch which I had addressed to the Prince, embodying the demands I had been instructed to make upon him by Her Majesty's Government, and the nature of which I have already had the honour to make known to you.

This has been followed by further verbal communications from the shore; some for the purpose of soliciting an extension of the term accorded for a reply to my despatch, which I have acceded to; and some with the object of earnestly engaging yourself and myself, under very suspicious circumstances, to go on shore, and hold an interview with some of Satsuma's officials. This proposal we have rejected, as in all respects unbecoming and inexpedient.

For your more complete information and guidance, I have the honour to annex copies of minutes, taken at the time by the officers of this Legation, of the purport of these several communications and interviews.

But the formal reply of the Prince of Satsuma, through his Principal Minister, has now reached me. A careful translation of this document I have the honour to inclose. I deem this communication to be in every respect evasive of the point at issue, as confirming rather than repudiating the outrage for which redress has been long sought, and, in short, a virtual refusal and setting aside of the demands.

Under these circumstances, I have the honour to request you to enter upon such measures of coercion, by reprisals or otherwise, as you may deem expedient and best calculated to awaken the Prince of Satsuma to a sense of the serious nature of the determinations which have brought Her Majesty's squadron to this anchorage.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 63.

Vice-Admiral Kuper to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, "*Euryalus*," *in the Bay of Kagosima, August* 17, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 14th instant, in which you request me to enter upon such measures of coercion as I may deem

expedient and best calculated to awaken the Prince of Satsuma to a sense of the serious nature of the determinations which have brought Her Majesty's squadron to this anchorage.

I immediately directed Captain Borlase, of the "Pearl," to proceed at daylight on the following morning with a portion of the squadron, to a bay to the northward of Kagosima, for the purpose of seizing and bringing to our anchorage three steamers, the property of the Prince, which had been previously ascertained to be lying there; Captain Borlase was also desired to avoid, as much as possible, all unnecessary bloodshed or active hostility. This service was executed with much zeal and discretion by Captain Borlase; and the three steamers mentioned in the margin* arrived at the anchorage during the forenoon of the 15th instant, lashed alongside three of Her Majesty's ships: the object I had in view, being the detention of these vessels as reprisals, until such time as the Prince of Satsuma should either comply with the demands made upon him, or should make advances with a view to their settlement.

These considerations were, however, suddenly and unexpectedly set aside by the assumption of hostilities on the part of the Japanese; for at noon of the same day, the batteries opened fire with shot and shell on the squadron, an act which it became necessary immediately to resent, in vindication of the honour of the flag, and as a punishment for the outrage; and as it was impossible for the small force at my command to carry out the requisite operations, and at the same time to retain possession of the three steamers in question, I gave orders that they should be set on fire and destroyed, which was accordingly done.

The squadron then, as you are aware, proceeded to engage the batteries on Kagosima, advancing in line of battle (the "Euryalus" leading) from the northernmost battery, along the whole line, and finally attacking the southernmost or spit battery, after which I deemed it advisable, in order to ensure the safety of Her Majesty's ships, to direct them to seek an anchorage; the weather, which had been threatening for a gale, becoming at this time most unfavourable, and, as night was approaching, the signal was made to discontinue the action, and the squadron returned to an anchorage under Sakura Sima.

It was impossible to ascertain precisely the extent of the injury inflicted upon the batteries; but, considering the heavy fire which was kept up from the ships, at point-blank range, the effect must have been considerable, many guns were observed to be dismounted, the batteries were several times cleared, and the explosion of various magazines gave evidence of the destructive effects of our shell; one half of the town was in flames and entirely destroyed, as well as a very extensive arsenal or factory, and gun-foundry, and five large Loo-Choo junks, the property of the Prince, in addition to the three steamers already described.

A heavy typhoon blew during the night, and the conflagration increasing in proportion to the height of the storm, illuminated the entire bay.

On the following afternoon, the gale having moderated, and as I deemed it necessary to remove the squadron to a safer anchorage than the great depth of water opposite Kagosima afforded, and having also observed the Japanese at work erecting batteries on the hill immediately above the little bay where the small vessels were at anchor, close to the shore, we weighed, and passing in line between the batteries of Kagosima, steamed out and anchored to the southward of the Island. This opportunity was taken advantage of to shell the batteries on the Sakura Sima side, which had not been previously engaged, and also the palace of the Prince in Kagosima. These operations were attended with complete success: there is every reason to suppose that the palace has been destroyed, as many shell were seen to burst in it, and the fire, which is still raging, affords reasonable ground for believing that the entire town of Kagosima is now a mass of ruins.

Thus having accomplished every act of retribution and punishment within the scope of operations of a small naval force, and having received from yourself the verbal expression of your satisfaction with the extent of these operations, I purpose returning with the squadron to Yokohama, immediately the partial refit which is now in progress shall admit of our putting to sea.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS L. KUPER.

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* "England," screw, 759 tons, 125,000 dollars purchase; "Sir George Grey," screw, 492 tons, 85,000 dollars purchase; "Contest," screw, 350 tons, 95,000 dollars purchase.

Inclosure 8 in No. 63.

Memorandum of Interviews held with the Officials of the Prince of Satsuma on board Her Majesty's ship "Euryalus," at Kagosima.

ON the 14th August, about 9 A.M., two officials came on board Her Majesty's ship "Euryalus," and said they had been sent for a receipt for the reply from Satsuma's Government, which had been delivered the previous evening, and also to explain, verbally, what the representatives of Satsuma on shore would have told the British Representative had he gone to hold an interview with them, as requested.

They then proceeded to state that when at Kioto, the Stotsbashi (Vice-Tycoon), and two members of the Gorogio distinctly ordered Shimadzu Saboolo not to take any steps respecting the murder of foreigners (of Mr. Richardson) by his retainers, as the Tycoon's Government would settle that matter themselves; and that, therefore, as already written in their reply, their Prince must obey these instructions. That all the particulars of the murder on the tokaido had been duly reported by them to the Gorogio, who understood them perfectly. That they therefore supposed, as promised, that the whole question had been settled at Yeddo.

According to Japanese laws they could not settle it themselves, nor could they accept or refuse the demands, as all must be referred to the Yeddo Government.

That since the beginning of this year they had heard nothing from Yeddo on this subject, and that therefore they could not at first imagine the cause which brought our men-of-war to Kagosima. All this they desired to say verbally, as it was too difficult to explain in writing.

The reply made by Colonel Neale to the foregoing was communicated to the officers, and written down by them, for the information of their Chief. Verbal communications are of no value in this country. Written communications alone are eventually referred to by the Japanese authorities. The letter sent in last night represents the matter in a totally different light to the statement now verbally made. In the formal written answer to my despatch it is stated that according to the laws of the country Shimadzu Saboolo was in the right to resort to violence to foreign travellers on the road. And we are come to show that no such right can possibly be admittted by British subjects. It is said in the verbal communication now made that the Tycoon's Ministers at Kioto had assured the Prince of Satsuma, or his agents, that they would settle the matter. But the Tycoon's Government have taken no steps to settle the matter, and have informed Colonel Neale that the Prince of Satsuma was not only informed of the demands, but that even every Conference held by him with the Tycoon's Envoys upon the subject had been communicated to the Prince. After long patience, we have been obliged to come here and carry out the instructions of the British Government. If the Tycoon's Government is in fault, or has deceived the Prince, he will have to seek redress at the hands of the Tycoon's Government for whatever disaster may befall him. The Tycoon's Ministers have over and over again informed me that the Tycoon had no power to act in this territory, but that they had called upon the Prince to do so. Eleven months have passed, and the British Government has determined to act itself. And this must be done. Satisfaction must here be immediately obtained, or measures of coercion will be resorted to. But even after such measures have been commenced, the Prince will do wisely to make proposals which can be accepted; it is useless to say that nothing can be done here, when after eleven months it has been found nothing can be done in Yeddo. The Tycoon's Government have been aware of our intention of coming here for five months, and, finally, had three days' notice of our departure from Yokohama. In writing, the Tycoon's Ministers expressed a hope that we should not go to Kagosima, but did not add one word about settling this matter themselves. Immediately following this they verbally communicated to me by a Vice-Minister that the Tycoon's Government desired to send a steamer with the British squadron, with a high officer on board, no longer repeating the request that the squadron should not go to Kagosima; but although the ships proceeded under sail very leisurely no steamer of the Tycoon appeared.

The Tycoon's Government has acknowledged the outrage committed upon British subjects by paying a penalty four times as great in amount as that which is demanded of Satsuma, and they have moreover made an apology for the acts committed. We have thus no more to ask of the Tycoon's Government, and must carry out our instructions with regard to the Prince, who will now understand our position and act accordingly.

These officers more than once stated that the Tycoon's Government did not speak the truth.

They were further told that Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires considered the reply delivered the previous evening a refusal to our just demands, and that therefore they were to inform their Prince that from that period no further time was allowed, and that

we should proceed to enter upon coercive measures whenever the Admiral might deem it convenient to do so. That every moment being of consequence he had better go on shore and explain all this to the authorities, and that if his Prince had proposals to make which could be accepted, he might communicate such, even during hostilities, by a boat flying a white flag, which would not be molested, and that on our side we expected the same.

ON the 14th August, late in the evening, the same officers came on board the flag-ship to deliver the written reply to the demands.

Having received them Colonel Neale said:—Your arrival at this hour is quite unexpected; what is the object of it?

Japanese.—We have brought the reply of the Prince's Government, and come to explain that we misinformed you to-day in stating that we were recalled on shore to correct an error in the despatch; we were apparently only required to return immediately after having delivered it.

Colonel Neale.—Do you desire to state anything verbally to me before delivering the despatch?

Japanese.—Nothing.

Colonel Neale.—Why is there no Dutch or English translation? We know you have interpreters on shore.

Japanese.—We do not know why this is so.

Colonel Neale.—We have the means of translating; but I wish you to state to your Government that if this reply is not satisfactory I shall consider it as a refusal and act accordingly. It is now eleven months since your Prince became aware of what occurred. When lately I told the Tycoon's Government that perhaps your Prince had not been officially informed of the demands to be preferred upon him, they assured me that they had even sent him copies of every Conference which had taken place on the subject.

Japanese.—We know nothing about this.

Colonel Neale.—I have come here to settle the question amicably, if possible; we have not therefore entered upon any hostilities, but this matter can no longer be left undetermined.

Japanese.—We will communicate what you now state.

Colonel Neale.—That is what I wish you to do.

Admiral Kuper.—The settlement of this matter can no longer be delayed. Kagosima is at my mercy; hostilities once commenced, your town would be destroyed, and I shall stop your trade both here and at the Loo-choo Islands.

Colonel Neale.—Such is not our wish; but if you compel us to do so, it will be your own fault.

Japanese.—We will report all this.

Admiral Kuper.—You must remember that we are one of the first nations in the world, who, instead of meeting civilized people as you think yourselves, in reality encounter barbarians.

Japanese.—We cannot discuss these subjects; but we will report all this to our Government.

Colonel Neale.—Evasion or delay can no longer be submitted to.

(Japanese rise to leave.)

Colonel Neale.—You had better listen to what we state for the sake of your Government, that it may be thoroughly informed of our determination.

Japanese.—We know nothing of these matters.

Colonel Neale.—I will then inform you that when this murder was committed, the Tycoon's Government declared to me that they could not arrest any one in Satsuma's territory, or assure me that any satisfaction could be obtained; at the time, the foreign community wished that Shimadzu Saboolo and his *cortège* should be attacked, but this was averted by the authorities, with a view that full redress might be obtained through the proper channels. The Gorogio replied that they had written to your Prince, and would write urgently and constantly until your Prince sent the murderers to Yeddo for trial. Your Prince has not done so.

In the meanwhile, instructions have reached me from my Government to the effect that specific demands should be preferred:—

1st. Upon the Tycoon's Government, which has fully satisfied those demands.

2ndly. Upon the Prince of Satsuma, whose adherents had actually perpetrated the murder.

The Tycoon has suffered severely by the acts of your Prince's adherents, for the Tycoon's Ministers had really nothing to do with Shimadzu Saboolo's orders to murder British subjects.

Japanese.—We know nothing of all these matters.

Colonel Neale.—But I wish to inform you respecting them, that you may report what I say to your Prince.

Admiral Kuper.—Colonel Neale wishes to settle the question with you amicably; and if by to-morrow at 10 o'clock A.M. you do not do so, the matter will be handed over into my hands, when I shall commence by not allowing a single boat to pass.

(The Japanese officials rose to leave.)

Colonel Neale.—Your reply, which may be a refusal, having been delivered, do you propose further to communicate with us?

Admiral Kuper.—We wish you to communicate with us again to-morrow before 10 A.M., your boat flying a white flag.

Japanese.—Perhaps we will send before 10 to-morrow morning.

Admiral Kuper.—That would be better.

Colonel Neale.—Your Envoys and boats will not be molested whatever may be the nature of your despatch.

(The Japanese then left.)

No. 64.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, November 10, 1863.*

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatches dated Yokohama, August 25 and 26.

In my despatch of the 24th December, 1862, I directed you to obtain reparation for the murder of Mr. Richardson, and the murderous assault on a lady and two gentlemen who, with Mr. Richardson, were riding on a public road open by Treaty, and who drew up on the side of the road to allow the relation and retainers of a great Daimio to pass. For this barbarous and unprovoked attack you were directed to require from the Government of the Tycoon the payment of 100,000*l.*, and an ample apology. You were further directed to require from the Prince of Satsuma the execution of the actual murderers, and the payment of 25,000*l.* as indemnity to the relatives of the murdered man and to the sufferers from the murderous assault.

With respect to the Tycoon's Government, the demands you were instructed to make have been complied with. The sum of 100,000*l.* has been paid, and a satisfactory apology has been made by the Tycoon's Ministers.

Her Majesty has been pleased, in testimony of the patience, good temper, and firmness with which you conducted this negotiation, to confer upon you the Companionship of the Order of the Bath.

The accomplishment of the remainder of your instructions has been found more difficult. Ten months having elapsed without the trial or even the arrest of the murderers, you thought yourself under the necessity to ask the assistance of Admiral Kuper, and to proceed with him to Kagosima, the capital of the Prince of Satsuma.

In your letters of August 1 and August 12, both delivered on the 12th, you communicated to the Minister of the Prince of Satsuma the demands you were instructed to make.

In the answer of the Minister of the Prince of Satsuma, dated the 13th of August, it is stated that it is just that a man who has killed another should be arrested and punished by death; that if the murderers in question can be detected, they shall be punished; and that it is not right to impede the passage of a Chief with a large body of retainers on a public road.

These answers, in reference to a murder committed by the retainers of the Prince in full daylight, ten months before, upon a person who had not in any way impeded the passage of a public road, showed a fixed determination to afford no redress. Vice-Admiral Kuper then directed that three steamers belonging to the Prince should be taken and detained by pay of reprisals. But before any further communication could take place, hostilities were commenced by the Japanese, and Her Majesty's ships were fired upon from the batteries with shot and shell,—an act which it became necessary immediately to resent. The steamers taken were burnt. The batteries were fired upon from point-blank range; many guns were dismounted and various magazines exploded.

It is much to be lamented that as the batteries were apparently situated in and about the town, the consequence of firing with shot and shell upon the batteries and magazines should have been to set fire to the town, which Admiral Kuper says has been burnt. Many innocent persons have thus unfortunately been injured.

At the same time it is obvious that if Admiral Kuper had not returned the fire of

the batteries, Her Majesty's squadron would have suffered a defeat, and fresh murders of British subjects by the cruel and insolent Daimios would have been perpetrated.

Her Majesty will express, through the proper Department, her admiration of the gallantry of her naval forces.

It is my duty to request you to express to the civil servants of the Crown who accompanied you, Her Majesty's approbation of their coolness and courage. Their knowledge of the Japanese language was no doubt of great value, both to you and to the Naval Commander-in-chief.

For the present the situation appears to be this. The Yeddo Government, who, in the terms of the despatch of the Prince of Satsuma's Minister, "govern and direct everything," have made and ratified Treaties of Commerce with Great Britain and other European Powers.

These Treaties have proved very advantageous to the main body of the Japanese people, who feel the benefits of a profitable trade with foreigners, and wish that trade to continue. But a powerful feudal aristocracy, finding silk and rice, and other produce, dearer in the market, and their own privileges less valuable, wish to expel all foreigners, and have obtained a decree from the Mikado to that effect. French, American, and Dutch ships have been fired upon with a view to accomplish this object. But the European nations cannot submit to be thus deprived of an intercourse sanctioned by Treaty, and very beneficial to the mass of the Japanese people, as well as to European nations.

You will, therefore, call upon the Admiral in any cases where British persons, ships, or property are attacked, to resent such outrage.

In this way security for the time may be obtained. But I must wait for your your further accounts before complete instructions can be given as to our policy in Japan.

No. 65.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received November* 16.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, September* 11, 1863.

AMIDST the serious situation of affairs which prevails in our political relations with this country, and the issue of which it is impossible to predict, it appears to me of much importance that Her Majesty's Government should be correctly informed of the actual position and extent of the commercial operations which the Treaty Powers in their relative proportions tenaciously maintain at the open ports under the auspices of the Tycoon's Government.

The inclosed Returns of British trade furnished to me by Mr. Consul Winchester are of themselves descriptive of the astonishing degree of progress which that trade has reached during the very period (the half-year ended the 30th of June last) when the situation of affairs has been more menacing and alarming than at any previous period.

Your Lordship will observe that the value of the export trade in British vessels has increased during the period referred to, from 253,337*l.* of the corresponding period last year, to 561,120*l.* for the first six months of this year. And yet during those same six months, the succession of events which have transpired of an alarming and exciting character, were calculated in an unparalleled degree altogether to paralyze and arrest any trading operations whatever.

In imports we have in the first six months of this year 111,470*l.* against 68,981*l.* for the same period of last year, being an excess of 42,489*l.*

I beg leave also to draw your Lordship's attention to the fact, that in this year's Returns, raw cotton figures for the first time as an article of export, to the extent of 795,207 lbs.

In respect to the foreign trade in general of Yokohama engaged in by the subjects of all the Treaty Powers, I inclose for your Lordship's information an excellent and very accurate Report extracted from a local paper.

It is impossible satisfactorily to account for these anomalous results of our intercourse with this country,—obstructed political relations, an edict for the expulsion of foreigners still unretracted, pressure on our part to obtain redress for outrages, and the actual exaction of considerable indemnities, recurring panics, and imminent danger of violence apparently threatening the communities, on the one hand, and, on the other, a steadily progressing and prosperous trade.

But this latter fact, ignored or altogether overlooked as it may be in Europe by those who are anxious or interested in the events of a threatening character which are enacting in this country, I cannot but keep steadily and constantly in view. To maintain our

commercial relations through a very storm of political turmoil, and I may now add even through actual conflict with one of the most redoutable Chiefs of this Empire, has been the fixed and prevailing object of attainment which has influenced my whole course of action.

Upon broad principles ample and sufficient justification may be deemed to exist for an open rupture with the Government of this country; an edict of expulsion in letter, if not in spirit, still hangs over us, the residence at Yeddo has been rendered impracticable to the foreign Legations, and the navigation of the Inland Sea is obstructed.

Yet, inasmuch as we maintain our footing at the open ports, and as our commercial relations with this country progress, and do not retrograde, I deem it to be my duty to avoid all initiative measures of hostility, calculated to precipitate to a state of war, until the views and untrammelled decisions of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the thorough and unrestricted enforcement of the rights acquired by Treaty are made manifest. On the other hand the hidden and mysterious, though not actually aggressive policy of the Tycoon's Government may become suddenly so developed in a hostile direction, that in self-defence and in support of national dignity and our fundamental Treaty rights, it may be imperatively necessary for me to fall back upon the powerful aid of Her Majesty's squadron, and urge upon Admiral Kuper the expediency of entering upon a systematic and serious series of hostilities.

Inclosure 1 in No. 65.

RETURN of British and Foreign Vessels Arrived at and Departed from the Port of Kanagawa, during the half-year ended 30th June, 1863, compared with the movements of 1862, during the same period.

ARRIVALS.				DEPARTURES.			
1863.			1862.	1863.			1862.
Number.	Flag.	Tonnage.	Number. Tonnage.	Number.	Flag.	Tonnage.	Number. Tonnage.
40	British	12,938	14 4,391	39	British	12,153	15 4,803
19	American	7,347	12 9,135	26	American	9,455	12 9,135
7	Dutch	1,919	5 1,023	8	Dutch	1,969	4 763
2	French	653	2 295	2	French	653	1 149
5	Prussian	1,252	.. ..	3	Prussian	772	.. ..
1	Russian	286	.. ..	1	Russian	286	.. ..
74	Total	24,395	33 14,844	79	Total	25,288	32 14,850

British Consulate, Kanagawa, August 31, 1863.
(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER, *Consul.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 65.

RETURN of the Import Trade in Forty British Vessels at the Port of Kanagawa during the half-year ended 30th June, 1863, compared with that of 1862, during the same period.

Articles.		1863.		1862.	
		Quantities.	Value.	Quantities.	Value.
			Dollars.		Dollars.
Grey shirtings	Bales	385	54,750	1,394	95,662
White ditto	„	140	16,000	208	16,050
Dyed ditto	„	153	19,875	106	12,462
Camlets	„	1,009	160,330	477	75,712
Cottons	„	76	6,006	131	13,969
Chintzes	„	153	16,275	128	12,594
Tafachelass	„	1	300	41	9,916
Velvets	„	111	22,116	66	5,986
Woollens	„	116	16,965	63	8,610
Cotton yarns	Piculs	4	255	—	—
Vermillion	„	59	4,175	—	—
Tin, lead, and spelter ..	„	13,358	182,931	1,759	53,579
Medicine		..	11,861	..	570
Provisions		..	1,662	..	900
Miscellaneous		..	21,597	..	25,000
Total		..	535,098	..	331,010
In sterling, at 4*s.* 2*d.*,			111,470*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*	..	68,960*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

British Consulate, Kanagawa, August 31, 1863.
(Sgned) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER, *Consul.*

Inclosure 3 in No. 65.

RETURN of the Export Trade in Thirty-nine British Vessels, at the Port of Kanagawa, during the half-year ended 30th June, 1863, compared with that of 1862, during the same period.

Articles.	1863.		1862.	
	Quantities.	Value.	Quantities.	Value.
		Dollars.		Dollars.
Raw silk .. .. .. Piculs	7,179	2,281,773	3,617	984,732
Tea .. .. .. „	18,280	253,840	15,231	168,392
Oil .. .. .. „	569	4,260	790	3,557
Seaweed .. .. .. „	4,053	7,213	3,560	5,140
Wax .. .. .. „	95	857	38	395
Isinglass .. .. .. „	10	100	61	913
Gensing .. .. .. „	124	20,029	6	837
Mushrooms .. .. .. „	158	2,164	209	3,270
Dried fish .. .. .. „	2,297	17,853	1,364	8,500
Raw cotton .. .. .. „	5,979	70,404	—	—
Gallnuts .. .. .. „	213	1,155	46	184
Medicine	..	1,685	..	168
Paper	..	1,171	..	1,705
Lacquered ware, &c.	..	10,029	..	6,245
Timber	..	17,737	..	1,730
Miscellaneous	..	13,378	..	30,253
Total	..	2,703 378	..	1,216,021
In sterling, at 4*s.* 2*d.*, 563,203*l.* 15*s.*			..	253,337*l.*

British Consulate, Kanagawa, August 31, 1863.
(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER, *Consul.*

Inclosure 4 in No. 65.

Newspaper Extract.

HAVING in our last completed a short and hurried *revue* of the past twelve months' political doings of Japan, we now proceed, according to promise, concisely to gather together, at this appropriate season, a few of the leading facts and statistics in reference to commercial matters. The sketch will of necessity be but short and imperfect, but we shall return to the different heads of the subject as time and opportunity may afford.

Imports.

The month of July (1862) opened with a pretty brisk market in this branch, several large transactions in 6½ cattie grey shirtings, and considerable business in camlets reported. The demand for tin had been good, and recent arrivals to the extent of about 2,000 piculs disposed of. This general activity continued, with slight variations, to the end of the year. Tin and lead advanced, and good business was done at prices ranging from 38 dollars to 42 dollars for No. 1, and 25 dollars to 32 dollars for No. 2 of the former, and 8 dollars to 10 dollars for the latter. The estimated settlements of lead about 37,000 piculs, of tin, say 36 piculs; camlets 29,000, and grey shirtings 141,000 pieces. At the commencement of the year 1863 this branch of trade began to slacken, and the transactions in most of the above principal articles were, comparatively with the preceding months, very trivial. An improvement was looked for after the turn of the Japanese holidays, and in April more business was done, cotton and woollen goods showing a slight advance. Tin greatly declined and became unsaleable. At the end of May, owing to the disturbed aspect of political affairs, business came almost to a stand-still, and so continued until the settlement of the money-portion of the demands of Great Britain, when disposition for business was early evinced by the Japanese merchants, though but few transactions in cotton goods are reported, business in camlets only to some extent being noticeable.

Silk.—We now proceed to take a retrospective view of this our principal staple, for the season just ended. At this time last year the markets in Europe were extremely buoyant; the demand for Japan silk had since the beginning of 1862 assumed a remarkable activity, owing probably to a peculiarity of its nature which offered for certain purposes considerable advantages to manufacturers, and gave it on that account a decided superiority over most of the other descriptions of silk known hitherto. We refer especially to the property which Japan silk possesses in an eminent degree of imbibing a large proportion

of dye-stuff, and which renders it invaluable for the manufacture of black goods, which were the prevailing fashion in Europe throughout the last year, under the French te m "trame Japon."

The market for the season 1862-63 opened with a slight rise on the prices that had been ruling for the latter part of the season 1861-62; there was still a margin left on the rates that were current in Europe, and this margin, in connection with the increasing favour with which Japan silk was received, resulted in large orders being sent to this market. They met with a supply fully equal to the demand, the crop of 1862-63 having been since known to be nearly double that of 1861-62; indeed, from the end of August to the middle of November prices had given way 5 to 10 per cent. below those of July. When it was ascertained in China, towards the latter end of 1862, that the produce of that country for the season 1862-63 would fall short of the preceding campaign, the merchants of Shanghae and Europe turned their attention to Japan, the growing capabilities of which were becoming more and more apparent. From the month of December the demand assumed a fresh start, and for three or four months continued unabated, so that prices rose gradually to an unprecedented point. The political events of April did not materially check the activity of the market. Money was then tolerably abundant, and the chance of impending hostilities induced the foreign houses to convert as much as they could of their goods and property in exportable articles; on their own side the Japanese dealers were not slow to avail themselves of this new turn of affairs, and so long as they did not consider themselves in danger, sustained firmly the prices of their commodities.

In the beginning of May a panic set in among them; all at once they became eager sellers, and large quantities of silk were disposed of at a reduction of 70 dollars, and in some instances even 100 dollars. This state of things, however, did not last beyond a few days. Reassured, as well by their own authorities as by the readiness with which the foreign houses met their offers, the native dealers very soon showed more firmness and prices returned to their former point. But from that moment to the end of the season the arrivals from the interior became very limited, possibly from the gradual exhaustion of the stock in the country, perhaps also from natural apprehensions so long as political affairs remained threatening and unsettled.

Fortunately the fears which had at one time been seriously entertained about the maintenance of peace have passed away, at least as far as this place is concerned, and from the reports of the Japanese dealers themselves we are led to believe that they are encouraged by their own authorities to continue and extend their transactions with the foreign community of Yokohama.

The present season (of 1863-64) has just opened under very auspicious circumstances. The new crop was favoured with fine weather, and there is every reason to believe, all reports to the contrary notwithstanding, that the result has been most satisfactory. Indeed the large profits which the Japanese dealers and growers have realized, especially throughout the last year, in this staple, must have acted as a powerful incentive to a largely increased cultivation of the mulberry tree, and there is no doubt, in our mind, that anticipations in that respect will be fully borne out by facts hereafter. If, after the above sketch, we pass from the purely commercial to moral considerations, we cannot but be powerfully struck with the following remarks.

It is now just four years since Japan was opened by Treaty to the foreign trade. Centuries had elapsed during which no intercourse had taken place with the "hated barbarians," except upon the smallest scale at Nagasaki; and that with one European nation only. When it was ascertained that silk was grown in this country (a fact put beyond doubt by the first importation of that article into England towards the middle of 1859), the attention of consumers was awakened to it, and experiments made which convinced them at once that this new produce would soon prove highly interesting. We need not remind our readers that for some few years before the opening of Japan, the production of France and of Italy had been considerably curtailed by a new disease of the silkworm, which has lasted since without intermission. The diminution of the European crop had mainly induced the continental manufacturers to use China silk, to which they had previously shown a material reluctance. It cannot therefore be considered surprising that when the first bales of Japan silk appeared on the London market, a general curiosity arose with regard to a produce at once so new to the manufacturing world, and so much wanted. When it was ascertained that this new article possessed intrinsic qualities far superior, not only to Bengal and China silk, but even to anything until then known in Europe, a gradual demand sprung up for it, which has hitherto led to astonishing results, and promises to go much further still. To speak in round numbers, the exportation of Japan silk amounted in 1859-60 to 6,000 bales, in 1860-61 to 10,000 bales, in 1861-62 to 12,000 bales, and in the season 1862-63, just ended, to 26,000 bales.

The lowest average value here of a bale of Japan silk of 85 catties, including export duty, commission, and other charges, may be estimated for the last season at 370 dollars, which gives for 26,000 bales, 9,620,000 dollars; or, at 5*s.* for the dollar, upwards of 2,400,000*l.*

We read with wonder some months ago in the columns of a London contemporary, that "the trade with Japan is barely sufficient to pay the expenses of the agencies established here by the great China houses."

We, on the contrary, believe that there are few examples in the commercial world of so rapid a development of trade; and this is the more startling as Japan had been isolated for centuries from intercourse with all outsiders. But when we come to consider that the staple upon which we are now remarking, is the most costly of all commodities, with the exception of gems and precious metals, we cannot refrain from enlarging upon the growing importance of a country which has, in so short a time, increased its capabilities more than fourfold, with every appearance of further progress. Nay, if we compare Japan to China for silk only, we have it on the most undoubted authority that the latter country, within the space of four years after the conclusion of the Treaty of Nankin, remained a good deal behind what Japan has achieved with regard to the quantity and value of silk exported; and yet China had at that time enjoyed for 100 years or more, constant relations with foreigners at Canton, whereas our connection with Japan is yet in its infancy.

It is also worthy of notice that the production of silk in China has been getting gradually less for the last two or three years. Should this decrease continue, the deficiency will most fortunately be filled up by the produce of this country; and in the contrary case we are content to leave the commerce of Yokohama to its natural development, stimulated as it will be by the self-interest of all parties concerned.

Japan silk has now taken a firm hold in the markets of Europe; the demand for it goes on increasing yearly, owing to its own peculiar and intrinsic merit, which renders it independent of all competition, and we are fully assured, as far as all human foresight can go, that ere many years are over, the silk trade of this place will stand second to none other.

Tea.—The season of this staple opened with a brisk market, and with quotations 1 to 2 dollars in advance of preceding rates for medium description. Quotations standing thus: medium (old), 16 to 22 dollars, ditto (new), 20 to 24 dollars; good to fine (old), 24 to 29 dollars, ditto (new), 25 to 31 dollars. For some weeks these prices were fully maintained, but in the month of September there was some falling off in sales owing to the extreme rates asked by the teamen. The few sales made were at a further advance of 1 to 2 dollars for the medium kinds. In the following month there was a still further advance for the same kinds of from 2 to 3 dollars. Business during the months of November and December was very fluctuating, tending, in consequence of the extreme rates demanded by the teamen, towards dulness, but at the end of the year the prices became somewhat easier and a considerable number of settlements were made. In the month of January a further advance of 1 to 2 dollars was submitted to; prices then standing about thus—common 14 to 20 dollars; medium 21 to 28 dollars; fine 29 to 33 dollars. Business then began to fall away, and notwithstanding that the teamen showed some inclination to submit to some decline, no great demand existing, but little was done. In the months of February and March a small business only was done, that principally for the American market. In the month of April, in consequence of the disturbed aspect of political affairs, the Japanese merchants took alarm, and eager to work off their stocks previous to their intended departure, consented to very considerable reduction; indeed, at this period the changes were so great and so frequent that quotations were not obtainable. At the end of the season there was a slight improvement in business, stocks light and appearing likely so to continue until confidence in political matters be restored.

The new season, however, considering the unsettled state of affairs, opened with tolerable activity, the new crop of medium coming in pretty freely, but none of a really fine quality. The promise of the incoming season is said to be of fair average quality and amount. We refer to our standing Tables for information as to the details of the past season's campaign. The grand total showing 5,796,388 lbs., against 5,847,133 in season 1861-62.

General Exports.

In other produce the business of the same period seems to have been very small; the market continuing bare and few transactions reported until the commencement of October, when a new staple—cotton—began to be brought in pretty freely,—say to the extent of about 3,000 piculs, which found a ready market at about 14 dollars 50 cents to 16 dollars 50 cents per picul for the superior qualities. Since that time but little was done in it until towards the end of March, when some revival took place. The exports in the new

staple up to the end of June was 8,648 bales. It is matter for great astonishment, when we consider that so very recently this article was grown in quantities barely sufficient for the wants of home consumption, and that the knowledge of the foreign demand could only have transpired just before the last year's crop was reaped, that we should be able to quote the above figure of its export. Surely this is great and conclusive evidence of the elasticity with which this country's produce could be extended towards the bearing its fair share in the supply of the wants of that world from the rest of which it has hitherto been so secluded. Before closing our remarks on this article we may say, generally as to quality, that there have been various kinds brought in, which, although all good, have differed slightly in value. All its several kinds have been well appreciated at home, and have sold at prices considerably over China cotton. The period closed with a good demand.

Timber at the commencement of the year was in pretty brisk demand, and was exported principally to Shanghae, in considerable quantities. It has since this been much neglected.

In copper there has been very little done during the year, owing to the extreme prices demanded.

No. 66.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 18, 1863.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 10th instant, I inclose, for your information, a copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Board of Admiralty relative to the affairs of Japan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

Inclosure in No. 66.

Earl Russell to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

My Lords, *Foreign Office, November* 14, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordships that I have instructed Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Japan, that in any cases where British persons, ships, or property are attacked, he should call upon the Admiral commanding Her Majesty's naval forces in Japan to resent such outrages; and I have to request that the Admiral may receive such orders from your Lordships as will authorize him to act to that effect, as far as the means at his disposal may admit of his doing so.

The Secretary of State for War some time ago gave orders for increasing Her Majesty's land forces in China by 1,000 men, so that in case of need the Admiral will doubtless be able to obtain the support of a body of troops from China; and if with such assistance a force of 500 soldiers and marines should be available for service on shore in Japan, the batteries which may fire on British ships, and which are armed by the Feudal Chiefs for the purpose of annoying and interrupting foreign trade, may probably be destroyed, and security be obtained for the peaceful commerce of nations with Japan.

Her Majesty's Government are especially desirous that while British persons and property are effectually protected, no injury should be inflicted upon the Japanese population.

With this view it will be incumbent upon the Admiral or Senior Officer in command on the Japanese waters to endeavour to confine hostilities undertaken by him, as far as possible, consistently with due protection to British subjects, their property, and their commerce, to forts and batteries not surrounded by the dwellings and places of the non-combatant inhabitants.

It is of course part of the duty of the officers in command of ships to return the fire of hostile batteries wherever they may be situated, but, in planning expeditions to stations on the coast, the difference between forts placed to disturb commerce and batteries erected for the defence of populous towns should always be borne in mind, and the first-mentioned of these two classes of forts should be the object of attack, in all cases where there is no absolute necessity to attack batteries of the second class.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 67.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received November 27.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, October* 1, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of your Lordship, a copy of a despatch I have addressed yesterday to the Japanese Ministers. The situation of affairs is fully described in the statement I have made to them, and there is nothing of a more explicit character which I am enabled to add in respect to passing events by this occasion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 67.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, September 30, 1863.

I ADDRESS this letter to your Excellencies in an amicable and friendly spirit. I write as briefly as the subject will admit, because I desire to engage and arrest the serious attention of the Tycoon's Government to what I now submit for its solemn consideration. On this occasion I pass over details affecting the breach or non-observance of Treaty stipulations. The situation of affairs,—that is, the prospect of peace or war,—is far more serious, and requires immediate attention. If conflict and civil war is not actually raging amongst the parties opposed to each other in Japan, it is well known to all that bitter animosities and feelings, and even aggressive acts against the Tycoon's authority, are now enacting. The letter addressed by the authority of the Tycoon's Government to the foreign Representatives, conveying the Mikado's desire that foreigners should be expelled, remains uncancelled. The trade of foreigners with native merchants has been of late obstructed. Some native traders have left Yokohama, and one or more have been beheaded at Kioto because they were in trading relations with foreigners. Extraordinary and unmistakeable activity prevails both on the part of the Tycoon's Government and on the part of the agents of hostile Daimios to obtain cannon, rifles, and munitions of war, and large orders, it is well known, have been given by the Tycoon's Government for the purchase of arms and vessels of war in America; and proposals for similar supplies are constantly and urgently pressed upon merchants of other nations. Large conscriptions of all persons capable of bearing arms are in progress, and drilling is practised even at night. The navigation of the Inland Sea is obstructed; batteries are constructing there in every available position, as well as at Yeddo, Uraga, and elsewhere. Some of these acts are those of hostile Daimios, but some are also those of the Tycoon's Government.

In the midst of these alarming indications of hostility directed undeniably and evidently against foreigners, the Tycoon's Government preserves a most ominous and alarming silence in its relations with foreign Representatives. No knowledge is conveyed to them in the slightest degree of the hopes or fears entertained by it in regard to the situation of foreigners. All is involved in darkness and mystery,—accompanied, meanwhile, by hostile preparations.

Now in this situation of affairs, actuated by the best feelings towards Japan, and acting especially in accordance with the friendly and amicable feelings of consideration entertained by the British Government towards the Tycoon and Government of Japan and the Japanese people, it becomes my duty solemnly to draw the attention of the Government of Yeddo to the fact that as a matter of reason and necessity the Representatives of foreign States having Treaties with Japan, and having subjects of their respective States residing here, must report mail by mail to their Governments the condition of affairs which I have described; and I leave it to the judgment of the Tycoon's Ministers and High Councils to reflect whether, after a knowledge of these indications of hostility and absence of all assurances or declarations on the part of the Tycoon's Government as to its intended policy and action towards foreigners, the Governments of the Treaty Powers will not adopt defensive measures on a great scale, while they will inevitably insist at any cost upon the execution of Treaty rights. Such measures will be a serious and regrettable necessity. They will be costly probably beyond the knowledge or imagination of the Tycoon's Government. Armaments such as I refer to, with all their transports and appliances, when dispatched and eventually arrived to vindicate the harmless rights acquired by Treaty of residence and trade, cannot be dissolved and sent back because at the last moment the Tycoon's Government offer pacific and friendly assurances. The cost of such expedition, forced upon us against our will and desire in consequence of the threatening attitude of the rulers and chiefs of this country towards foreigners, must be defrayed by Japan. This menacing line of action and policy has been directed against the

most powerful States in the world, who on their part have exhibited no indications of hostility save while seeking redress for murders and unprovoked outrages.

In conclusion I earnestly call upon your Excellencies to look upon this communication as a friendly warning, which, if no sincere and friendly feeling prevailed on my part, need not be made at all. Your Excellencies are also earnestly called upon to reply to this letter at your earliest convenience, lest by delay any good fruits it may bear become unavailing.

With assurances of respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 68.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received December 12.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, October 14, 1863.*

OUR trade at this the principal port open in Japan is persistently maintained, although it is undoubtedly in the hands of the Tycoon's Government to stop it at any moment by the expression even of an indirect mandate to that effect, communicated to the native merchants. This subject alone has occasioned me very serious anxiety. Within the last fortnight a strong impression prevailed among the foreign mercantile community at Yokohama, that the trade in the staple product of silk was being gradually restricted to extinction by the direct, though disavowed, action of the Government at Yeddo. A large supply of silk brought down by the producers was stated to have been stopped at Yeddo, and the quantity available for the markets at this port to be restricted to fifty bales a day, which fell short of the expected average. I deemed it accordingly to be my duty to write in urgent terms regarding this matter to the Japanese Ministers, and I have the honour to lay before your Lordship a copy of my despatch, and of the reply which I have received from the Gorogio.

Whatever may have been the cause which induced the temporary obstruction of the supply of silk to this market, an undoubted improvement has taken place since I received the assurances of the Japanese Ministers. From very particular inquiries which I have instituted through Her Majesty's Consul, I have ascertained that from the 2nd to the 11th instant, a period of ten days, 1,000 bales of silk have been bought by foreign traders for exportation, thus averaging 100 bales each day; a quantity which, should it be continued throughout the season, would afford 10,000 bales over and above the large amount of 26,000 bales exported during the season ending the 30th of June last. Thus to all outward appearances the Tycoon's Government has preserved good faith, baffling however all speculations as to how long such may be continued, and ill-according, moreover, with its general attitude and reserve in its political relations with the Treaty Powers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 68.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, September 26, 1863.

THE matter respecting the restricted arrivals of silk being now well known to be occasioned by no accident or want of that material, but by a systematic arrangement of a few principal silk-dealers or monopolisers at Yeddo, great uneasiness and alarm prevails among the mercantile community at Yokohama. Two millions of dollars have been brought here for the purchase of silk, and are lying idle. Steamers arrive from China to ship the silk expected to have been ready for exportation, and return comparatively empty, thus occasioning great loss. The native merchants are suffering extremely, and some have shut up their establishments at Yokohama, and have left the place; and finally it is currently reported that three or four other merchants of Yokohama have been arrested or are about to be arrested at Kioto, and that one has lost his life because he pleaded to be allowed to sell silk.

I lose no time, therefore, in requesting your Excellencies to communicate with me at your earliest convenience the real situation of this matter and the actual intentions of the Tycoon's Government. So serious a matter cannot remain in suspense, and if no communication is made very shortly reassuring to the commercial community, I must adopt other measures, and proceed to Yeddo more effectually to seek explanations from your Excellencies.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 68.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Yeddo, October 4, 1863.

WE have received your despatch dated 26th September, and have fully understood what you have communicated respecting the scarcity of silk.

An order has been given to the different departments regarding the export thereof, and thus there is no reason whatever there should be any restriction, as you make mention of in your despatch for any article at all.

But as the trade in silk is flourishing from day to day, we are of opinion that it is a ruse of some person (or persons), who in order to make large profits has bought up all the silk, and then by spreading such reports as you mention, unsettled the foreigners and thus expect to gain their object.

Whatever may be the cause, we have taken the above into mature consideration and have given the necessary instructions to the proper authorities, and we therefore think that the sale of silk will shortly take place in a proper way, and that either yesterday or to-day there will have been some signs of it.

We now trust that you will believe that what we have stated is true.

With respect and consideration.

22nd day of 8th month of 3rd year of Bungkew (October 4, 1863).

(Signed) MATSDAIRA BUZEN NO KAMI.
MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.
ARIMA TOTOMI NO KAMI.

No. 69.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received December 14.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, October* 14, 1863.

THE Tycoon's Government having expressed a strong desire to obtain from me a written statement regarding the operations of Her Majesty's squadron at Kagosima, and comprising my communications with the Prince of Satsuma previous to the adoption of coercive measures, I had no hesitation in complying with this request, and availed myself of the opportunity of reminding the Ministers at Yeddo that an opportunity was again offered to them of satisfying the demands of Her Majesty's Government.

I directed their attention to the fact that the Prince of Satsuma had explicitly declared that he was bound to obey the orders of the Tycoon. This declaration was, it is true, too tardy, and the Tycoon's Government was too secret and evasive in its communications with me, to save the Prince from coercive measures of reprisal and severe chastisement inflicted by Her Majesty's squadron. But the specific demands upon the Prince yet remained unrequited, and I have warned the Tycoon's Government that if it relapses into silence and inaction as before in respect to this matter, I should be under the necessity of calling upon the Admiral to re-open hostilities against the territories of the Prince.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of my letter to the Gorogio, to which I have not as yet received a reply.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 69.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, September 24, 1863.

IMMEDIATELY after my return with Her Majesty's squadron from Kagosima, I communicated verbally to the Governors for Foreign Affairs, for the information of the Tycoon's Government, the particulars of all which had transpired. A copy of the reply addressed to me by the Chief Minister (Caro) of Satsuma, in reply to the demands which I had been instructed to make, was also handed to the Governors.

I have now the honour to inclose to your Excellencies, in writing, a statement of what occurred, in order that you may more conveniently refer to the same.

Your Excellencies will observe that the Prince of Satsuma states that he can do nothing without the orders of the Tycoon's Government. This would imply that the Prince of Satsuma has not been directed by His Majesty to comply with the demands I have been instructed to prefer upon the Prince of Satsuma, and which have since been communicated by me and known to the Tycoon's Government.

I have also recently been informed from various reliable sources that the Prince of Satsuma is most desirous that these demands, as yet unsatisfied, notwithstanding all which has occurred at Kagosima, should not remain unsettled, and be thereby a continued source of danger to him. The intervention of the Tycoon's Government is therefore essential, but the Tycoon's Government, as before, takes no step in the matter beyond asking for the statement I now send, but which has during a month been well known to it. I have therefore earnestly to call the attention of the Tycoon's Government to the fact that if, as before, your Excellencies preserve silence and adopt no measures whatever in respect to a satisfactory arrangement, no remedy is left in my hands but to engage the Admiral again to proceed with his fleet to the territory of Satsuma, and continue, much against our desire, the hostilities which have momentarily been suspended in order that the Tycoon's Government should again have itself the opportunity of satisfactorily terminated this matter.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 70.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received December* 14.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, October* 14, 1863.

AT the moment of closing this mail a most distressing outrage has once more occurred of which a French subject is the victim. Lieutenant de Camus, of the 3rd battalion of the Chasseurs d'Afrique, riding out this afternoon in this immediate neighbourhood, not on the tokaido or high road, but on a country road hitherto considered to be comparatively secure, was barbarously attacked and murdered by Japanese assassins. He was unfortunately alone, and thus I fear no positive information will ever be obtained respecting the circumstances tending this barbarous act. The unfortunate officer was totally unarmed and could have offered no possible provocation to his sanguinary assailants. His body, which was conveyed to Yokohama, escorted by the French and English escorts, the latter under Lieutenant Applin, the French, British and other foreign Consuls, with several of the foreign community, was frightfully mutilated by sabre cuts, every one of which was pronounced by the medical attendant, Dr. Jenkins, to have been a mortal wound.

Writing immediately after this disastrous occurrence, I am unable to state to your Lordship what may be the action which the French authorities will adopt under the circumstances, but in truth nothing is within our reach but energetic remonstrances and an urgent demand upon the Tycoon's Government for the discovery of the perpetrators of this barbarous act.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 71.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received January* 9, 1864.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, October* 30, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to lay before your Lordship copies of a correspondence which has passed between the Gorogio and me, with reference to the still unsatisfied demands preferred upon the Prince of Satsuma under instructions from Her Majesty's Government.

Your Lordship will observe the equivocal nature of the replies addressed to me by the Japanese Ministers, inspired doubtless by their political embarrassments, and probably also by their hostile and ulterior designs in regard to foreigners.

Inclosure 1 in No. 71.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Your Excellencies, *Yokohama, October* 21, 1862.

ON the 24th of September (twenty-eight days ago) I had the honour to address your Excellencies upon the important subject of the demands preferred upon the Prince of Satsuma by Her Britannic Majesty's Government; to that letter I have received no reply.

The Government of the Tycoon is aware that those demands have not been satisfied, and that from motives of high consideration for His Majesty the Tycoon, the hostile proceedings adopted against Kagosima, arising out of the conduct of Satsuma and his Councillors, have been suspended, in order that His Majesty the Tycoon and his Government might, if they really desire it, avert serious and continued hostilities being directed against that Prince. On the first occasion the Government of the Tycoon fell into silence and inaction respecting this subject, and necessitated the departure of the British squadron for Kagosima. The Tycoon's Government sent an Envoy on the eve of the departure of the squadron and declared the intention of the Tycoon's Government to send a steamer with a personage on board to accompany the British squadron, but neither the steamer nor the Envoy appeared to accomplish their mission.

It now therefore becomes my duty to declare to your Excellencies that unless within a few days I receive a communication from the Tycoon's Government of a satisfactory nature, I shall deem that the Government of the Tycoon prefers that the British diplomatic and naval authorities adopt the course of entering upon direct measures with the Prince with a view of causing him to accede to the demands of Her Majesty's Government, which cannot longer remain unsatisfied.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

P.S. This letter having been written previous to the receipt of your letter informing me that you will reply to me in regard to the Prince of Satsuma when you have received accurate details from that Prince, I have therefore to inform you that I do not understand what this statement may mean, but whatever may be its meaning I have to call the attention of the Tycoon's Government to what I have written in this despatch.

E. ST. J. N.

Inclosure 2 in No. 71.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE have received your despatch of the 24th of September, giving a Report of what occurred in the Bay of Kagosima during your stay there.

We have understood your several communications regarding what happened to the British men-of-war at Kagosima.

But as we do not know the real state of affairs at that place, we will send you an answer after we have obtained every detail accurately from Sinlinotayu (Satsuma).

With respect and consideration.

8th of 9th month of 3rd year of Bungkew (October 20, 1863).

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.
ARIMA TOTOMI NO KAMI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 71.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Your Excellencies, *Yokohama, October* 25, 1863.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 24th September and the 21st of October, relative to the demands made upon the Prince of Satsuma by Her Majesty's Government, I have to state that I omitted to observe to you that a few days previous to the transmission of the first-mentioned despatch to your Excellencies, Mr. Eusden, Japanese Secretary of this Legation, was requested to attend at the Custom-house, and was informed by the Governor Coombono Kami, that the Prince of Satsuma, having already reported to the Tycoon's Government regarding the events which occurred at Kagosima during the visit of the British squadron, the Gorogio was anxious to receive in writing a statement from myself of what took place on that occasion in order that the two versions might be compared. This being the case, your Excellencies will better understand that I am surprised and at a loss to comprehend the meaning of the reply made to me by your Excellencies in which you state that no report had been received from the Prince of Satsuma of the events referred to, and that it was therefore necessary to await its receipt.

It only remains for me to add that I am in daily expectation of a categorical communication from the Tycoon's Government respecting the matter in question.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 71.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE have received your despatch dated October 21; and have fully understood that, by order of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, you will again go the territory of Satsuma, to enforce the demands made on Matsdaira Sinlinotayu.

As regards (this question) it is necessary we should likewise investigate it, as we lately stated in our reply to your despatch; and some of the retainers of Sinlinotayu, who were witnesses on the spot of what took place, have lately arrived in this town. Thus we are continuing the investigation, and (when completed) will communicate the same to you. Therefore it is to be hoped you will delay your intention for some time, and we trust you will comply with our request.

With respect and consideration.

13th of 9th month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (October 25, 1863).

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.
ARIMA TOTOMI NO KAMI.

No. 72.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(Received January 9, 1864.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, October 31, 1863*

BY my despatch of the 1st instant I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a letter I had addressed to the Japanese Ministers on the 30th of September, calling their earnest attention to the serious situation of their relations with the foreign Treaty Powers, and warning them of the inevitable consequences should such a line of conduct be persisted in.

To that letter I have to this date received no reply.

On the 25th instant, however, my colleagues of the United States and of the Netherlands called upon me separately.

My colleague of the Netherlands simply informed that he was proceeding to Yeddo, but Mr. Pruyn was so obliging as to inform me that he had received a special invitation from the Gorogio to proceed to Yeddo for the purpose of holding an interview with the members of the highest Council, when an important communication would be made to him.

Mr. Pruyn expressed himself as totally unable to form a conception of the nature of the communication which was about to be made to him, but deemed that it must necessarily be of a most important character, as the Gorogio had at first proposed that some of their members should come down to Yokohama (a means of communication they had never before adopted), and subsequently had requested his presence at Yeddo, alleging as a reason that it was very desirable that the whole of the Gorogio and members of the First Council should be present.

Mr. Pruyn and M. de Graeff van Polsbroek accordingly proceeded to Yeddo, and were received by the Gorogio, and held an interview with the assembled Ministers at a building adjoining the landing-place, and not within the city as heretofore had been the custom, at the residence of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, thus at once ominously implying that the presence of even the foreign Representatives within the official quarter of the city was interdicted.

Upon the return of my colleagues on the following day they did my French colleague and myself the honour of informing us of the purport of the unexpected communication.

Immediately preceding its receipt, I received an invitation to proceed to Yeddo, similar to that which had been addressed to the Minister of the United States and to the Dutch Consul-General; and with a knowledge of the purport of the communication to be

made to me, I deemed it to be incumbent upon me to reply to the Gorogio declining their invitation upon the grounds stated in my letter, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose.

My colleague of France received simultaneously a similar invitation, which he equally declined to accept.

Inclosure 1 in No. 72.

Communication made to the Minister of the United States and the Consul-General of the Netherlands by the Gorogio, in the presence of the Members of the Second Council, the Governors for Foreign Affairs, and other officials of rank, at Yeddo, on the 26th October, 1863.

THE Japanese Government being extremely desirous that the friendship between the United States and Holland with Japan should not be interrupted, has invited you, as the Representatives of these Powers, to this Conference for the purpose of making an important communication, and this important communication will render many Conferences necessary, in order that you should hear all its reasons and fully be acquainted with its views, and we, the Gorogio, have therefore appointed two Commissioners for this purpose, namely, Takemoto Kai no Kami and Ikido Sinri.

The unsettled state of things in our realm is increasing; we are apparently approaching a revolution; there may be a general uprising among the people, who hate foreigners; and to our shame we must confess that we have no power to suppress this insurrectionary movement.

It is principally owing to the opening of Yokohama to trade that this deplorable state of things exists.

If a continuance of trade at Yokohama be persisted in, this state of affairs will grow worse; trade will suffer and no doubt disappear in consequence, and then the friendship will be destroyed. It was to establish friendly relations that the Treaties were made, as may be seen in the heading to each of them.

Friendship is the corner-stone; trade is subordinate to friendship. We have always considered that the framers of the Treaty intended it as an experiment, to last as long as it would not prove injurious to Japan.

In order to perpetuate this friendship it is of the highest mutual interest that the port of Yokohama be closed to trade, and in our opinion this is the only way to allay the prevailing excitement.

We request you to inform your Governments that the Notification of Ogasawara Dusio no Kami relating to the expulsion of foreigners will be withdrawn, and to ask their consent to have the trade transferred to Nagasaki and Hakodadi.

We do not desire any further alteration in the Treaty.

Inclosure 2 in No. 72.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Your Excellencies, *Yokohama, October* 28, 1863.

I HAVE received your letter inviting me to proceed to Yeddo to hold an interview with your Excellencies on the 31st instant, upon a subject regarding which you wish to enter on a discussion with me.

My colleagues the Minister of the United States and the Consul-General of the Netherlands have informed me that in like manner you invited them two days ago to repair to Yeddo to confer with you upon an important matter, which you did not specify, and that upon their arrival at Yeddo the purport of your communication amounted to the total subversion of Treaty rights.

Without further entering into the particulars of your communication, and of which my colleagues have informed me, I have to state to your Excellencies that, as the Representative of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, I decline to respond to your invitation by repairing to Yeddo for the purpose of discussing any such unheard-of communications, or to receive any Envoys charged with similar communications.

The utmost measure I will adopt, under the circumstances, is to report to my Government what you may communicate to me in writing, and in becoming terms. I have, therefore, to engage your Excellencies to state to me by letter explicitly and categorically what the Government of the Tycoon proposes, and wishes me to convey to Her Britannic

Majesty's Government; and it only remains for me to add that, inspired on my part as the Representative of Great Britain, with no hostile feelings or designs aginst this country, I trust that the Government of the Tycoon will duly weigh and consider the sense and probable consequences of the communication which it may desire me to make to the powerful nation I have the honour to represent.

It is also my duty to add that, pending the reference of any such unusual and extraordinary communications (made to me in writing) to Her Britannic Majesty's Government, should hostile or aggressive acts be committed by the Government of the Tycoon, or by any Daimio of this Empire against the relations of amity and commerce established by Treaty, made and duly ratified by Great Britain and Japan, such will be resented by corresponding acts of retribution by Her Majesty's forces in defence of the national honour and of the Treaty rights which I am placed here to maintain and to protect.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 73.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received January* 9, 1864.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, November* 16, 1863.

I HAD occasion some time since to draw the attention of Admiral Kuper to the reported intention of the Japanese authorities to erect a line of batteries at the bottom of this harbour and directed against the ships in port.

In course of time this intelligence was confirmed by the receipt of a letter addressed to Her Majesty's Consul by the Governor of Kanagawa informing him that a battery was about to be erected in the situation I have described, for our mutual protection, and that it was desirable that foreign subjects should be warned not to approach the works while in progress.

The purport of this communication was made known to the Admiral, who informed the Governor that he should prevent the construction of any such works, and they have accordingly been abandoned.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of the Admiral's letter to the Governor respecting this subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure in No. 73.

Vice-Admiral Kuper to the Governor of Kanagawa.

Sir, "*Euryalus*," *Yokohama, November* 6, 1863.

HER Britannic Majesty's Consul at this port has forwarded to me the copy of your Excellency's despatch of yesterday's date, in which you announce the intention of the Japanese Government to erect a fort or battery on the side of Benten at the place called Zagahama for our mutual protection.

It is little more than a week since the Government communicated to the United States' Minister and the Netherlands Consul-General its determination to close the port of Yokohama altogether; and it is now proposed to erect batteries for our mutual protection—a project which appears to me to be quite as unnecessary as the first mentioned resolution is inadmissible.

The defence of Yokohama having been placed by the Government of the Tycoon in the hands of Rear-Admiral Jaurès and myself in conjunction with your Excellency, I beg leave to acquaint you that it will be my duty to prevent the construction of any battery at the point named in your Excellency's despatch, as well as in any other position which would command the anchorage or town of Yokohama.

The port of Yokohama having been appropriated solely to commercial purposes for those Western nations having Treaties with Japan, there can be no necessity that it should be defended against them, whilst nothing but an aggressive act or repudiation of Treaty rights on the part of the Japanese need render it necessary for them to defend themselves from external enemies for many years to come.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS L. KUPER.

No. 74.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received January* 9, 1864.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, November* 16, 1863.

I HAVE the honour and great satisfaction to inform your Lordship that since the departure of the last mail the Tycoon's Ministers have voluntarily adopted the unexpected course of informing me officially, and in writing, that the Government of Yeddo having changed its policy, desire that I should return to them the letter relative to the Decree for the expulsion of foreigners from Japan.

My colleagues of the Treaty Powers received simultaneously a similar communication.

I have the honour to lay before your Lordship a copy of the Gorogio's letter, as well as of my reply acknowledging its receipt.

It would be premature for me to convey to your Lordship any confident assurance of belief on my part that with this announcement of the Tycoon's Government our prospective obstructions and difficulties have necessarily ceased to be probable; but I do entertain hopes of a respite from the extreme anxiety and overpowering danger which has so unceasingly hung over our relations with this country.

The motives which may have influenced the Councils of the Tycoon's Ministers can at present alone afford subject for surmise. Intestine disputes and rivalries prevailing among the Tycoon, the Mikado, and the Daimios, have very possibly induced the adoption of a conciliatory policy in its relations with foreign States. The pressure to which this Government had become exposed in the enforcement of redress by Her Majesty's Government for injuries sustained by British subjects, and still urged with increased intensity so far as regards the Prince of Satsuma, coupled with the continued presence of a formidable British fleet, can hardly be sustained, while the energies and resources of the Tycoon have been, as of late, directed to acquire the alliance of Satsuma himself against the Prince of Nagato, of Mito, and other rebellious Chiefs who menace the stability of his Throne.

On the other hand, the Tycoon's Government may in truth still find it essential to stay our anticipated action, and thus gain time for the accomplishment of their warlike armaments destined to be directed against ourselves. It will be to me an extreme subject of rejoicing when the time arrives that I am enabled to report to your Lordship unmistakeable signs of the permanent abandonment of all hostile or obstructive action on the part of the Yeddo Government, but this I cannot in any case speedily expect, for it is a marked characteristic of this people to be as tardy in their declaration of peaceful sentiments as of inimical feelings or designs.

The progress of time and events can alone, with any certainty, develop our prospects of amicable relations with this country. In the meanwhile I content myself with informing your Lordship that as the first apparent fruits of the new policy announced, trade has within the last few days considerably revived, and in some cases native traders have applied to our merchants for advances on account of produce, which they stated they hoped to bring down unrestrictedly from the country; and from the same source I learn that considerable quantities of British imports have been unexpectedly disposed of.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 74.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

(Translation.)

WE have the honour to send you the following communication.

As our Government has, for the present, changed her former policy, we request you to return us the despatch which Ogasawara Jewsio no Kami addressed to you when he was still in office regarding the closing of the ports.

With respect and consideration.

1st of 10th month of 3rd year of Bung-kew (November 12, 1863).

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ITAKOORA SOOWO NO KAMI.
INOWOOYAY KAWATSI NO KAMI.
ARIMA TOTOMI NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 74.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, November 14, 1863.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellencies' letter dated 1st of 10th month (11th November), informing me that the Government of the Tycoon had, for the present, changed its policy; and requesting that the letter addressed to me (as well as to the other Representatives of the Treaty Powers) by Ogasawara, regarding the closing of the ports, be returned to you.

I have to assure your Excellencies of my extreme satisfaction at learning that the Tycoon's Government has changed its policy with regard to foreign relations; and this intelligence, which I shall immediately communicate to my Government, will doubtless produce a conciliatory influence, and abate the painful and indignant impressions produced by the course hitherto pursued by the Tycoon's Ministers.

But your Excellencies have not informed me of what nature will be the new policy to be adopted; and the offending letter of Ogasawara, respecting the closing of the ports, has not only already reached the hands of the British Government, but has produced an impression tending to disturb all belief in the good faith of the Tycoon's Government. I cannot, therefore, predict what instructions may, in consequence, be addressed to me.

The policy which may now be adopted by the Tycoon's Ministers in regard to foreign relations will hereafter be exhibited and understood by its demeanour and acts, which will form the subject of my most anxious observation and attention. The policy of Her Majesty's Government, in the meanwhile, is invariably the same, namely, the maintenance of rights entered into by solemn Treaty with Japan, accompanied by a due consideration for the difficulties of the Tycoon's Government and its yet early relations with foreign States.

The letter of Ogasawara, to which your Excellencies refer, I now accordingly understand and record to have been withdrawn, cancelled, and retracted; its absolute return your Excellencies can hardly desire: should this be otherwise, I have no objection to return the letter in question.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) EDWD. ST. JOHN NEALE.

No. 75.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neale to Earl Russell.—(*Received January* 9, 1864.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, November* 17, 1863.

WITH reference to my preceding despatch by this mail, your Lordship will be less surprised to learn that the Prince of Satsuma hastened to a sense of the increasing danger attending his obstinacy in withholding the redress and reparation sought at his hands, and by the urgent declarations I have of late addressed to the Tycoon's Government respecting a renewal of hostilities, has himself come forward and through his Envoys sought to terminate the difficulties into which he had fallen with Her Majesty's Government.

I had no scruples in respect to receiving the Prince's Envoys, more especially as they were accompanied by two of the Tycoon's officers, and I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that after long and protracted discussions extending over three days, the result has terminated in the agreement to make immediate payment of the indemnity, in an earnest written engagement not to relax in constant search for the murderers of Mr. Richardson, and to subject them to capital punishment in the presence of one or more British officers when arrested.

I could hardly hesitate to accept these engagements, for it would have amounted to an unceasing and indefinite protraction of hostile action to have insisted upon the immediate arrest and execution of the malefactors, while their power and ability to find or arrest them I was in no condition to assert or to prove.

That the Prince of Satsuma should acknowledge the perpetrators of the murder to be deserving of death, and that he should engage not to relax in his efforts to bring them to justice, are of themselves guarantees for the future, while these admissions will moreover be suspended *in terrorem* over him should he fail in this or any other matter to act with good faith in regard to British subjects or British interests.

The immediate departure of the mail precludes my offering any further observations upon this unexpectedly sudden and satisfactory termination of a most difficult trans-

action. I cannot, however, omit to acquaint your Lordship that the information which has reached us from various sources, including some of the officers of the Prince of Satsuma, establishes the fact that the losses sustained by the Prince and the punishment inflicted by Her Majesty's squadron at Kagosima were very considerable. The destruction of property is estimated at 1,000,000*l.* sterling, and the number of Satsuma's adherents killed and wounded is stated to have been 1,500.

No. 76.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Neale.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 11, 1864.

I HAVE received your despatches of the 16th and 17th of November, the one reporting the withdrawal by the Government of the Tycoon of the order for the expulsion of foreigners, the other giving an account of your communications with the agents of the Prince of Satsuma, which terminated in an agreement that the Prince should pay the indemnity demanded of him for the sufferers on the 14th of September, 1862, and should endeavour to the utmost to discover the murderers of Mr. Richardson, and should cause them, when discovered, to be executed in the presence of British officers as witnesses of the execution.

Her Majesty's Government have received with the greatest satisfaction this intelligence of the termination of the pressing difficulties with Japan, and I have to convey to you their entire approval of the conciliatory and judicious manner in which you have conducted yourself generally in these matters.

Her Majesty's Government trust that they may now look forward to British intercourse with Japan being carried on without giving occasion for future collision. It is their earnest desire that nothing should occur to interfere with peaceful commerce, and they are prepared to make full allowance for the peculiar character of the Japanese Government. In short, the employment of measures of coercion or retaliation could only be warranted, in their opinion, by the necessity of prompt interference for the protection of the lives and properties of British subjects, or for the vindication of the honour of the British flag if assailed by wanton attacks on the part of the Government or influential nobles.

Her Majesty's Government are glad to find that the return of friendly relations has been quickly followed by an increased trade; but Her Majesty's Government approve your interference with the Japanese Government, as reported in your despatch of the 16th of November, to prevent the erection of batteries which would have placed foreign shipping at Yokohama in a disadvantageous position in case of any difference with the Japanese Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

JAPAN.

Correspondence respecting Affairs in Japan.

(In continuation of Correspondence presented to Parliament in February 1863.)

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1864.

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No. 1.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received January 7.)

My Lord, *Paris, January* 6, 1865.

THE Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, who has been instructed to communicate with your Lordship upon the subject, will no doubt have informed you that M. Drouyn de Lhuys, as at present advised, would prefer the payment of an indemnity by the Japanese Government to the opening of the port of Shimonasaki, the alternative being left to the Tycoon to propose by the Convention of the 22nd October.

His Excellency observed to me in the first place that Shimonasaki was no port at all, but an open roadstead, not always safe; secondly, that the port of Osaca, not a great way off, must, according to Treaty, soon be opened; and thirdly, that money was a substantial penalty which once received could not be recalled, whereas permission to trade at Shimonasaki might be rescinded at any moment.

I said that Sir Rutherford Alcock was on his way home, and that Her Majesty's Government would probably like to hear what he might have to say upon the subject before coming to any decision.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys took this opportunity of paying a high compliment to the ability displayed by Sir Rutherford Alcock in all his dealings with the Japanese Government. He added, with reference to the immediate subject of our conversation, that he should not press his opinion against that of the majority of the Powers interested, should that majority be of a different way of thinking.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 2.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 12, 1865.

I WISH your Excellency to inform M. Drouyn de Lhuys, with respect to his recommendation that, under the Convention of the 22nd of October, the Governments concerned should accept the indemnity in money in preference to the port of Shimonasaki, that, as Sir Rutherford Alcock is shortly expected in England, Her Majesty's Government propose to consult that experienced Minister before coming to any final decision on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 3.

Sir R. Alcock to Earl Russell.—(*Received February* 28, 1865.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, December* 23, 1864.

THE inclosed official communication from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs announcing the termination of the Mission sent to Europe early in this year for the purpose of negotiating with the Treaty Powers, and obtaining their consent to the closing of the port of Yokohama, has been sent to the foreign Representatives.

Your Lordship may remember that before the expedition to Shimonasaki their only thought was, as speedily as possible, to nominate another Mission.

The formal and avowed renunciation of all desire to renew such negotiations was one of the earliest fruits of our success at Shimonasaki.

The inclosed communication is a further step, giving as it does a distinct statement, which was never before attainable, of the several laws or edicts regulating the intercourse of the natives with foreigners. There was still wanting the transcript of the several edicts, with their dates, and these have since been sent me, and are also forwarded. Thus the law of Gongen Sama, interdicting intercourse and putting all foreigners under the ban of outlawry, so often referred to, has been modified, and its hostile provisions altogether repealed.

Whether the ratification of existing Treaties by the Mikado be secured by a formal act, or merely by a tacit acquiescence, is not practically, perhaps, of much importance. But the repeal of an ancient edict of outlawry, together with this acceptance of Treaties as a *fait accompli*, may both be considered to have been fairly attained now.

Peaceable and stable relations may on this basis be possible henceforth; on any other it had become clearly impracticable.

Inclosure 1 in No. 3.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Sir R. Alcock.

(Translation.)

WE have to make to your Excellency the following communication.

We informed your Excellency in our letter of the 7th day of our 8th month that, as our Envoys recently sent to the various countries (Treaty Powers) had returned from Paris in France, the Governor of Foreign Affairs, Osino Bitsiu no Kami, and the Ometske Tzukahara Tadzima no Kami were appointed to proceed to these various countries. Now, this new mission is herewith countermanded.

With respect, &c.

The 3rd day of the 11th month of the 1st year Gengi (December 1, 1864).

(Signed) MIDZUNO IDZUMI NO KAMI.
ABE BUNGO NO KAMI.
SUWA INABA NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 3.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Sir R. Alcock.

(Translation.)

WE have to make the following communication to your Excellency.

In accordance with the wish you expressed to the Governor for Foreign Affairs, we herewith submit an exposé of the general state of our dealings with foreign nations before the law of exclusion was repealed.

As in olden times, foreign vessels arriving near our coast behaved so badly that they anchored in ports which were not open, landed their crews without permission, terrified our people, seized the rice and corn from our transport junks, as also the cattle in islands belonging to our empire, and as in consequence of such injuries our people were bereft of the means for their peaceable existence, a Decree was issued in the 8th year of Bun-Sei Tori ordering to fire without hesitation on all foreign vessels coming to anchor.

In the course of time it appeared, however, that the circumstances of the world had undergone great changes, that the foreign Powers were from day to day progressing in

civilization, and the nations, through their good character and noble feelings, differed from those who formerly had made their appearance, and therefore, with the view of extending the path of friendship and mutual good feelings, the Decree of the year Bun-Sei was in the 13th year of Tempo-Tora modified in such a manner that, when foreign vessels in consequence of contrary wind and tide were driven towards our coast and obliged to anchor, the reason of their appearance should be ascertained from them, and if, through want of firewood, water, or provisions they were prevented to depart, such articles should be supplied to them, and they were also in every other respect to be treated with kindness; but at the same time it was enjoined to fire on them in case they conducted themselves badly.

Such were the stipulations for carrying on intercourse with foreign nations before the law of exclusion had been repealed.

The Decree of the year Bun-Sei was issued as a necessary measure against the bad conduct of foreign nations; that of the year Tempo in order to extend friendly feelings.

At present navigation is progressing rapidly, Treaties have been entered into with foreign Powers, the interchange of friendship and benevolence between the subjects of the two nations (Japanese and foreign) are daily increasing, and the relations prove from month to month more productive of mutual prosperity, which admits of no doubt.

We still await the improvement of this intercourse.

With respect, &c.

The 4th day of the 11th month of the 1st year of Gengi (December 2, 1864).

(Signed) MIDZUNO IDZUMI NO KAMI.
ABE BUNGO NO KAMI.
SUWA INABA NO KAMI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 3.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Sir R. Alcock.

(Translation.)

WE have to communicate to your Excellency the following.

In accordance with the request made by your Excellency to our Governor for Foreign Affairs, we herewith inclose copies of the proclamations formerly issued and circulated in our country, with respect to foreign vessels approaching our coast.

With respect and consideration.

The 18th day of the 11th month of the 1st year of Gengi (December 16, 1864.)

(Signed) MIDZUNO IDZUMI NO KAMI.
ABE BUNGO NO KAMI.
SUWA INABA NO KAMI.

Inclosure 4 in No. 3.

Proclamations formerly issued in Japan with respect to Foreign Vessels.

(Translation.)

The 15th day of the 2nd month of the 8th year of Bun-Sei Tori (1825).

AS to the mode of proceeding on the arrival of foreign vessels many proclamations have formerly been issued, and one was issued expressly in the year of Bun-kwa (1806) with respect to a Russian ship. But many years ago an English vessel committed an act of violence at Nagasaki, and in later years the English visited the various ports in small ships and asked for firewood, water, and provisions.

In the past year they landed forcibly, and either seized the rice and corn from on board the Japanese junks, or the cattle from the islands.

The continuation of such overbearing proceedings, as also the intention of introducing the Christian religion, having come to our knowledge, it is impossible to remain passive.

However, not only England, but also the Southern Barbaries and Western countries are of the Christian religion, which is prohibited among us. Therefore, if in future foreign vessels should come near any seaport whatever, the local inhabitants shall conjointly drive them away; but, in case they go away, it is not necessary to send boats to pursue them.

Should any (foreigners) land anywhere, they must be arrested, or killed; and if the ship approaches the shore, it must be destroyed. These matters must be proceeded with according to circumstances.

The above is republished for the information of everybody. In the event of any occurrence taking place, it must be reported to the Government. And every one shall be sufficiently prepared to that effect, according to the situation of the place; such to be done in a skilful, speedy, and durable manner. In the meantime, the Chinese, Coreans, Loo-chewans, and their junks can be distinguished from them (the foreigners); but as it is difficult to distinguish Dutch vessels from the others, it will not be considered a crime if, through mistake, these be damaged; it being essential to be always ready to drive the foreigners away, and not to lose a good opportunity.

The 23rd day of the 7th month of the 13th year of Tempo-Tora (1842).

It has been notified in the 8th year of Bun-sei (1825), that foreign vessels should be energetically driven away; but great changes in State matters taking place at this moment, and the mode of government having been brought back to that of the years Kio-ho (1716) and Kwan-sei (1789), His Majesty is benevolently of opinion that in every respect humanity should be exereised, and that it is not a proper proceeding simply to drive away foreign vessels in distress, only calling for firewood, water, and provisions, without ascertaining the cause of their appearance.

For this reason it is hereby notified, that the Decree issued in the 3rd year of Bun-kwa (1806), in regard to foreign vessels, has been again put into operation; and, consequently, if foreign vessels make their appearance, and it be satisfactorily ascertained that they cannot leave from want of firewood, water, and provisions, they shall, after having been supplied with the required quantities, be warned to depart; but none of the crews shall be allowed to land.

But this proclamation is not intended to make the people believe that the coast defences may now be neglected, and that they may cultivate friendship with foreigners: on the contrary, the defences of the various places must be made much stronger, the defences more numerous, and the supply of arms larger than has hitherto been the case; and this preparation must be effected without loss of time. It may be possible that foreign vessels, in order to try the disposition and strength of the local inhabitants, will make use of their fire-arms. In such case all impetuous movements must be avoided; and, having obtained an accurate knowledge of the reasons which induce these vessels to approach, steps must be taken for giving effect to the humane intention of His Majesty. Should they, however, after having been supplied with the required articles, still object to depart, and use violence, they must of course be driven away, and matters must be arranged according to the circumstances of the case.

To meet such a contingency, further instructions will hereafter be given.

Although the Decree of the 3rd year of Bun-kwa (1806) be at hand, the annexed copy is circulated to recall it to memory.

Proclamation issued in the 3rd year of Bunkwa-Tora (1806).

Some time ago a Russian vessel arrived at Nagasaki, asking to carry on trade, &c., but as such request could not be complied with, it has been warned to depart, taking from it the passport formerly granted, and at the same time been cautioned never to return to this country. For this reason it must be prevented to return. It is, however, possible that it may call at a certain seaport under pretext of distress; in which case measures must be taken for putting all the people at their respective posts, and for sending somebody on board to examine it, and if found to be truly a Russian ship, friendly advice must be given to induce it to depart. On the other hand, if it be actually in distress from want of water, firewood, and provisions, and not able to depart at once, it shall be provided with the necessary articles and allowed to depart. But, however strongly the crew may insist upon landing, such shall be prevented; and a guard-boat shall be stationed alongside such ship until its departure, and nobody shall be allowed to visit such ship. The proceedings must be reported to the Government.

In the meantime should such vessel not listen to the repeated friendly advice which shall be given, and refuse to depart, measures shall be taken, according to circumstances, for driving it away without first referring to the Government, but the report in such case shall be made afterwards; and everything shall be arranged as provided and notified in the 3rd year of Kwan-sei (1789) with respect to foreign vessels.

No. 4.

Sir R. Alcock to Earl Russell.—(*Received February* 28, 1865.)

(Extract.) *Nagasaki, December* 31, 1864.

ON my way here I visited Shimonasaki, and satisfied myself the report spread by the last vessel which arrived at Yokohama of the reconstruction or rearming of Choshiu's batteries was without any foundation.

The inclosed report from Major Wray, Royal Engineers, places the matter beyond all doubt.

Neither the Prince of Nagato nor any of his ministers were within easy distance for communication. Hito, however, one of his officers, came off and gave some information on the present state of affairs.

The Prince himself is at Hangi. All his people, together with himself, are under the ban of the Empire, and consequently cannot shave, but are compelled to allow the hair to grow long, which certainly does not improve their appearance.

We passed several steamers of Satsuma's and other Daimios, and one of the Tycoon's. There was reported to be a large gathering of Daimios and troops at Aki, under the command of the Prince of Owari, to attack Choshiu in his territory; but from all I can learn I cannot help thinking there will be some settlement without real warfare. The officer reported that the Prince's orders were not to fight if they were attacked, but neither his troops nor subjects were disposed to permit their Prince to be dispossessed without striking a blow in his defence.

The people were perfectly civil, as were also the officials, and there has continued to be the same good feeling shown ever since the Convention for the cessation of hostilities was entered into.

Inclosure in No. 4.

Major Wray, R.E., to Sir R. Alcock.

Sir, *"Barrosa," at sea, December* 30, 1864.

IN accordance with your request, I visited yesterday the four principal batteries attacked and silenced on the 5th September. I also went up to the stockade attacked and taken on the 6th September.

There is no appearance of any intention on the part of the Japanese to repair the batteries or re-erect the barracks or magazines.

On the contrary, they have removed what we left unburnt of the woodwork and palisades, and the parapets are rapidly being washed down by the rain.

To-day in passing the two batteries near Kibuno Point, I could make out distinctly that nothing has been done in the way of repair, and these parapets are also being rapidly washed down.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY WRAY.

No. 5.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(*Received March* 15.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, January* 16, 1865.

SINCE the dispatch of last mail no event of importance has occurred. My communications with the Japanese Government have been devoid of general interest.

The officers of this Government continue to assure me that the most active means are employed for the apprehension of Takahashi Tojiro, the assassin of the officers of the 2nd battalion 20th Regiment, who is still at large. The authorities seem to be fully alive to the necessity of arresting the career of a fanatic who has once tasted blood, before he has made himself the hero of an admiring band, ready to second and imitate his actions.

Trade at this port continues, and I learn from the report of several heads of foreign mercantile firms that the ingress of produce and egress of goods are described by their native friends as being now less restricted than they have been for two years past.

The carriage road towards Mississippi Bay is being rapidly made, and I am in

good hopes that on its completion the Japanese Government will undertake, with the same earnest will, some one of the other works stipulated in the Convention of 19th December.

Your Lordship will certainly receive later information from Sir R. Alcock, with respect to the proceedings of the expeditionary forces collected by the Daimios on joint orders of the Mikado and Tycoon against Choshiu, than any which has yet reached Yokohama. At the date Captain Moresby of Her Majesty's ship "Argus" left the Straits (10th December), the ships and men were only beginning to assemble. The conversation of that gentleman with the officers of the rebel Prince did not suggest the idea that the belligerents were likely to proceed to hostilities without trying the chances of previous negotiation. Choshiu's people spoke with confidence of their capacity to resist the attacking force. On the whole the probability is that the matter will be settled by a compromise, involving the retirement of the present Prince, and the performance of some act of public atonement or satisfaction.

Looking to the composition of the force called together to carry into execution the joint behests of the Mikado and Tycoon, one can hardly deem it likely the great feudal vassals will care to effect the utter ruin of one of their own class. Such a blow can only tend to the elevation of the Tycoon's power and the profit of his officers; ends which, with our positive knowledge of the past relations and present views of Satsuma, we can hardly suppose to be very sincerely sought by the head of the confederated Daimios.

That these views are entertained by the Tycoon's Government itself, I think there is reason to infer from the ardent desire exhibited for the retention of the naval and military forces at Yokohama.

Your Lordship is aware that the Japanese originally undertook to provide quarters for the 2nd battalion of the 20th Regiment, on the height adjacent to Yokohama. To this first camp has subsequently been added accommodation for the battalion of marines and for the detachments of artillery and engineers. It is only a few days ago that owing to a sudden increase of small-pox afloat and ashore, it became necessary to ask for a large increase of hospital accommodation—a demand at once acceded to.

I have been unable to detect the slightest overt symptom of jealousy, either in word or act, on the part of the authorities connected with these troops.

No. 6.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(Received May 29.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, January 30, 1865.*

I HAVE the honour to bring to your Lordship's notice a despatch, with its inclosure, from the Gorogio, evincing considerable anxiety with respect to intercourse which had taken place between foreign merchant-vessels and the officers or subjects of Choshiu.

The apprehensions of the Gorogio, though not expressed in the despatch, evidently regard attempts to supply the rebellious Prince with munitions of war. It is understood that the American vessel referred to in the Prince of Buzen's report is the "Monitor," a small steamer fitted with heavy guns for the purpose of being sold to the Japanese.

At a meeting of the Diplomatic Representatives, it was deemed desirable to forward answers which, though substantially the same, should embody variations corresponding with the position of the respective writers as affected by the circumstances of any intercourse within their knowledge. Inclosed is a copy of my own reply to the Gorogio.

The prolongation of a rebellion in Japan through the opening, by foreigners, of an illicit trade in arms, would not only be a prohibited evil of great magnitude, but in itself obviously detrimental to the general interests of foreign commerce, which must always be prejudicially affected by the continuance of civil dissensions. Such a course would simply be to make foreign trade a curse and a nuisance to Japan. I deemed it right, therefore, to direct the attention of Her Majesty's Consuls to the subject in the circular of which I forward a copy.

As I have no information of designs on the part of British subjects to connect themselves with such a trade, it is impossible to consider the indefinite report of the Japanese authorities as affording ground for more specific action. I shall not, however, hesitate in event of receiving any colourable information of such proceedings on the part of Her Majesty's subjects to put an end to them by energetic measures of repression.

I trust these views will meet with your Lordship's approbation.

Inclosure 1 in No. 6.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Winchester.

(Translation.)

WE have the honour to make the following communication to your Excellency.

Some time ago we received a communication from Ogasawara Sakuyono Daibu, Prince of the Province of Buzen, to the effect that the subjects of Mori Daizen had visited the foreign vessels at anchor at Tanawoora, Province of Buzen, as per inclosed copy of his statement.

As Daizen is, as you know, a horrible rebel, and private intercourse with him from subjects of Treaty Powers may lead to misunderstandings calculated to result in difficulties between the two countries, we desire that you will request your ships and your people to have no private intercourse in future with the subjects of Daizen.

24th day of the 12th month of the 1st year of Gengi (January 21, 1865.)

(Signed) MIDZUNO IDZUMI NO KAMI.
ABE BUNGO NO KAMI.
SUWA INABA NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 6.

Report from Ogasawara Sakuyono Daibu.

(Translation.)

ON the 19th day of the 9th month (19th October), it appeared that the subjects of Nagato went on board the foreign ships at anchor at Tanawura, in my territory, and immedately returned.

On the 20th (20th October) a boat flying the flag of Nagato, and coming from Akamagaseki, visited the foreign ships at Tanuwura.

On the 21st some people from Akamagaseki (apparently the subjects of Nagato) visited the foreign vessels at anchor at Monginowura, taking on board a white parcel about two feet long resembling a white linen bag.

On the 18th of the 11th month (17th December), a foreign vessel anchored at Monginowura, in the Province of Nagato, and was communicated with by six or seven people from Nagato; after which ten Europeans, armed with fire-arms, landed at Hatikenga near Akamagaseki. It was ascertained by one of our boats that the vessel was an American ship.

On the 19th (18th December) three or four people (who, we presume, belonged to Nagato) visited the American ship in the Sea of Monginowura, taking on board a case, after which they returned.

Inclosure 3 in No. 6.

Mr. Winchester to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Your Excellencies, *Yokohama, January* 26, 1865.

I HAVE received your despatch of date 21st January, inclosing a Report from Ogasawara Satsuyono Daibu, giving an account of certain communications between foreign ships and the followers of Mori Daizen, and have to reply:—

1. That I regret a more detailed and explicit description of the ships has not been supplied, which would have enabled me to ascertain the names and characters of the vessels referred to, and the exact circumstances of their intercourse with Choshiu's people.

2. That the only British merchant-vessel which has recently passed the Straits was the steamer "Australian." She touched on a sunken rock in passing near Kokura, and having received assistance from Her Majesty's steamer "Argus," immediately returned to Shanghai to be docked. The war vessels of the English squadron have of course communicated, by orders of the Admiral, with the officers of Mori Daizen, in order to prevent the re-arming of the batteries, but the Report of the Prince evidently does not refer to the proceedings of war ships.

3. That British vessels are prohibited from trading at other places than the three recognised ports, and that I shall take stringent measures for prohibiting any attempts to open elsewhere commerce of illegal or clandestine nature.

With respect, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure 4 in No. 6.

Circular to Her Majesty's Consuls in Japan.

Sir, *Yokohama, January* 27, 1865.

SOME rumours have reached me of attempts, on the part of foreign vessels, to open an illicit and clandestine trade in arms with Mori Daizen (Choshiu), and a despatch has been received from the Gorogio, reporting circumstances giving a colour to these statements. I direct you to do all in your power to discourage Her Majesty's subjects from engaging in such commerce. You are instructed to point out that the only legitimate trade is conducted at the recognized ports; that even there sales of munitions of war are restricted by the clause of the Treaty Regulations, and that parties will be held strictly responsible for any violation of Treaty law in this respect.

British ships and subjects engaging in any such traffic forfeit, *ipso facto*, for the time being, claim to protection; and if in spite of warning you find individuals determined to persevere in such unlawful course, I leave it to your discretion to communicate to the authorities at your port any information calculated to defeat their intentions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

No. 7.

Earl Russell to Sir F. Bruce.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, March* 30, 1865.

YOU are aware that in answer to Sir R. Alcock's question as to whether Her Majesty's Government would be willing to accept the opening to foreign trade of the port of Shimonasaki, or of some more eligible port in the vicinity of those Straits, in lieu of a pecuniary ransom for the town of Shimonasaki, and of an indemnity to cover the expenses of the expedition against the Prince of Nagato,* I stated that Her Majesty's Government would be willing to renounce any money payment if greater or equal advantages could be secured by stipulations to be obtained from the Tycoon or the Mikado.

It would appear, however, that the Government of the Emperor of the French does not feel disposed to renounce its claim to the indemnity money; and that the Netherlands Government concurs in that opinion.

Under these circumstances, and as it seems to be essential that the allied Powers should adopt a common course of proceeding in this respect, I have to instruct you to ask Mr. Seward what view of the matter is taken by the Government of the United States.

You will call Mr. Seward's attention to the Article of the Convention relating to this subject.

No. 8.

Earl Russell to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 8, 1865.

I DO not propose to give you detailed instructions, as your course must be guided in a great measure by the state of affairs which you will find in Japan.

I anticipate, however, that upon your arrival you will find the advantages gained by the proceedings of Sir R. Alcock and Admiral Kuper in the Straits of Shimonasaki, still bearing fruit in peaceable intercourse and continued tranquillity.

The principal of these advantages are:—

1. The abandonment of any pretence on the part of the Mikado or the Tycoon to violate Treaties, and banish foreigners from Japan.

2. The faithful execution of these Treaties, with the modifications and delays allowed by the Treaty Powers when the Japanese Envoys came to Europe in 1862.

3. Either the confirmation of the Treaties by the Mikado, or the formal admission that the Tycoon having, as the Prince of Satsuma said, the Treaty-making

* See Correspondence respecting Affairs in Japan, No. 1, 1865, page 128.

power, required no sanction from the Mikado for the conclusion and execution of the Treaties with European Powers and the United States of America.

4. The trial of all persons accused of murdering British subjects, and their execution if convicted.

5. The assignment of a fit residence, or site for a residence, at Yeddo, for Her Majesty's Envoy, and fit barracks and hospitals at Yokohama, to be maintained in repair by the Tycoon's Government.

I have only further to observe that it will be much easier to maintain all these advantages as fixed and established by our recent successes and agreements, than to restore them if once lost.

For the purpose of maintaining and improving our relations with Japan, you will cultivate the most cordial relations with the French, Dutch, and United States' Ministers, and act in concert with the officers commanding Her Majesty's land and sea forces.

You will pursue a firm but conciliatory policy towards the Tycoon and his Ministers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 9.

Earl Russell to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 8, 1865.

IN my despatch to Sir R. Alcock of the 3rd of last December, I stated in answer to a question whether Her Majesty's Government would be willing to accept the opening to foreign trade of the port of Shimonasaki, or of some more eligible port in the vicinity of the Straits, in lieu of the indemnity to cover the expense of the late expedition, and of a pecuniary ransom for the town of Shimonasaki, that Her Majesty's Government would be willing to renounce any money payment, if greater or equal advantages could be secured by stipulations to be obtained from the Tycoon or Mikado.

On communicating, however, with the French and Netherlands Governments, Her Majesty's Government have not found the same disposition to forego the money claim. On the contrary, those two Governments appear to view the proposed opening of the port of Shimonasaki or of some other port in its vicinity as a concession of far less value than the stipulated indemnity.

Under these circumstances Her Majesty's Government, anxious above all things to act in unison with the other Treaty Powers, have instructed Sir F. Bruce to ascertain the views of the Cabinet of Washington upon this point, and I shall consequently not be able to announce to you the decision of Her Majesty's Government thereupon until his reply shall have been received, and Her Majesty's Government shall have further conferred with the French and Netherland Governments.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 10.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(Received April 19.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, February* 15, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to forward copy of a communication from the Acting Japanese Secretary, Mr. Dohmen, reporting the tenour of an interview with a Governor of Foreign Affairs.

Your Lordship will gather from it that the difficulty with the Prince of Choshiu has been arranged without actual hostilities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure in No. 10.

Mr. Dohmen to Mr. Winchester.

Sir, *Yokohama, February* 15, 1865.

HAVING by your directions addressed a communication to the Governors of Foreign Affairs, expressive of the wish to see one of their number before the departure of the mail, in order to obtain some positive information with respect to the rumours which we had heard regarding certain movements against Choshiu, I received this morning an intimation from the Custom-house that Kikuchi Iyo no Kami, a Governor of Foreign Affairs, had just arrived from Yeddo, and requested to see me on the subject of my despatch to that Department.

At an interview with this functionary, I was told that the Prince of Owari had been sent, at the head of a powerful army, to attack Choshiu from various points, but that the latter, together with his son, met the Commander-in-chief in the province of Aki, and offered his submission; that he (Choshiu) had sent the heads of his three Karos who created the disturbance last year at Kioto; that his palace at Yamanguchi had been destroyed, and that the Prince and his son had retired into a temple within his dominions as a sign of repentance; and that in consequence of these terms peace had been granted to that rebellious vassal.

This, the Governor said, was the communication he had been instructed to make to me.

Before breaking up interview I took occasion to ask whether there was any truth in the reports which had reached us from different parts of the country to the effect that preparations were being made at Hiogo for the speedy opening of that port to foreign commerce.

The Governor replied in the negative, and stated that these reports must have originated in the fact that Hiogo, being a very central place in the Inland Sea, and so close to the rebel provinces, the Government had deemed it expedient to appoint a Governor there instead of being, as had hitherto been the case, under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Osaka.

Herewith the interview ended.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MARTIN DOHMEN.

No. 11.

Earl Russell to Mr. Winchester.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 24, 1865.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 30th of January last, and its inclosures, respecting the illicit trade in arms asserted by the Japanese Government to be carried on by foreigners with the Prince of Choshiu, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government are advised that under Article LXXXV of a new Order in Council which will shortly come into operation, Her Majesty's Minister in Japan will, so far as British subjects are concerned, have the power, by the issue of a regulation, to obviate the evil complained of, viz., the sending munitions of war to the enemies of the Japanese Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 12.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(Received April 27.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, February* 28, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that since the departure of last mail nothing of an eventful character has taken place.

The reports with respect to the opening of Hiogo still prevail. I have not myself thought it necessary to initiate any official correspondence with the Gorogio on the subject, and have limited myself to inquiries at interviews with such of the Governors of Foreign Affairs as were sent to communicate with me. This course appeared preferable,

inasmuch as the arrival of next mail will give time for receiving the instructions of Her Majesty's Government in reference to the Convention of 22nd October.

I communicated the substance of the information to the other Representatives, and it appears that Mr. Pruyn addressed the Gorogio a despatch of inquiry as to the nature of these reports. The answer was received yesterday by the United States' Consul, who had instructions in the absence of his Minister on a short visit to Yeddo (for which place he left yesterday morning), to circulate its contents, if of a positive character, among the American merchants. It was communicated to me with a request for translation.

The reply is couched in the ambiguous style with which the Japanese interpreters transfer the ideas from their own language to the Dutch, when it is desirable not to be explicit. I take it to be a faint denial, for there is an admission of preparations referring to the opening of the port as one stipulated by Treaty, and therefore to be regulated by the arrangements made in Europe by the first Embassy in 1862. But admitting that the Japanese authorities will deem it necessary to make elaborate preparations to meet, what will be, whenever it comes, a very formidable rush of foreign commercial aspirants, three years is certainly a very early date for their commencement.

M. Roches and General Pruyn inform me that they have addressed to the Gorogio letters as to the completion of their respective Legations on Goten-yama, with the view of leading to the selection of another site as favourable for foreign Legations, but less objectionable to the native authorities.

It had been my intention for some weeks past to accept an invitation from the Dutch Consul-General to pay him a visit in Yeddo, and to consider, and if necessary discuss, on the spot, the substitution of some more convenient temple than Tozenjee (now dismantled), as a temporary Legation; a proposal which I know will not meet with opposition if it becomes desirable to make it, the authorities having quite recently made over one very advantageously situated near the French Legation, to the Swiss Consul. The present seems therefore to be a favourable time for my visit, as it will also enable me to make inquiries as to the more important subjects of the opening of Hiogo, and the selection of a permanent site.

I propose to proceed to Yeddo to-morrow. As Mr. Polsbroek, when he took up residence, was accompanied by His Netherlands Majesty's corvette "Metalen Kruis," which leaves for Nagasaki to-morrow, I suggested to Commodore Montresor that it would be right to take up the "Severn" on that day.

These arrangements have not met with even the usual attempts at dissuasion which follow announcements to visit Yeddo. I propose to remain four entire days, and have taken every pains to make my stay as little onerous to the Japanese as possible.

I shall avail myself of any opportunity which may occur to present the Commodore and Colonel Browne, the Commandant, to the Gorogio.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure in No. 12.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Pruyn.

(Translation.)

ON receipt of a letter dated 16th February, we have well understood that you have heard a report to the effect our Government had the intention of opening Hiogo in a short time. Now as the said port is near Kioto, and, as it were, the street leading to the western districts, and, as in event of internal difficulties it would be injudicious to leave it in its present state, a Governor has been appointed for the maintenance of order in that place.

In the meantime the Representatives of the different foreign Powers will, of course, be duly consulted when the time arrives for the opening of the said port, because it is mentioned in the Treaty.

It is therefore desirable that you should no longer have doubts on these subjects, which we beg to represent as our reply.

(Signed) MIDZUMO IDZUMI NO KAMI.
SUWO INABA NO KAMI.

(No date. Received February 27, 1865.)

No. 13.

Earl Russell to Mr. Winchester.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 4, 1865.

HER Majesty's Government approve your proceedings with reference to the reported intention to open the port of Hiogo, and your intended visit to Yeddo, as stated in your despatch of the 28th of February.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 14.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(Received May 29.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, March* 30, 1865.

THE following items of information have been furnished by the Interpreters of the Legation during the last fortnight, in reference to the internal condition of Japan.

Mr. Satow states that the cause of the Mito ronins has received its death-blow. There were 770 prisoners in the custody of Kanga, at Tsurunga, in Echizen. The force commanded by Kanga amounted to 1,300 of his own followers, besides troops belonging to the Tycoonate and other Daimios. On the 22nd ultimo the prisoners were handed over to the Tycoon's officers, and on the 27th, Takeda Inga no Kami, their leader, and 24 principal Chiefs were brought to trial, and executed on the 1st of March. On the 10th and 11th, it is said, 704 more were beheaded, thus accounting for all but a few of those who were confined at Tsurunga.

The population felt great sympathy for the ronins, in respect of their alleged design of expelling foreigners, and the Tycoon's Government was blamed for its severity against men animated by patriotic ideas.

Mr. Siebold, who has just returned from Nagasaki by way of the Inland Sea, reports a visit to the merchant-steamer "Union" by the officers of the Prince of Nagato. It appears from the statements they made that the Sako party had been expelled from the Choshiu Provinces after five actions. In reference to the last of these the officer said, with much apparent satisfaction, that Kikawa Genmoty, imitating the tactics of the Admirals in September last, first bombarded the stockade from ships, then landed his men and took the inclosure by a flank attack. The remains of the party were said to have taken possession of a steamer and escaped in it to the Tsusima Group, the Daimio of which is connected by alliance with the house of Mori Daizen. The officer said that the Prince and his son were pardoned by the Mikado (*vide* copy rescript inclosed) and had let their hair grow; but that under any circumstances the followers of his master's house were determined to resist by force the dismemberment of the territories of Nagato and Suwo.

In a conversation Mr. Siebold had with the Karo of Iyo (Island of Sikok) and with the agents of the Daimios of Fizen and Tchikuzen, it appeared to him that there was reason to infer the existence on the part of these Daimios of a great desire for entering into commercial relations with foreigners. The poverty of their finances and their yearly augmenting expenditure have at last convinced them that the best means of arriving at wealth would be the opening of commercial relations with foreign countries. Unfortunately the Government of the Tycoon has placed so many difficulties in their way at the open ports that it has been impossible for them to profit by trade, and they have been up to the present moment only sufferers by the rising in price of articles for daily use. They are all anxiously looking forward to the opening of Shimonasaki, as being the last chance of recovering their wealth and power.

The Daimios will themselves enter into commercial relations rather than allow their subjects to trade, as they fear much the rising of that middle class which, up to the present moment, have been kept down by arbitrary power below the agricultural classes. There would be, on the part of the Kiusiu Daimios, great opposition against the opening of Hiogo or Osaca, as they consider it detrimental to their interests. The central provinces, however, would have less objections to it. The Daimio of Tchikuzen was attempting to raise a loan of some 300,000 kobangs, to be repaid in three years by the produce of his domains.

The foregoing items of information, while they sufficiently evidence the division of interests which prevails in Japan, tend to confirm the impressions of the great access of strength the Tycoon has derived from the policy pursued by the Foreign Representatives in 1864, and the belief that foreign commercial relations have before them a period of

comparative tranquillity, in which they will extend themselves and take firm root in the country. That the opening of some eligible port in the Inland Sea would give stability to the present order of things by hoping to satisfy the Mikado and powerful Daimios, whose estates form its shores, with a share of the advantages derived from foreign commerce, there can be little doubt;—or that till such a port is opened the foreign position will always be liable to be affected by the operation of the jealousies caused by the concentration of foreign trade so near to the Tycoon's military capital.

Rumours still occasionally reach me to the effect that the second assassin of the unfortunate officers of the 2nd battalion of the 20th Regiment has been apprehended, as also that this ruffian was engaged in the murder of the French sous-lieutenant Camus; but, notwithstanding frequent inquiries, these statements have never been confirmed by authority.

It is a great satisfaction to be able to continue to report the peaceful progress of our relations with this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure in No. 14.

Extract of the Mikado's Sentence on the Prince of Nagato.

MACHIDA ECHIGO, Fukuhara Echigo, Kohuchi Shinano, Karos of Choshiu.

The above having committed their hara kiru, their heads were sent to Owari Dainagon, Prince of Owari; he transmitted them to the Mikado as the original principals of the rebellion of Choshiu; the Mikado, however, returned them as not being a sufficient atonement.

Mori Daizen, old Prince; Mori Nagato, younger Prince, left his castle and entered a temple in token of submission.

Mori Sakionoske, Mori Awadzi no Kami, Mori Idsoomi no Kami; these have voluntarily submitted themselves to a domiciliary confinement of the 1st class.*

No. 15.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(*Received June* 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, April* 8, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to communicate to your Lordship a copy of the reply received from the Gorogio to the communication addressed to them on the question of residence in Yeddo.

Similar answers have been sent to the other Representatives.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure in No. 15.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Winchester.

(Translation.)

WE have to make to you the following communication.

Although we had formed a plan for building (or rebuilding) the British Legation at Goten-yama in this capital, yet as this site is somewhat objectionable to us, we must cancel that plan.

Meanwhile, as you are well aware of the present circumstances of the country, we think that you will not insist upon fixing immediately another site for the same. The subject is now under consideration; we shall point out to you the new site as soon as it shall be determined upon.

It is therefore desirable that you will take the above into consideration.

With respect and consideration.

The 9th day of 3rd month of 2nd year of Gengi (April 5, 1865).

(Signed) MIDZUNO IDZUMI NO KAMI.
SUWO INABA NO KAMI.

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* The domiciliary confinement consists in:—"the gate shall be closed and the windows shut, but not nailed down; in case of illness of the person or persons confined medical assistance may be called at night. In case of fire alarm may be given if threatening to destroy the house, the confined persons may leave the house and give notice of their departure to the authorities."—*Translated from Penal Code. Alex. von Siebold.*

No. 16.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(Received June 16.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, April 12, 1865.*

I HAVE the honour to forward for the information of your Lordship copy of a letter received from the Gorogio relative to the Convention of 22nd October last.

This communication conveys the decision of the Japanese Government as to the alternatives embodied in that agreement, and announces that they prefer paying a money indemnity to opening Shimonasaki, or any other port in the Inland Sea.

If the terms of the despatch had intimated an intention of carrying out the stipulations of the alternative selected, in the manner and at the times regulated by Article II of the Convention, there would have been nothing else to do save at once to forward a simple acceptance of the choice which had been made.

If the text of the agreement itself is compared with that of the proposal now made, your Lordship will not fail to observe that there are very essential variations sufficient to raise a doubt as to the intention of the Tycoon's Administration. Firstly, the second instalment, instead of being paid in three months after the first, is to be deferred for a year, and secondly, nothing is stated with respect to the times of payment of the four remaining instalments, which we are left to infer are to be made at the expiration of every succeeding three months; though it is not very evident why the Japanese Government should be more sanguine of its ability to pay up the whole during the fifteen months commencing July 1866, than in the eighteen months following July 1865.

I have deferred making any reply to this communication, because there has not yet been any meeting of the Representatives, parties to the Convention, and one cannot be conveniently held till after the departure of the mail, and because, with the prospect of the receipt of the ratification and instructions referred to in Article II, it is desirable to keep Her Majesty's Representative free to act in the manner best calculated to promote the views and ends which your Lordship may then indicate.

I have in former despatches endeavoured to acquaint your Lordship with the impressions I had received from passing events, occurrences, and reports with reference to the probable wishes and action of the Japanese Government in regard to this Convention. I have never believed that the Tycoon's Government would consent to open Shimonasaki while it remained under the sovereignty of Choshiu, unless wrung from it by the pressure of actual hostilities. Such a step would be an utter abandonment of the constitutional privilege of controlling foreign relations, to which only in the last extremity it could be expected to agree.

The details given in my despatches relative to the settlement of the Choshiu affair sufficiently show that it was the policy of the Princes entrusted with the duty of bringing the rebellious Prince to terms, to avoid the ruin of their powerful co-feudatory. The Tycoon has evidently been obliged to content himself with such constitutional submission as was deemed by them adequate to atone for his personal offences, and has been utterly unable to effect that partition of Nagato and Suwo which would have led to the seizure of Shimonasaki and the Straits, as the Suzerain's share of the spoil, and so admit of the fulfilment of the Convention by opening it to foreign trade. The known desire of the Princes of Kiusiu to trade with foreigners at a port subject to one of their own number, as evidenced by the reports of Mr. Siebold, embodied in my despatch of March 30, must be well known to the Ministers, and naturally excites the deepest jealousy. I have, however, always been sceptical as to whether the fact of a port being under the control of a Prince unequal in rank to the Tycoon would be much security against the attempted imposition of restrictions (for his own benefit), certain to lead to quarrels of which it would be difficult to keep clear.

But while I felt satisfied that the Japanese Government, rather than consent to the opening of Shimonasaki as a Daimio port, would assume for a time the responsibility of the indemnity, even if it had been double the amount, the known state of the finances of the Tycoonate, impoverished by considerable sums paid to the Mikado as the price of abandoning Choshiu, induced me to believe that the obligation to pay so large an indemnity as 3,000,000 dollars would be felt as a very grievous burden. Large sums have been actually expended on arms, ships, &c., and in order to set in motion the forces against Choshiu, many considerable purchases had to be made at Nagasaki, the drafts covering which are still in the hands of foreigners unpaid.

It has always been matter of difficulty to obtain any exact account of the revenues of the Tycoonate. It is of course composed of the land taxes and duties accruing on the commerce of the territories forming the appanage. The quit-rents on which the

eighteen Kokoshiu Daimios hold their possessions, estimated at one-third of the whole country, are understood in all, save the obligation of military service, to be nominal. In some cases, the presentation of a few horses, a sword, or other warlike stores, which can only be considered as peppercorns, are the whole amount of their quit-rents. In certain settled contingencies, as when the palace is burned, when the Tycoon visits Kioto, &c., there are regulated contributions of moderate amounts paid by these Daimios, but they collect the local revenue through their own officials, and furnish no account either of receipts or expenditure. It can hardly be believed that these form any very considerable addition to the actual revenue.

With respect to the lands held by the smaller or foodai Daimios, estimated at another third, it is understood that the land tax, whether in kind or money, is collected by the local officers under the surveillance of those of the Tycoon, and that only a very moderate per-centage, after the cost of administration and the household expenses of the Princes are allowed for, can fall to the share of the Tycoon.

With respect to the remaining third, which as imperial territory is presumed to be more immediately under the control of the Tycoon's Government, the action of the Japanese system will be understood better if it is kept in mind that officers, such as Governors, Vice-Governors, Hattamotos and military officers of the higher rank, are not paid in money, but receive as their salaries rents and taxes of certain lands farmed out to them, subject to contributions perhaps somewhat larger in amount than those spoken of.

The transit dues on internal commerce are known to be moderate, and the expensive surveillance maintained on foreign commerce is sufficient to absorb the greater part of the out-turn of the legal duties. It is understood that in emergencies the Tycoon has the right to call on the great bankers at Osaca to make advances free of interest on the produce received as revenue in kind. In illustration of this subject, I forward a memorandum from Mr. Siebold, which embodies the notions current amongst the Japanese in contact with us on these subjects.

Whatever may be the accuracy of these statements, enough is known to satisfy us that the resources of the Japanese Government, so far as the power of making large money payments is concerned, must be very limited.

Under these circumstances it appears dubious whether we shall not find the Gorogio in July 1866, deferring the third payment to the same month in the following year, even if they do not trust to the chapter of accidents relieving them from the remainder of the instalments. The Government is not likely to obtain any voluntary assistance springing out of patriotic sympathy, as the present monopoly of foreign commerce is a cause of intense jealousy both with the Daimios and the Mikado.

Your Lordship will not be surprised to find that loooking to the financial state of the country, and the proclivity of the Japanese to levy "squeezes" by the interposition of restrictions, many of the best informed foreign residents, official as well as civilian, see in these indemnities nothing but an additional duty to be levied on foreign commerce by one of a score of means suited to Japanese ideas of raising funds.

The United States' Minister was, a few days ago, good enough to read me the despatch in which he transmitted this Convention. It contained a paragraph in which, after stating the probability of a port being opened, he expressed his belief that indemnities were impolitic, and that the sum received for the Richardson affair had been paid for by additional duties on goods and provisions brought to this port for foreign consumption, and the profits received on the shipment and relanding of goods by persons desirous of placing the property of their constituents in safety. I certainly share this opinion.

I confess, therefore, that the protracted payment of this indemnity seems to be very much like the hanging of a millstone for five or six years round the neck of our own trade. It is, I grant, impossible to escape the payment of some indemnity to satisfy the claim of France for firing on the "Kienchan," admitted by the Convention of Paris, and the claims of the United States and Netherlands resting on similar foundations, viz., the attacks on the "Medusa" and "Wyoming;" but I trust your Lordship will pardon me for respectfully venturing to suggest that advantage may be taken by the Governments of the four Powers of the long interval between the first and second instalments to effect some arrangement which, by securing general advantages, such as the opening of Hiogo, or a revision of the tariff, will be compatible with a reduction of the total amount of the indemnity.

Inclosure 1 in No. 16.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Winchester.

(Translation.)

WE have to communicate to you the following:—

In order to regulate the claims against Mori Daizen, for his hostile acts committed upon the ships of different Powers, the Convention of the 22nd day of the 9th month of the past year, Né, was after negotiation ratified between us and the Representatives of the different Powers; and it was agreed that one of the two alternatives, viz., the opening of Shimonasaki or some other port in the Inland Sea, in the interest of the respective Governments, or the payment of the indemnity stipulated in the said Convention, should be adopted.

Having maturely considered the present state of affairs in our country, we find that the opening of a port would not only affect our internal affairs, but also create some inconvenience to the different foreign Powers.

Properly speaking, the cause from which the serious difficulties respecting foreign relations have arisen, is Mori Daizen, and consequently the indemnity money ought to be found from him; but as he is one of the Daimios of Japan, it is impossible to permit him to enter into negotiations respecting this matter with the different Powers, and thus our Government is compelled to make itself responsible for the same.

Now, if in lieu thereof a new port were opened, the difficulties between the two countries (Japan and the West) would greatly increase, and for this reason we have, after mature deliberation, decided for the latter alternative, namely, the payment of the indemnity.

The difficulties with Choshiu, however, are not quite settled as yet, and therefore part of the indemnity which is to be paid in six instalments will be paid in the 6th month (July-August), and it is desirable that the other periodical payments be deferred till the 6th month of next year, Tora, inclusive, *i. e.* for one year.

As you are thoroughly acquainted with the state of our internal affairs, we feel confident that you will accede to our wish.

With respect and consideration,

The 10th day of the 3rd month of the 2nd year of Gengi (April 6, 1865).

(Signed) MIDZUNO IDZUMI NO KAMI.
SUWO INABA NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 16.

Memorandum respecting the Tycoon's Revenues.

THE revenues of the Tycoon's Government are not officially known; but the general impression of the officials serving at Court is that it must amount to 8,000,000 koku. This is composed of the revenues paid in rice, and transmitted through the collectors of rents, but does not include duties and taxes, which are never included in the returns of revenues. Neither does it include the gain made in the silver and gold mines, and by the re-minting of dollars into Japanese coin.

The larger expenses of the country are paid in land revenues, so that all the officers who receive large salaries are paid in lands, by the revenues of which they exist. Therefore the expenditure of the Tycoon principally consists in the expenses of his own household, and the pay of the lower officers and military class (who are paid in rice).

The Daimios do not pay any tribute. On the contrary, the Tycoon is supposed to lend them money at very low rates—between 5 and 7 per cent. (the lawful interest is about 12 per cent.)

His average household expenses are estimated at 360,000 kobangs—equal to 400,000 dollars.

Yokohama, April 12, 1865.

No. 17.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(*Received June* 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, April* 13, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report for your Lordship's information the satisfactory and uneventful character of our general and commercial relations in this country during the last fortnight.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

No. 18.

*Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, June* 21, 1865.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency, for your information, copies of a despatch and its inclosures received from Mr. Winchester,† from which it will be seen that the Japanese Government have adopted the alternative allowed by the Convention of the 22nd of October last, and have decided to pay the indemnity of 3,000,000 dollars rather than open Shimonasaki or any other port in the Inland Sea.

Your Excellency will state to M. Drouyn de Lhuys that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the whole amount of the indemnity ought to be paid in 1866.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 19.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(*Received June* 28.)

My Lord, *Paris, June* 27, 1865.

I HAVE informed M. Drouyn de Lhuys, in compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 21st instant, that the Japanese Government having adopted the alternative allowed by the Convention of the 22nd of October, and having decided to pay the indemnity of 3,000,000 dollars, rather than open Shimonasaki, or any other port in the Inland Sea, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the whole amount of the indemnity ought to be paid in 1866.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys concurs in this opinion, and thinks that under no circumstances should the amount to be paid be diminished. He would prefer that the Japanese Government should remain a debtor to any reduction of the debt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 20.

Sir J. Milbanke to Earl Russell.—(*Received June* 30.)

My Lord, *The Hague, June* 28, 1865.

IN the continued absence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I communicated to the Secretary General of that Department the substance of your Lordship's despatch of the 21st instant, relative to the adoption by the Japanese Government of the alternative of the payment of the indemnity fixed by the Convention of the 22nd of October last, in preference to the opening of the port of Shimonasaki. M. Uijttenhooven informed me that a communication on the same subject had been received from the Netherlands Representative in Japan, who, at the same time, strongly discountenances the idea of acceding to the request of the Gorogio for delay: and it seems probable that his advice will be acted upon; for M. Uijttenhooven told me that, in the event of the absence of the Minister being

* Similar despatches were addressed to Sir F. Bruce and Sir J. Milbanke.
† No. 16.

prolonged beyond the day of the departure of the mail for the East, on the 9th proximo, instructions will be sent to M. de Polsbroek to hold the Japanese Government strictly to the provisions of the Convention.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. R. MILBANKE.

No. 21.

Earl Russell to Sir F. Bruce.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 1, 1865.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 21st ultimo, I transmit herewith, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Earl Cowley,* relative to the payment of the indemnity of 3,000,000 dollars by the Japanese Government, in preference to opening a port in the Inland Sea.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 22.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(Received July 6.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, April* 25, 1865.

IN my despatch of the 12th instant, transmitting the letter of the Gorogio declaring their desire, under the Convention of the 22nd of October, 1864, to pay the indemnity preferably to opening Shimonasaki, and proposing certain changes in the times of payments, I had the honour to inform your Lordship that I did not propose to reply to this communication until I could have the opportunity of consulting with the other Representatives concerned.

A meeting took place at the French Legation on the 15th instant, when the following conclusions were arrived at:—

1. That the communication of the Gorogio was to be considered as a declaration of their intention to pay the indemnity stipulated by the Convention, rather than open to foreign commerce Shimonasaki, or other eligible port in the Inland Sea.

2. That the proposal to deviate from the terms of the Convention, as to the dates of payment of the instalments, was one which the Representatives present had no power to accept, and which must, therefore, be referred to their respective Governments.

3. That the Representatives, desirous not to anticipate the decisions of their Governments on this proposal, agreed to accept, under reservation, payment of the first instalment in the month of July next, as intimated in the despatch of the Gorogio.

It was then arranged that separate replies, embodying these points, should be drawn up, and communicated between the Representatives.

At this meeting, M. Roches was good enough to read to us an extract from his instructions, to the effect that the opening of Shimonasaki was not considered desirable, and that the indemnity should be required in its stead. Osaca and Hiogo were considered by the French Government as the only ports in the Inland Sea where it would be profitable to initiate here foreign commercial relations.

A general and somewhat desultory conversation followed, as to the financial resources of this Government, in which I expressed the general views already submitted to your Lordship. My Netherlands colleague, while agreeing with me in opinion that there was every probability of the arrangements for paying the indemnity resulting in the imposition of additional taxes on foreign commerce, and that the proposed retardation of payment would operate to prolong such interference with our trade, stoutly maintained that the Tycoon could well pay the sum, and was possessed of hoarded treasure sufficient to liquidate the indemnity in a single payment. He stated, at the same time; that years elapsed before the Dutch Government was paid the balance due on the commercial operations which terminated with the initiation of the present Treaties.

I cannot say, that every allowance made for the great natural resources of these Islands, the ideas I had previously entertained as to the power of the Government of the Tycoon to make large money payments without inconvenient pressure on its ordinary

* No. 19.

sources of revenue, were modified to any considerable extent. The division of the country into more than a score of quasi independent administrations, and the legions of officials employed in every department of these, civil and military, are opposed to all the conditions of an economical financial administration, as recognized by European statesmen and economists.

As the result of this interview, I have now the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, copy of the reply made by myself.

Irrespective of the policy and possible results connected with the retarded exaction of an indemnity, I feel satisfied that it is entirely superfluous in me to recommend to Her Majesty's Government that every indulgence should be shown to the application of the Gorogio for this particular delay, as Her Majesty's Government requires no recommendation from its agents to meet such requests with the most favourable consideration. The point which seems to me of more importance to suggest is, whether the deviation proposed by the Japanese might not fairly be made the basis of a joint counter-proposition on the part of the foreign co-signataries to take, as equivalent to the moiety, or two-thirds of the indemnity, some such concessions as the opening of Hiogo on the 1st of January, 1866; the written adhesion of the Mikado to the Treaties; and the reduction of import duties, now levied at 5, 6, and 20 per cent. on different classes of goods, to a uniform rate of 5 per cent., a change which would be a great convenience to foreign commerce, and, by stimulating consumption, would probably be attended with no material diminution of profit to the Japanese revenue.

I certainly entertain the belief that such a proposal, if brought forward with the conjoined influence of the four Powers, would meet with acceptance from the Government of the Tycoon.

Inclosure in No. 22.

Mr. Winchester to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, April 19, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellencies' letter of the 5th April (10th day of the 5th month of Gengi).

It announces that the Government of the Tycoon has, after mature deliberation, decided not to tender Shimonasaki or other eligible port in the Inland Sea in place of the indemnity agreed upon in the Convention of the 22nd October, 1864 (22nd day of the 9th month of the 1st year of Gengi). This has been reported to the Government of the Queen by the mail which left here on the 14th instant.

If the communication of your Excellencies had contained a statement of the intention of the Government of the Tycoon to execute the stipulations embodied in Article II, precisely as they are there expressed, my duty would have been limited to a simple acceptance of such intimation as fulfilling all the requirements of the Convention, and the expression of my hopes that the object stated in Article III, namely, "the establishment of better relations, and the desire to place these on a more satisfactory and mutually advantageous footing," might be secured by the preference of the alternative which, in the exercise of the undoubted right of option reserved by the Convention, the Ministers of the Tycoon had adopted.

But in this letter your Excellencies informed me that the first instalment of 500,000 dollars is to be paid in the Japanese 6th month of the present year, and that it is your wish the payment of the second instalment should be deferred until the 6th month of next year.

With reference to the four remaining instalments, your letter omits to state at what subsequent periods it is proposed they should be paid.

I find, however, that Article II stipulates, "the whole sum to be payable in quarterly instalments of one-sixth, or 500,000 dollars, to begin from the date when the Representatives should make known to the Tycoon's Government the ratification of the Convention and the instructions of their respective Governments."

Had I been in possession of these instructions, it is possible I might have found myself in a position enabling me to recommend to my Government the consideration of your Excellencies' proposition in terms stronger even than those which I may now be justified in using; for your Excellencies are aware that the British Minister was summoned to London to confer with Her Majesty's Government on the subject of this Convention, and the events which led to it; and that official information received, as has been already intimated to your Excellencies, leads me to expect his return next month, or in any case

the instructions which after consultation with an officer so experienced in the conduct of British relations with Japan, Her Majesty's Government will have no doubt transmitted.

Considering, therefore, the non-receipt of these instructions, the important nature of the deviation proposed in your Excellencies' letter as to the payment of the second instalment, the omission to specify the times of payment of the remainder, and the well-understood character of my functions as Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, it is my duty to inform you that I am unable to accept the proposition of your Excellencies as a fulfilment of the alternative stipulation of the Convention reserved by Article II to the option of the Tycoon. Without wishing to prejudice the friendly consideration which my Government will certainly be disposed to give to any request made by that of the Tycoon as to the mode and times of payment, I must explicitly reserve to the decision of Her Majesty's Government, in concert with the other subscribing Powers, the acceptance or refusal of all deviations whatever from the precise terms of the Convention.

I have taken advantage of the interval which has elapsed since the receipt of your Excellencies' letter to seek a conference with my colleagues, and it is matter of great satisfaction to me to find that there is no difference of opinion amongst us as to the necessity which the proposed deviation from the terms of the Convention imposes upon us of referring the same to the consideration of our respective Governments.

With respect to the payment of the first instalment during the course of the 6th Japanese month, I am desirous, in concert with the other Representatives, to avoid taking up any position which might be presumed to anticipate an unfavourable consideration by my Government of your Excellencies' proposal. I am ready, therefore, to join them in the arrangements for its receipt, under the express provision that the doing so shall in no way lessen or impair the right of Her Majesty's Government to require the literal execution of the engagements of the Convention as set forth in Article II quoted above: that is to say, quarterly payments of the above specified amounts; and equally the right of Her Majesty's Government in exchange for its assent to the deviation proposed in your Excellencies' communication, or to any other deviations to be hereafter sought by the Japanese Government, to negotiate for the concession of equivalent advantages which shall be consistent with the provisions of the Treaties and the cultivation of friendly relations between the two countries. In conclusion, I desire to assure your Excellencies, that in transmitting this communication to my own Government, I shall do so in terms intended to promote the speedy and amicable settlement of all questions which may arise under this Convention, and to cement the good understanding now so happily prevailing between Japan and the Treaty Powers.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

No. 23.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(Received July 6.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, April 26, 1865.*

I HAVE the honour to continue to report to your Lordship the satisfactory progress of foreign relations with this country.

No. 24.

*Earl Russell to Sir F. Bruce.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, July 12, 1865.*

YOU have been apprized by my despatch of the 21st of June of the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that as the Japanese Government, as reported in Mr. Winchester's despatch of the 12th of April, had announced to the Representatives of the Treaty Powers that they preferred paying the whole of the sum stipulated in the Agreement of October 22, 1864, to opening the port of Shimonasaki or some other port in the Inland Sea to foreign trade, the whole sum to be paid under that agreement should be paid in 1866.

I have since received from Mr. Winchester a further despatch inclosing the answer returned by the Representatives of the Treaty Powers to the communication from the Japanese Government inclosed in his previous despatch.

I transmit to you copies of these papers.†

* A similar despatch was addressed to Sir J. Milbanke.

† No. 22 and Inclosures.

Upon full consideration of the questions arising out of the Agreement of October 1864, and of the course taken upon them by the Representatives of the Treaty Powers in Japan, Her Majesty's Government submit for the concurrence of the United States' Government, as they will also submit for the concurrence of the Governments of France and of the Netherlands, that the conduct of the Representatives in agreeing to accept, subject to the approval of their respective Governments, payment in the present month of the first instalment of the indemnity, should be approved.

But, as regards the future, Her Majesty's Government are inclined to consider that the general interests of trade and of foreign relations with Japan would be best consulted by an arrangement which should absolve the Government of the Tycoon from two-thirds of the whole sum of 3,000,000 dollars payable under the Agreement of 1864 (leaving thus only 500,000 dollars beyond what they will have paid in the present month to be obtained from the Government of the Tycoon, and which balance should be paid before the end of the current year); provided, 1st, that the port of Hiogo and the city of Osaca are opened for the trade and residence of the subjects of the Treaty Powers on the 1st of January, 1866; 2ndly, that the sanction of the Mikado is formally given to the Treaties already concluded by the Tycoon with the Treaty Powers; and, 3rdly, that the duties on imports into Japan are generally reduced to 5 per cent., and shall in no case exceed 10 per cent.

If the Government of the Tycoon will not agree to these terms, Her Majesty's Government consider that the full and literal execution of the IInd Article of the Agreement of October 1864 should be insisted upon, and that the Government of the Tycoon should be required to pay in quarterly instalments of one-sixth, or 500,000 dollars, the whole amount of 3,000,000 dollars payable to the three Powers; such further quarterly payments, the first instalment having been already paid, to begin on the 1st of October next, and to be completed by the 1st of October, 1866.

If the Government of the Tycoon will not adopt either of these alternatives, and comply with their requirements, Her Majesty's Government consider that the Agreement of 1862 under which the opening of the port of Hiogo and of the city of Osaca was was deferred for five years from the 1st of January, 1863, should be withdrawn, and the strict fulfilment of the IIIrd Article of the Treaty of August 26, 1858, between Great Britain and Japan, in regard to those cities should be insisted on. Having allowed Hiogo and Osaca to be hitherto closed, we should then insist that from the 1st of January, 1866, the port of Hiogo and the city of Osaca should be opened to trade.

If the Governments of France, of the Netherlands, and of the United States agree in the course which is suggested in this despatch, Her Majesty's Minister in Japan will receive instructions to act upon it in conjunction with his colleagues.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

P.S.—You will request Mr. Seward to give an early answer to this despatch.

R.

No. 25.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, July* 13, 1865.

YOUR Excellency, in your despatch of the 27th of June, reported that the French Government concurred in the opinion of that of Her Majesty, that as the Japanese Government had announced to the Representatives of the Treaty Powers, as reported in Mr. Winchester's despatch of the 12th of April, that they preferred paying the whole of the sum stipulated in the Agreement of October 22, 1864, to opening the port of Shimonasaki, or some other port in the Inland Sea, to foreign trade, the whole sum to be paid under that Agreement should be paid in 1866.

The Netherlands Government take the same view of the matter; but time has not admitted of the opinion of the United States' Government being ascertained, though, in regard to the selection of the alternatives of the Agreement of October 22, Mr. Seward stated to Mr. Burnley, in December 1864, that full discretion was left to the United States' Minister in Japan.

I have now received from Mr. Winchester a further despatch, inclosing the answers returned by the Representatives of the Treaty Powers to the communication from the Japanese Government, inclosed in his previous despatch. I transmit to you copies of those papers.*

* No. 22 and Inclosures.

Upon full consideration of the questions arising out of the Agreement of October 1864, and of the course taken upon them by the Representatives of the Treaty Powers in Japan, Her Majesty's Government submit, for the concurrence of the French Government, as they will also submit for the concurrence of the Governments of the Netherlands and of the United States, that the conduct of the Representatives, in agreeing to accept, subject to the approval of their respective Governments, payment in the present month of the first instalment of the indemnity, should be approved.

But, as regards the future, Her Majesty's Government are inclined to consider that the general interests of trade and of foreign relations with Japan would be best consulted by an arrangement which should absolve the Government of the Tycoon from two-thirds of the whole sum of 3,000,000 dollars, payable under the Agreement of 1864 (leaving thus only 500,000 dollars, beyond what they will have paid in the present month, to be obtained from the Government of the Tycoon, and which balance should be paid before the end of the current year); provided, 1st, that the port of Hiogo and the city of Osaca are opened for the trade and residence of the subjects of the Treaty Powers on the 1st of January, 1866; 2ndly, that the sanction of the Mikado is formally given to the Treaties already concluded by the Tycoon with the Treaty Powers; and, 3rdly, that the duties on imports into Japan are generally reduced to 5 per cent., and shall in no case exceed 10 per cent.

If the Government of the Tycoon will not agree to these terms, Her Majesty's Government consider that the full and literal execution of the IInd Article of the Agreement of October 1864 should be insisted upon, and that the Government of the Tycoon should be required to pay, in quarterly instalments of one-sixth, or 500,000 dollars, the whole amount of 3,000,000 dollars, payable to the three Powers; such further quarterly payments, the first instalments having been already paid, to begin on the 1st of October next, and to be completed by the 1st of October, 1866.

If the Government of the Tycoon will not adopt either of these alternatives, and comply with their requirements, Her Majesty's Government consider that the Agreement of 1862, under which the opening of the port of Hiogo and of the city of Osaca was deferred for five years from the 1st of January, 1863, should be withdrawn, and the strict fulfilment of the IIIrd Article of the Treaty of August 26, 1858, between Great Britain and Japan, in regard to those cities should be insisted on. Having allowed Hiogo and Osaca to be hitherto closed, we should then insist that, from the 1st of January, 1866, the port of Hiogo and the city of Osaca should be opened to trade.

If the Governments of France, of the Netherlands, and of the United States agree in the course which is suggested in this despatch, Her Majesty's Minister in Japan will receive instructions to act upon it in conjunction with his colleagues.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 26.

Sir J. Milbanke to Earl Russell.—(*Received July* 14.)

(Extract.) *The Hague, July* 10, 1865.

I REPORTED in my despatch of the 28th ultimo the substance of a conversation between myself and the Secretary-General of the Foreign Department, relative to the preference shown by the Japanese Government for the payment of the indemnity stipulated in the Convention of the 22nd of October last, as an alternative for opening the port of Shimonasaki. The return of the Minister for Foreign Affairs enabled me to recur to the subject with him the day before that fixed for the departure of the mail, and I inquired whether it was his intention to send any fresh instructions to the Dutch Representative at Yokohama, and if so in what sense; at the same time explaining to his Excellency the views of Her Majesty's Government in reference to the demand for time addressed by the Gorogio to Mr. Winchester. M. Cremers replied, that the period of the arrival of the next mail from the East was so near, that wishing to avoid the confusion and inconvenience arising from the crossing of reports and instructions, which was unavoidable, owing to the great distance, he thought it would be preferable not to complicate matters by giving new instructions at the present moment, especially as those already in Mr. Polsbroek's hands were sufficient to meet the case. These are, if I understand his Excellency rightly, to hold the Japanese Government to the discharge of the whole indemnity as originally arranged, or in the event of its becoming apparent that the Tycoon has not sufficient funds at his

command, to accept one-half of the 3,000,000 dollars in money, and as an equivalent for the other moiety, the opening of such ports as may be deemed by the foreign Representatives most advantageously situated for commercial purposes, and he named as coming within this category those of Hiogo and Osaca.

No. 27.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(*Received July* 17.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, May* 9, 1865.

YOUR Lordship will learn from the inclosure that there is reason to believe foreign adventurers have begun to flock to the aid of Choshiu. I have thought it desirable to direct Mr. Gower to prevent, as much as possible, British subjects from taking part in civil contentions in this country.

Unfortunately, Japan is not within the scope of the China Neutrality Ordinance. But in view of the grave complications which may at any time arise from the interference of adventurers in Japanese domestic dissensions, I have the honour to submit to your Lordship the propriety of taking steps to apply its provisions to this country, and to suggest that the Order might usefully contain clauses enabling the Consul to punish persons inciting or engaging others to take part in such civil dissensions, and to require recognizances from individuals in whom the intention to commit a breach of neutrality can be legally inferred from the evidence of their own acts or that of third parties.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure in No. 27.

Mr. Winchester to Acting Consul Gower.

Sir, *Yokohama, May* 9, 1865.

SINCE my despatch of the 29th ultimo was written, Captain Applin was informed by a young officer whom he instructs in English, that two more adventurers, said to be Frenchmen, have joined Burgevine at Nagato.

Should you hear of any British subjects being disposed to follow this example, you will not fail to discourage such intentions, and to adopt every possible means to prevent them from being carried into effect.

The China Neutrality Ordinance does not extend to Japan; but you will not fail to enforce by the highest legal penalties any breaches of Regulations such parties or their abettors may commit, and warn them that in no circumstances will the interference of Her Majesty's officers be exerted for their protection.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

No. 28.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(*Received July* 17.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, May* 11, 1865.

THE present relations of the Tycoon's Government with the Prince of Choshiu, the steps adopted by the latter to open independent relations with foreigners, and, through the aid of military adventurers, to maintain the position so taken up, the general desire of the Daimios along the shores of the Inland Sea, and the fulfilment of the requirements of the Convention of the 22nd October last, are all so connected with each other, and so mixed up in their bearing at the present moment, that their separate discussion is hardly possible.

The information which has been received since last mail leaves no doubt as to the determination of Choshiu to open his port to trade rather than submit to the conditions this

Government wishes to impose upon him. The reasons influencing him can easily be divined; and the attitude assumed plainly speaks this language to the Tycoon: "It was in obedience to orders issued by you in June 1863 that I was led into the fatal error of firing on foreign flags. I have been punished by their squadrons while you looked on. You have concluded a subsequent Convention with their Ministers containing two alternatives, the opening of my port, or the payment of 3,000,000 of dollars. The former alternative is rejected by you, and the indemnity you prefer is to be provided from the dismemberment of my territories, and the destruction of my house. I will prove to the foreigners by my own acts, that I, at least, am ready to accept the other condition, and that you have no grounds in respect of this Convention for proceeding against me. My position is still the strongest in the country; I hold the key of the Inland Sea; and, rather than yield, I will at once open my port and call foreigners to aid me in maintaining my rights."

It is now known that three Japanese officers who went over with the "Monitor" and "Lancefield" to Shanghae at once proceeded to San Francisco, *en route* to Washington. Burgevine, along with two other adventurers, said to be either Americans or Frenchmen, are now in Nagato, drilling troops, &c., &c. Both the vessels spoken of went to Shanghae laden with rice, cotton, and other goods; and the "Monitor" took back munitions.

A Russian schooner, the "Dwina," has also landed a cargo of arms; and three or four other vessels whose flags or names have not yet reached me, are reported as having engaged in this new trade.

The three officials despatched by the "Gorogio" in the mail before last to Shanghae, for the purpose of inquiring into these proceedings, have reported that Choshiu's delegates had interviews with various mercantile firms, and urgently invited them to commence operations, starting, I presume, directly from Shanghae as a base. All these facts are known to and admitted by the Government, and are evidently causing it the deepest disquietude.

In illustration of these views I have the honour to forward the inclosed documents.

The first effects of the naval operations were visible in our improved relations with the Tycoon's Government. But it required a certain lapse of time to appreciate their influence on the Daimios, with whom our means of intercourse are so circumscribed. But the proceedings of Choshiu, and the unconcealed desire to open a port in the Inland Sea, are enough to satisfy my mind that these Princes, as well as the Tycoon, have at last reached the practical conclusion that foreign relations cannot be shaken off, and that since there is no escape from them they may as well make the best of them.

Moreover, in the eyes of the Japanese, the Tycoon's relations with foreign Powers have no legal sanction. Till he obtains such, he is in no position to forbid to others an intercourse which is still irregular.

Under these circumstances it requires no gift of political prescience to say that the Inland Sea will in no long time be the theatre of a desperate struggle, unless the Tycoon's Government have the good sense to avert it by entering into a compromise with the great feudal Chiefs.

At the time of the revolution which terminated in the extermination of the native converts, and the general expulsion of foreigners, the superintendence of the general defence of the country, and of such restricted relations as were still permitted to be kept up with the Dutch and Chinese, was committed to the Tycoon. It became a part of his constitutional prerogative, which, so long as there were only the insignificant exceptions referred to, no one could gainsay. Naturally, the Tycoon will not admit that his rights have been impaired by the enlargement of these relations, while the Daimios now aver that he had no right to go beyond the laws for his own exclusive benefit. If the system is to be changed, it must be for the general good.

In a former despatch I took occasion to state my opinion that nothing but active military pressure would extort from the Tycoon such an abandonment of his constitutional prerogative as is involved in an assent to the opening of a Daimio port. Choshiu will not consent to the dismemberment of his dominions, and the other Daimios, incited by the hope of sharing profits of a commerce which has increased with such extraordinary rapidity, will no longer submit to exclusion. These diverging tendencies have existed since the opening of the trade; it only required the victory of Shimonasaki to impart to them an intense vitality.

It will not, therefore, be matter of surprise that this rapid development should have suggested the idea that some compromise is an absolute necessity, and that its successful adjustment will involve a modification of the stipulations of the Convention.

The Government is evidently much perplexed. A day or two ago a Governor of Foreign Affairs assured one of my colleagues that he was authorized to say that Hiogo would be opened, only the Tycoon must pay a preliminary visit to Miako.

It is clear that any compromise, to be satisfactory, must be based on a readjustment of the foreign position in Japan.

That the Daimios are willing to consent to such a compromise, there is no reason to doubt. Already some of them are understood to have memorialized the Mikado to place the foreign question on a safe and regular basis. I think it will be a great political mistake if foreign influence fails to help on this consummation.

Inclosure 1 in No. 28.

Extract of a Letter from ———— and ————, Retainers of Choshiu.

AS you have probably heard from many sources, our clan last year had a fight at Kioto with Aidsoo and others, for committing which offence the old Prince of Owari and certain others advanced against the confines of our provinces with the army of execution. Then there arose amongst us violent discussions, and everything was thrown into confusion and disorder. At last it came to civil war, but now the provinces have returned to a state of tranquillity, and all parties, high and low, appear to be reconciled. Hitherto there had been a great number of stupid and ignorant persons in our provinces, who being quite in the dark as to the real state of Japan, still adhered always to the foolish old arguments. They were unaware of the daily progress of the Western nations in the arts, being like the frog at the bottom of the well. But lately they have learnt in battle (though small) the accuracy of the foreign mechanical contrivances; the ease with which these are transported from place to place. They acknowledge that they fall short themselves, and have begun to improve. The eyes and ears of the stupids having thus been opened, the question of opening the country to foreigners, or shutting ourselves up again, has become clear of itself, and there is very little difference of opinion on the subject.

Thus we have got rid of our domestic troubles; but what the orders of the Tycoon may turn out to be, causes us much anxiety. Truly, as you said in your letter, if peace could be made, the hearts of the people would be set at rest, and the toils of the soldier would come to an end. I think this would be most fortunate for all of us; but if it turns out unavoidable, I expect that we shall fight, which causes me unlimited grief. But the fact is this: since the year before last we have carried out the orders of the Mikado and the Tycoon. But now, wilfully forgetting this, they deny what they said before, and for slight offence they have resolved to destroy our clan. They want to conquer our country and make us submit; to inflict a severe punishment which shall be utter destruction. This bringing an army of execution against us, arises however, in my opinion, from the fact that our honesty and good faith have not been properly known and recognized.

April 6, 1865.

There is not the slightest appearance of anything being done at Hiogo to render it ready for opening it to foreign trade. The Governor who was appointed there never arrived, having been detached on some other duty. Aidsoo is still at Kioto.

Inclosure 2 in No. 28.

Memorandum by Mr. Siebold.

AT a period when the general desire of the Daimios is for trade and commercial relations with foreigners, it is worthy of note that the Tycoon's Government does not encourage or approve such liberal ideas.

The Daimios of Mikawa, Suruga, and Totomi, the greatest tea-producing districts, have applied for permission to send their produce directly to Yokohama, and sell it to foreigners without the interference of Government agents and spies, who by a system of troublesome rules and regulations impede all free trade.

The Government of the Tycoon has refused the request of these Daimios, and they are reduced to sell their produce under the existing unprofitable regulations.

Satsuma, on the other hand, being a powerful Daimio, appears to have pressed upon the Tycoon to such an extent that he has obtained the privilege of being agent to the Daimios of Kiusiu, Sikoku, and the central provinces, provided they will sell their produce to him.

As another proof of his power and influence, it is remarkable that the right of coining money, which has always been regarded as an attribute of sovereignty, has been allowed to Satsuma and Sendai.

The power of other Daimios who some years ago were regarded as very wealthy is rapidly declining. For instance, the Tycoon's Government has succeeded in curtailing the power of the Prince of Higo, and by a most ingenious system of feudal services has reduced him almost to bankruptcy. His last expedition to Choshiu has left him with a debt of 2,000,000 itzebus, but nevertheless he has been charged with the defence of Kioto, which imposes on him an expense of 40,000 itzebus a month.

He has declared his inability to pay his debts, and his castle gates, both in Yeddo and in his province, have been closed, and he has been expelled from the society of Daimios for ten years. He, therefore, is not going to worship at the tomb of Gongensama, but will depute one of his vassals to go as his representative.

A large fire is reported to have destroyed a great part of Kioto. It is supposed to have originated by incendiarism in a tea-house.

Three members of the Gorogio have retired from public affairs, and a new one, Matzudaira Suwo no Kami, has been appointed.

Attempts are made in the provinces of Idzu and Kwanto to raise a standing army of peasants and labourers. One of the teachers of European tactics, called Egawa Tarosaimon, is to be placed at their head.

Inclosure 3 in No. 28.

Memorandum of a Conference held on the 2nd of May between Mr. Winchester and Shibata Hinga no Kami, Governor for Foreign Affairs, and Mukoyama Teigoro Ometzke.

AFTER the usual compliments, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires said that he hoped that Shibata had communicated to the Gorogio the purport of the last interview, and the advice contained in the Memorandum written in Japanese, respecting the opening of Shimonasaki or Hiogo, reduction of the tariff, and the letter to be written from the Mikado to the Tycoon, adhering to the foreign Treaties as equivalent to a portion of the 3,000,000 dollars of indemnity money.

Shibata replied that he had done so.

Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires then said, that to-day he wished still more strongly to urge the necessity of opening Hiogo, or some other port in the Inland Sea, as certain events had happened which clearly demonstrated the desire of the Daimios for direct commercial relations with foreigners, and the expediency, in reference to the tranquillity of Japan, of opening a port in the Inland Sea; and that he wished to draw the attention of Shibata to the third clause of the Convention, entered into in London by the first Mission, on June 6th, 1862, when Shibata himself accompanied the Mission as Vice-Governor, namely:—"All restrictions whereby Daimios are prevented from sending their produce to market, and from selling the same directly by their own agents, to be abolished and done away with."

A part of the ill-feeling against foreigners on the part of these Daimios was, no doubt, owing to the restrictions and impediments to which the Government of the Tycoon subjected them when wishing to part with their produce; and that it became more and more evident that the Daimios of Kiusiu, Sikoku, and the central provinces, headed by Choshiu, were anxious to enter into commercial relations with foreigners. That their agents had so spoken to Mr. Siebold during his stay at Nagasaki, and also to foreign merchants at that place; and that the following statements had appeared in the local papers here, being a proof of the general public opinion and expectation on the subject, viz.:—

"If reports be true, the local Daimios in the southern portion of Japan are all anxious to open their ports to foreigners, and to give them every encouragement and protection in their trading operations. A hope has been expressed among them that the Treaty Powers will make further Treaties with the Mikado direct, as they assert he would quickly consent to extend foreign trade all over the island. Prince Satsuma has planted 40,000 mulberry trees during the past year, a significant fact which shows his estimation

of foreign commerce. He is also making considerable preparations for the improved manufacture of sugar at the Loochoos; and, we are credibly informed, has engaged a Scotch overseer for the works there, and imported the latest improved machinery.

"Choshiu is also greatly in favour of foreign trade extending to his ports; but he declares the Tycoon will not consent."

That he also wished to draw their attention to the fact, that the "Monitor," with General Burgevine on board, who had formerly been in the service of the Imperialists and gone over to the rebels, had left this port, gone to Choshiu, and taken from there the "Lancefield," one of Choshiu's steamers, over to Shanghae, and sold her there under a power of attorney from Choshiu, and that now the "Monitor" was loading arms for Japan, probably for Choshiu; and that a report prevailed that General Burgevine remained at Amankuchi, whilst others say that he had gone on to Amoy to join the Chinese rebels. That the American Minister had informed Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires that three of Choshiu's officers, who came over in the "Lancefield" to Shanghae, had gone on to San Francisco, and were to proceed to Washington, with the intention of entering into a Convention. That probably the American Government would consult with Her Majesty's Government, and that Shibata could imagine the result when this news arrived in England at the same time with the information that not only was the Tycoon not going to open a port, but that an idea prevailed, erroneously the Chargé d'Affaires was willing to believe, to the effect that the Government intended to turn merchant, to buy up silk, and export it to one of the European States. Taken in connection with the fact that the Daimios were desirous of opening their ports, it could be easily imagined what impression these things, coming together, would make.

Shibata replied that he knew that if the Japanese Government was guilty of such an evasion of Treaty as the closure of the open markets in order to carry out its own arrangements, the most serious consequences would result, but that it was not exactly so.

Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires said that it was possible that as Envoys had gone to America they might also go to England; and while Her Majesty's Government was of opinion that there is nothing in our Treaties with the Tycoon preventing us from entering into commercial agreements with Daimios, the arrangements made after the affair of Kagosima proved that neither Her Majesty's Representatives in this country nor the Government had any desire to embarrass the Tycoonate by a premature adoption of such a policy. On the contrary, it was the desire of Her Majesty's Government to see the authority of the Tycoon so increased and enlarged as to give him the effective control of the whole empire; but this was to be done by such a system of administration as had been explained to Shibata in a former interview—the encouragement of foreign trade, the formation of a standing army, the education of numerous officers abroad, &c., &c., by the Tycoon; in a word, placing himself in the van of the present movement, not in opposing it by petty restrictions which must ultimately fail.

Shibata then observed that Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires knew very well that the Tycoon was the constitutional sovereign of Japan, and no Daimios could act independently without his consent. That if Her Majesty's Government would enter into separate agreements with Daimios, it would much complicate matters, and be the cause of the ruin of the Tycoon, which he hoped was neither the wish nor the intention of the foreign Powers.

Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affairs replied that he had not shown the despatch, as if Her Majesty's Government had formed any intention to enter into agreements with Daimios, but merely to show that Her Majesty's Government was of opinion that there was nothing in our Treaties preventing us from doing so, and that he had brought this forward to point out to them the necessity of the Tycoon opening a port in the Inland Sea, as otherwise some of the Daimios would do it themselves.

Shibata Hinga no Kami observed that he had reported to the Gorogio the purport of the last interview, and the good advice contained in it, and that he had been charged to thank Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires for the interest he had shown by giving them his views on the subject, and that although they approved of the plan for the opening of Hiogo, as unfortunately new and serious troubles had broken out in Choshiu, it would necessitate the Tycoon's departure there at the head of his troops as soon as possible; and as they had in any case to pay a certain indemnity, they would pay the first instalment, and again enter into negotiations after the affairs of Choshiu had been settled.

Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires said that the advice he had given them was in the interest of the Tycoon's Government, and that it was for them to decide whether they would accept it or not; and that in case they desired any more information on the subject, they could despatch Takemoto and Shibata; or that as he would probably visit Yeddo in the course of this month, he would see the Gorogio, and be happy to discuss the subject and give them any information on this important subject.

Shibata replied that on his return to Yeddo he would report to the Gorogio what Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires had said.

After some discussion about a new temporary place of residence for the Legation in Yedo, and inquiries about the progress in the conviction of the second murderer of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, the interview closed.

Inclosure 4 in No. 28.

Précis of Interviews between Mr. Winchester and Shibata Hiunga no Kami, Governor for Foreign Affairs, and Mukoyama Eigoro, Ometske, on the 4th, 10th, and 20th April, 1865.

ON the 4th of April, 1865, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires informed Shibata that he had heard various rumours relative to the effect that the Japanese Government had come to a decision respecting the Convention of the 22nd of October, but that as Her Majesty's Government had not yet sent out any instructions, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires wished to postpone moving in this matter, for he had reason to believe that, consequent upon consultation with Her Majesty's Minister, these instructions would be sent out, or Her Majesty's Minister would himself return; indeed, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires had been instructed to expect his arrival next month.

At the interview of the 10th of April, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires informed Shibata that he had received the letter of the Gorogio on the 6th, informing him that they had decided not to open Shimonasaki, or other eligible port in the Inland Sea, but to pay the indemnity. That this hurried decision on the part of the Gorogio was much to be regretted just at the moment when the Daimios of Kiusiu, Sikoku, and along the borders of the Inland Sea, were all longing for the opening of some port in that quarter; and as the Japanese Government could not have been called upon to declare itself until the arrival of the ratifications and instructions from all the foreign Governments, that it was rather surprising that the Representative of the nation who had so much to do with the making of this Convention should not have been consulted, as he otherwise would have told them that the opening of Hiogo, instead of Shimonasaki, as equivalent to a part of the indemnity, might have been offered without impropriety, and that undoubtedly such a proposal would be taken into consideration by the foreign Governments, whose object, as declared in the Convention, was not to gain money, but the desire of placing relations on a mutually advantageous footing.

Shibata replied, that they finally intended opening some port: but as the affairs of Choshiu had not yet been settled, and the Mikado had not yet given his written consent, it was impossible to do so at this moment; that in order to show its sincere intention to carry out the Convention, the Japanese Government would pay the first instalment; and therefore requested an extension of a year for the next instalment, in order that by that time a more favourable state of affairs might allow the opening of a port.

At the interview of the 20th of April, Shibata said he was charged by the Gorogio to express their regret for not having consulted Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires on this matter before coming to a final decision.

Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires said, that if he had been consulted, although he had not received any instructions, he would not have declined to give an opinion upon the subject, and tried to point out to them how ill-advisedly they were acting in attempting to shut out the Daimios from all interest in the profits of the foreign trade; that, on the contrary, the best means of pacifying them was to let them and the Mikado also share its benefits and derive advantages from the new state of things; that the same system of rule by feudal nobles and semi-independent princes had existed centuries ago in France and in England, but that the Governments had gained and supported their position by the establishment of a standing army, and not by restricting the commerce or intercourse of their subjects, but by encouraging the formation of a middle class, and that he highly recommended them to follow this course; to send young men to Europe to be educated there; and to study the conditions on which strong and homogeneous administrations can alone be sustained. These views were illustrated by historical references, and were listened to with evident interest, and several very pertinent questions put as to the points not at first understood.

No. 29.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(*Received July* 17.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, May* 13, 1865.

IT is with great satisfaction that I continue to report that our general and commercial relations in Japan are of the same satisfactory character as has prevailed since the commencement of the year.

I have not received any further report of the progress of the judicial inquiry on the Japanese arrested for the murder of the two British officers on the 22nd of November last.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

No. 30.

Sir J. Milbanke to Earl Russell.—(*Received July* 21.)

(Extract.) *The Hague, July* 17, 1865.

I COMMUNICATED the contents of your Lordship's despatch of the 12th instant, soon after I received it, to the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs, and subsequently, at his request, gave him, in writing, an extract of that part of it in which are enumerated the three conditions upon which Her Majesty's Government would consent to remit two-thirds of the indemnity due from the Japanese Government to the allied Powers, under the Convention of the 22nd October, 1864.

M. Cremers observed that, in point of fact, your Lordship's proposal reposed upon the same principles as had hitherto guided the opinions of this Government; and he would, he said, be willing to accede to them at once, if he could but bring himself to believe that, should the Tycoon even be persuaded to adopt them, they would be honestly carried out. His Excellency thinks it by no means unlikely that the Mikado would flatly refuse to ratify the arrangement concluded by the Tycoon with the Treaty Powers; and, at any rate, he fears that the latter would have no real security against the duplicity of either or both rulers. He entertains the same doubts in regard to the execution of the obligation to be imposed on the Japanese Government to effect a reduction in the imports and duties levied in that country in future; and is rather apprehensive that means would always be found to evade them.

After some further conversation in the same sense, I asked his Excellency if I were then to consider that the Netherlands Government was inclined to give the preference to the literal fulfilment of the Agreement of October, and insist on the liquidation, by quarterly instalments, of the whole indemnity of 3,000,000 dollars, as therein covenanted, and quietly await the termination of the period fixed by the Treaty for the opening of the port of Hiogo and the city of Osaca.

To this question M. Cremers replied in the negative, and proceeded to recognize the advantages which an earlier admission to these emporiums of trade would confer upon foreign commerce, should it really prove attainable, and which he remarked would amply compensate for the abandonment of two-thirds of the indemnity. In conclusion, and in answer to a further inquiry on my part, his Excellency gave the assurance that, in the event of the other Powers agreeing to make the essay suggested in your Lordship's despatch, this Government would be quite ready to join them.

No. 31.

Earl Russell to Mr. Winchester.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 24, 1865.

HER Majesty's Government approve the views contained in your despatch of the 11th of May.

You will see by the copy of my despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris,

the Hague, and Washington, herewith inclosed,* that Her Majesty's Government wish to remit any further payment of indemnity under the Convention of October 22, 1864, provided certain terms, of which the principal are the opening of the port of Hiogo and city of Osaca, and the assent of the Mikado to our Treaties of Commerce, are agreed to.

It may happen that France, the Netherlands, and the United States prefer the payment of the indemnity. In that case you will report the circumstance to Her Majesty's Government.

Every effort ought to be made, however, to induce the Representatives of the Powers, parties to the Convention of October 22, 1864, to concur with the British Government in preferring the extension of commerce, contemplated in the original Treaty of August 26, 1858, to the exaction of the indemnity contemplated in the Convention.

It is but just that the great Daimios should partake of the benefits of a commerce which is so beneficial to Japan and so profitable to the Tycoon.

You will state to the French, Dutch, and American Ministers the substance of this despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 32.

Earl Russell to Mr. Winchester.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 26, 1865.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 24th instant, I have to state to you that the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne has communicated to me a copy of a despatch addressed to him by M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the 22nd instant, of which the following is the substance.

The French Government continue to prefer the payment of the indemnity by the Government of the Tycoon to the proposed compensations, and likewise consider that there is no pressing interest which demands, and that it would not be opportune at present to ask for, the opening of Hiogo and Osaca, and that it is preferable to wait until the expiration of the stipulated delay leaves no pretext for the Japanese Government to refuse it. The French Government cannot doubt, in fact, to judge from the repugnance which the Japanese Government has evinced on this subject, that such a request would now again occasion serious difficulties. They can even foresee an absolute refusal on their part to accede to it. In this case the proposal of the Cabinet of London would in the end lead to war, the only method of reaching the end in view. Now the interest of foreign Powers prompts them, as the French Government consider (and they have no doubt that such also is the opinion of the British Government), to apply themselves rather to maintain the Government of the Tycoon in the disposition by which he shows himself actuated at present, and to try and avoid any new conflict.

The Government of France cannot, so far as they are concerned, think of engaging in an enterprise of which the results would not be proportioned to the sacrifices which it would impose, and it is their duty not to expose themselves to such an eventuality.

From the moment, moreover, when the Cabinet of Yeddo decided, as they had a right to do, for the payment of a pecuniary indemnity, no grounds remained for imposing on them another manner of acquitting their obligations. The choice alone was left of refusing or according the delay which the Government of Japan solicited for the second payment of the indemnity. No doubt it is permissible to again raise the question whether the Japanese Government act in these proceedings with entire good faith. Perhaps their conduct is only a plan for adjourning or eluding the satisfaction which they are bound to accord; the tendency which they have often displayed to have recourse to such a policy authorises the supposition, but it is possible, especially after the crisis which they have just passed through, that they may have a certain difficulty in making the payments at the times fixed by the Convention of October last. There are no tests by which to arrive at a positive opinion on this point. The Representatives of the four Powers in Japan would be better situated for forming a correct judgment of the true motive which has caused this request of the Japanese Ministry. The French Government, therefore, consider that it would be better to leave to the foreign Representatives the duty of unravelling these motives, and to decide accordingly on the course they should pursue. If they have proof of the intention of the Government of the Tycoon to seek to disengage themselves from the obligation they have contracted, the Representatives would have to insist upon the strict execution of the Convention; should

the case be otherwise, they might be authorised to accord a delay for the payment of the second portion of the indemnity, it being understood that it is desirable that such delay should be as short as possible.

The manner of carrying out the Convention raises another question. The Convention does not determine where the payments of the sums due from the Japanese Government are to be made. No doubt it was intended that it should be in Japan, as it is there that the first payment has been made, and there is no objection on the part of the French Government to such a course being adopted; but instructions have now to be sent to the respective Representatives, whose duty it has been to see to the receipt of the payments, with regard to their disposal. As the partition of the indemnity ought to be decided by the Governments interested, and not by their Agents in Japan, it would be necessary that the sums received should be sent collectively to some place in Europe, where the distribution could afterwards take place.

The Agents of the four Powers in Japan have agreed to leave to their Governments the partition of the indemnity. The French Government have no fixed views on the matter, and confine themselves to pointing out what appears to them to be an equitable manner of proceeding. The Americans have called attention to the moral influence which the joint action of the four Powers exercised, independently of the force employed—a moral influence of which it is right to take account, inasmuch as it contributed to the prompt and favourable solution which was arrived at, and which should be considered as influencing the partition. Although of opinion that the degree in which the different flags participated in the operations which preceded the Convention should be the principal basis on which to calculate the distribution, the French Government admit that other considerations should be taken into account. It cannot be denied, that besides the warlike operations, in which the respective forces took a very unequal share, the good understanding which prevailed amongst the Governments, and their joint action, produced a salutary impression on the Japanese, and thus contributed to the success of the enterprize. This consideration, which the Americans have called attention to, ought, the French Government consider, to be taken into account.

It might then be decided that two-thirds of the indemnity, that is to say, 2.000,000 dollars, should be divided amongst the four Powers interested in proportion to the force which they devoted to the joint proceedings. From the remaining million, there would first have to be deducted the sum of 140,000 dollars, to which the four Representatives in Japan have declared in a memorandum that France is entitled, as the indemnity stipulated in her separate Convention with the Japanese Ambassadors who came to France last year. In the same document it is also agreed that the United States and the Netherlands may claim compensation for the aggressive acts committed against the vessels of those two countries. As the 140,000 dollars allotted to France forms the compensation for the attacks on the shipping of that country, it may be presumed that the claims of the United States and the Netherlands might be equitably fixed at a like sum of 140,000 dollars each. The remainder, that is to say, 580,000 dollars, would be left for distribution amongst the four Powers.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys concludes by repeating that the proposals thus made by the French Government for the distribution of the indemnity are to be considered only as indicative of the basis on which they consider that the partition might be calculated, and not as their definitive opinion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 33.

Sir J. Milbanke to Earl Russell.—(Received July 28.)

My Lord, *The Hague, July 26, 1865.*

IN my despatch of the 17th instant, I reported the substance of a conversation with the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of your Lordship's suggestions in regard to the period within which the Japanese Government ought to acquit the debt contracted towards the Treaty Powers when it adopted the alternative of payment of the indemnity fixed by the Convention of the 22nd of October last; and I have now the honour to forward copy of a note from his Excellency, which invests the verbal assurances given to me with a formal character, by announcing that

instructions in the sense desired by Her Majesty's Government have been sent to the Netherlands Political Agent in Japan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. R. MILBANKE.

Inclosure in No. 33.

M. Cremers to Sir J. Milbanke.

La Haye, le 24 *Juillet,* 1865.

LE Soussigné, &c., a l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de Sir J. Milbanke, &c., qu'il vient d'envoyer à l'Agent politique des Pays Bas au Japon des instructions conformes aux propositions contenues dans la dépêche de son Excellence Lord Russell du 12 Juillet, dont Sir J. Milbanke a bien voulu lui donner lecture.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) E. CREMERS.

No. 34.

Earl Russell to Sir F. Bruce.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 29, 1865.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 22nd instant, I transmit to you herewith, for your information, copy of a further despatch addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Japan.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 35.

Earl Russell to Mr. Winchester.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 2, 1865.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 26th ultimo, I transmit to you herewith, for your information, copies of further correspondence relative to the affairs of Japan.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 36.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(*Received August* 6.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, May* 26, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to solicit your Lordship's attention to the tenor of an interview with the Vice-Minister, Tachibano Idzumi no Kami, on the 21st instant.

This officer was specially deputed by the Gorogio to see me, in reference to the matters which formed the subject of our Conference, and returned immediately to Yeddo, though strongly urged by me to visit the other Representatives.

I have no doubt the considerations which led to this step on the part of the Japanese connect themselves with apprehensions based on the visit of Choshiu's officers at Nagasaki.

I trust that the language employed by me on this occasion has been such as will receive your Lordship's approval. I was throughout anxious to impress the idea that we saw no convenience or advantage in multiplying relations with various Princes; that it would suit best our own views of convenience if the superintendence of foreign relations remained vested in one Power; and that we were ready to fulfil the obligations of our Treaty with the Tycoon under all circumstances. At the same time I did not think it right to conceal my conviction that the simultaneous movement of the Princes towards trade was one to be regulated and not crushed, and my earnest wish that some compromise

* No. 31. † Nos. 26 and 33.

embodying a liberal policy in that respect, and fully sanctioned by the Mikado, might save Japan from the horrors of civil warfare. I assured my visitor that the sympathy and goodwill of Her Majesty's Government were with that of the Tycoon, and repeatedly said that if there was any particular step by which they wished this to be manifested, I should be well satisfied to find myself, in considering it, able, consistently with the rules laid down for the conduct of Her Majesty's Agents, to comply with their request.

There cannot, my Lord, be any doubt that the revolution which the existence of foreign relations with this country necessarily implies, has received a most remarkable impetus from the victory at Shimonasaki. Change in the relations of the estates forming the Japanese system of polity and Government has from the first been as unavoidable as change in the antecedent relative values of the precious metals. Silver could not in the face of the world remain at 200 per cent. above its real worth as compared with gold. The monetary revolution, indeed, came at once because it was hurried on by the daily transactions of life. In the same manner, but more tardily, the exclusion by the Tycoon of the quasi independent Daimios from the profits of trade has proved itself impossible and unsustainable on the present footing. They are bound to share in it in any case, either on an independent footing, or by some regulated compromise. It is in the genius of this people and of the Chinese to find out the means of settling these points amongst themselves readily enough. We know too little of the interior working of their singularly constituted system to be able to divine the steps by which the result may be attainable; but a principal care on our part must be to prevent its being delayed or arrested by any of the fanatical impulses against foreigners to which there will not be wanting many instigations. To this end the presence of powerful material support and the determination to be ready to rely upon it, as a last resort, will for some years to come be the basis on which a successful representation of Her Majesty's interests and the real happiness of Japan itself must depend.

In the course of the interview the Vice-Minister informed me that a mission was about to be despatched to Europe, and introduced as an Envoy Shibato Hiunga no Kami, Governor of Foreign Affairs, and Vice-Governor in the mission which your Lordship saw in 1862. I did not feel justified in saying anything to discourage the intention, and observed that no one could be personally more agreeable to Her Majesty's Government than Shibato. I inquired as to the names of the other Envoys, and the period at which they were likely to start, but was answered that nothing more had been determined. I rejoined that if the mission did proceed to England, Her Majesty's Government would no doubt comply with any request they might make for aid or advice.

At a visit paid to M. Roches two days afterwards, he informed me that Shibato had also announced himself in his new functions, and that he was to be provided with direct credentials and letters from the Tycoon to the Sovereigns of Europe. M. Roches advised him to content himself with such introductions as would give him ready access to and consideration with the European Ministers and Governments, instead of affecting the pomp and seeking the reception of a special Embassy, which the Governments in Europe would be indisposed to consider adequately constituted unless presided over by a Daimio of hereditary rank, whereas the position of Shibato is simply that of an able and active employé.

This counsel was judicious, and I gladly assented to the considerations on which it was founded.

No. 37.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(Received August 15.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, June 10, 1865.*

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch from the Gorogio, informing me that the Tycoon will this day pass through the village of Kanagawa on his way to the Inland Sea, with the view of directing the movements of the military expedition against Choshiu.

The preparations made for this campaign are said to be very extensive. A Memorandum gives the whole force as 60,000 men, but this number must be taken to include camp followers, attendants, &c. (always constituting a large proportion of Asiatic armies), as well as fighting men. Several thousands are said to be armed and drilled in European fashion, and to have made a very imposing appearance at a great review which took place at Yeddo three days ago. One or two of the battalions are reported to wear red jackets.

The godowns and shops of Yokohama have been emptied of every gun, rifle, pistol,

and keg of powder which was for sale. All the disposable canvass has been bought up for tents.

While I am still inclined to hope that an arrangement not involving the commencement of civil hostilities will be the result of this expedition, the extent and completeness of the preparations lead one to expect a recourse to warfare in the last resort.

Coincident with this impression are questions with reference to the possible continuance of unauthorized trade with the dominions of the insurgent Prince, whether in general goods or contraband of war, and the possible interruption of the legitimate navigation of the Straits.

The assurances conveyed through Shibato, and statements made to my other colleagues, induce me to think that there is no formed intention on the part of the Tycoon's Government to interfere with the passage of foreign vessels. At the same time it is obviously desirable that means should be taken to prevent vessels coming within the circle of actual hostilities, and to lessen the chances of collision in connection with any measures adopted by the Tycoon's officers to arrest unauthorized trade.

On these points I conceived it my duty to enter into communication with the Representatives of the other three Powers. M. Roches, whom I first consulted, in taking the same general view as those which had occurred to myself, suggested the Representatives should meet to interchange their views of the situation, and accordingly I wrote to the Netherlands' Consul-General and United States' Chargé d'Affaires now residing at Yeddo, but have as yet received no definitive answer from these gentlemen.

It would, of course, be perfectly competent for the Consul-General to frame now, or at any future period if expedient, a rule or regulation under the Order in Council of the 7th January, 1864, declaring the passage of the Straits interdicted to all but Her Majesty's ships. Such regulation would not come into force till a month after date, and in view of the possibillity of actual hostilities, its mere promulgation without the presence of a ship of war in the neighbourhood to enforce obedience would be of little avail. I confess also that I am inclined to delay such a step until the necessity of taking it is clearly shown, or until some formal demand of a tantamount nature is made by the Gorogio. In a country like Japan the voluntary restriction for a time of so important a privilege as the navigation of the Straits, opened after a closure of fourteen months by a great expedition, is not desirable if it can be avoided, and I propose previously to submit to my colleagues such considerations as are indicated in the following paragraphs:—

1. That it appears desirable under present circumstances to arrange for the occasional, or if circumstances shall render it necessary the continuous, presence of a naval force in the vicinity of the Straits of Shimonasaki with the view of keeping open the Straits for legitimate purposes of navigation, and by the moral effect of their presence lessening the risks of collision likely to grow out of unauthorized commerce.

2. The position to be assumed by any ship or ships of war to be one of pure observation and absolute non-intervention as regards hostilities in progress, and the station to be taken up to be such as in no way to interfere with the military movements of the hostile parties.

3. No obstacles or hindrance to be offered to the arrangements of the Tycoon's officers for arresting, in virtue of the Treaties, unauthorised trade, while the commanding officers on the spot would be able to judge whether the measures were reasonable in themselves, and the requisite force for carrying them into effect employed with no undue violence.

4. In case of the passage of the Straits being for the moment dangerous in consequence of the progress of actual conflict, the commanders of any ship of war present in the neighbourhood of the Straits to warn and dissuade foreign merchant-vessels generally from passing within the lines of military operations in progress, and if so empowered, to prevent merchant-vessels belonging to their own flags from doing so.

It appears to me that the result of action based on such considerations would be in effect the same as that involved by the promulgation of a restrictive regulation under the Order in Council referred to.

Inclosure 1 in No. 37.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Winchester.

(Translation.)

WE beg to inform you in writing that His Majesty the Tycoon will proceed to-morrow, the 16th of this month (June 9th) from Yeddo along the tokaïdo, with the view

of defeating and pursuing Nagato and Suwo, and that Bungo-no Kami, and Soowo no Kami, and Tachibana Idzoomi no Kami will accompany His Majesty.

With respect and consideration.

15th of 5th month, 1st year of Kei-on (June 8, 1865).

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.
ABE BUNGO NO KAMI.
MATSUDAIRA SOOWO NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 37.

Memorandum regarding the Departure of the Tycoon to Choshiu's Territories.

THE Tycoon will leave on the 16th of June for Kioto and Osaki. The forces, naval and military, will be assembled in that neighbourhood. As soon as they can reach Shimonasaki Nagato's palaces will be attacked, and the Tycoon's ships will destroy the junks. Property of every description found in Nagato's country will be held to be fair prize.

(Signed) C. A. WINCHESTER.

Memorandum.

THE force to be despatched against Choshiu is said to amount to 60,000 men, consisting chiefly of men armed in the native fashion. It contains a body of 600 men drilled in European fashion, and a few Cavalry. The pay of an ordinary soldier is two koku of rice (35 itzebus) per month. The officers receive an outfit at the rate of 120 itzebus per 100 koku of nominal revenue. The army is composed entirely of Tycoon's and Fudai Daimio troops, commanded by Ji Kamon no Kami. The Envoys sent by the Tycoon to convey his ultimatum were unable to enter the dominion of the Prince, and have returned to Osaca without in any way attaining the object of their mission.

June 5, 1865.

Extract from the "Japan Herald" of June 10, 1865.

THE MARCH OF THE TYCOON.—The Tycoon passed through Kanagawa to-day. The exceeding promptness of the foreign authorities in adopting a portion of the suggestion of our correspondent, "Sera nunquam est," whose letter appeared in our daily issue of the 6th instant, secured for foreigners the privilege of witnessing his procession. It was notified by circular and by advertisement this morning that an application having been made to Yeddo, permission had been granted, and a spot selected for the purpose. From 9 o'clock A.M., therefore, until 2 P.M. there was a continuous stream of foreigners from Yokohama to their appointed rendezvous. A great number had determined to make a regular pic-nic of it, and a better locality could hardly have been selected. It was on a small knoll under the shadow of fine umbrageous trees, and separated from the tokaido by about half a stone's throw, at a spot where, for 150 yards, there was a cessation of buildings, and consequently an uninterrupted view. To those who arrived early, the uncertainty of seeing anything, and the idea that the straggling parties of soldiers or baggage carriers might be all that would be seen, was a little tiring—for the army of the Tycoon marches very differently to European armies. Armed retainers of Daimios walk along apparently without object—sometimes in two and threes—and even sometimes singly—and appear to be only strollers along the road. The baggage is carried by coolies in the ordinary manner that private gentlemen have their personal baggage conveyed, but except that the stream was a little more continuous, it hardly indicated anything very much out of the common. At last, however, a clearing of the road, by order of the Vice-Governor of Kanagawa himself, who arrived on horseback, put every one on the *qui vive*. It was a pleasant incident, too, that the people were driven away specially, who would have interfered with the foreigners' view. The Vice-Governor then dismounting, remained there until all was passed. At 10 minutes past 2 a distant beating of drums was heard, and shortly forth came the vanguard. Two drummers in front, the chief officer of the Infantry body-guard on horseback following, then several small field howitzers, drawn by single led ponies. Then came a regiment of about 600 men, 4 deep, armed with Enfield rifles and bayonets. Their dress

was a hybrid between Japanese and European. The trowsers were of the latter cut, only loosely tied round the ankle, the rest of their costume being Japanese. They were in heavy marching order, with knapsacks, and each had drinking utensils, &c. They marched with the utmost regularity, and showed at least good drilling to that extent. They were followed by another regiment preceded by about twenty drums. Their dress and arms were purely Japanese, and the variety of colour of their tunics made a very pleasing sight. The more immediate body-guard followed, first a large lacquered box, containing the arms of the Tycoon; this box as it passed was kow-towed to by many of the officials. Then a cavalcade of about twenty horsemen—all high officials, amongst whom was the Tycoon. He was pointed out as a young man riding in the centre of the cavalcade, his surcoat buff colour, embroidered with gold, with a large crest on the back.

The one circumstance that leads us to believe that it was actually he, is the fact that the Vice-Governor kow-towed to him, bending his forehead to the very ground. This, to us, seemed confirmatory of the assertion of the Japanese Custom-house interpreters, who pointed him out to us at first. The procession, after the passage of the Tycoon, gradually became more straggling and less interesting, and all came to an end by about 10 minutes to 3. On the whole it was a sight that, "in this dull place," everybody ought to have seen, and almost everybody did witness. We have referred to the signature of our correspondent of the 8th instant, and if we can read that signature aright, we are afraid that, after all, he changed his mind, and instead of making one to go on the tokaido in spite of "their silly prejudices," he allowed his curiosity to get the better of him, and witnessed the procession with other sensible people, at the expense of his self-respect.

No. 38.

Earl Russell to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 23, 1865.

THE reports recently received by Her Majesty's Government from Japan, lead to the conclusion that a great social revolution is taking place in that country, and that a civil war may be the consequence.

It would seem that these internal commotions arise almost exclusively from the relations which have of late years been established between Japan and foreign nations. Whilst the long established policy of the Japanese Government, which rigorously excluded all foreigners from Japan, was maintained, the great feudal Lords, or Daimios, and the population at large, seem to have acquiesced in the form of government which had existed for centuries in the country, and which involved the most complicated relations between the Mikado and the Tycoon. But the Treaties recently concluded by the Tycoon with foreign Powers, and the intercourse between Japan and the outer world, to which these Treaties have given rise, have led to fundamental changes in the condition of the country, and, apparently, in the opinions and policy of the Japanese Government, and of the Daimios.

When Lord Elgin went to Japan he found the Tycoon the *de facto* sovereign of the country, to whom obedience was generally yielded, and who appeared to possess the power, as representing the Japanese nation, to enter into Treaties with foreign States. Accordingly the Treaty which Lord Elgin concluded was signed and ratified by the Tycoon. It was not until some time later, when the Representatives of foreign countries in Japan were brought into more intimate relations with the Japanese Government and the Japanese people, that it was discovered that there was a still higher power than that of the Tycoon, that the authority wielded by that Prince was delegated to him by a spiritual Emperor, called the Mikado, and that there were great feudal lords who, superior to the Tycoon in rank, only obeyed him when he had the means of enforcing obedience.

It is held by some of the Japanese that a Treaty with the Tycoon in order to be binding must be ratified by the Mikado. Upon this point the most contradictory assertions have been made by the Japanese themselves. Prince Satsuma, however, fully asserted the Treaty making power to reside in the Tycoon.

Her Majesty's Government have assumed, as they had a right to do, that the Tycoon was in possession of the supreme authority in Japan, that he had the power to enter into the Treaty concluded with this country, and they have held him to be bound by it. In carrying out the stipulations of that Treaty they have acted in strict good faith towards the Tycoon, and in consenting to a modification of its terms they have accepted the representations, and have taken into consideration the alleged difficulties of his Government. It

was in this spirit that they agreed, in conjunction with the Governments of France, the Netherlands, and of the United States, that the opening of the ports of Nee-e-gata and Hiogo and the city of Osaca to foreign trade should be deferred.

On its part the Government of the Tycoon has from the first expressed its desire to fulfil its Treaty engagements, but has declared its inability to do so to the full extent owing to the opposition of the Japanese people, who, it alleges, look with jealousy and aversion upon foreigners, and to the ill-will of some of the most powerful Daimios who, it is declared, are opposed to all intercourse with foreign States, and who are too strong to be coerced by the Tycoon. The murderous attacks upon foreigners, and the aggressions upon foreign shipping in the inland sea, which seemed to warrant these assertions of the Tycoon's Government, gave rise to the successful expeditions against the strongholds of the Princes of Satsuma and Nagato.

It was only after the defeat of those two powerful Princes that doubts arose as to the truth of the statements put forward by the Tycoon's Government. Both Prince Satsuma and Prince Choshiu, immediately after the destruction of Kagosima and Shimonasaki, sent Agents with friendly overtures to the European Representatives in Japan. They declared that in attacking foreigners and resisting all intercourse with them, they were acting under the orders of the Tycoon, and that they were not opposed to such intercourse; but that, on the contrary, they were ready to open their ports to foreigners, and were only prevented doing so by the Tycoon, who desired to have the monopoly of the foreign trade, and to exclude the rival Daimios from any share in it. These statements receive confirmation from the course recently pursued by the Princes of Satsuma and Nagato, who have shown every desire to enter into the most friendly relations with the Representatives of foreign Powers in Japan, and have sent young men to this country for education, and officers to enter into confidential communication with Her Majesty's Government.

Her Majesty's Government will adhere in good faith to the stipulations of the Treaty entered into with the Tycoon. But they cannot forget that, owing to the representations of the Government of the Tycoon, which are now stated to have been unfounded, they have already delayed to claim the rights conferred by that Treaty upon British subjects to trade with certain ports in Japan; and that, when the Government of the Tycoon, after the destruction of the forts of Shimonasaki, had the option of either paying an indemnity, or of opening at once the Port of Shimonasaki, or some more eligible port in the vicinity of the Straits to foreign trade, it chose the payment of the indemnity. So long as Her Majesty's Government believed that there was danger to the Tycoon's Government, owing either to the jealousy of the Daimios, or to the prejudices of the Japanese people, in permitting foreigners to trade with the ports mentioned in the Treaty, Her Majesty's Government were willing to allow their Treaty rights to remain for a time in abeyance. But it would now appear that there is really no such danger to the Government of the Tycoon, and that the opening of other Japanese ports would be hailed with much satisfaction by several of the most powerful Daimios, and by the Japanese people. Whilst the principal Daimios are ready to open their ports to a lucrative and important British trade, Her Majesty's Government are unwilling to submit to the total exclusion of Her Majesty's subjects from those ports upon insufficient grounds.

Her Majesty's Government are, however, anxious to know whether the representations thus made to them agree with your own observations made on the spot.

You are therefore instructed, in conjunction with the Representatives of France, the Netherlands, and the United States, and also in communication with the Gorogio, to ascertain the real state of affairs. You will understand, that Her Majesty's Government would prefer a large and healthy extension of commerce, as stipulated by Treaty, to the payment of money indemnities. But, if the Tycoon prefers the payments, those payments must be made at the times stipulated in the Convention. In no case can Her Majesty's Government allow that the Tycoon's Government should spend its resources in ships, cannon, and armaments while the payments stipulated by the Convention are delayed upon frivolous and dishonest pretexts.

I wait anxiously your reply to this despatch, and shall be ready to place the most entire confidence in your statements as to the real state of affairs.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 39.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord. *Yokohama, June* 23, 1865.

IN my despatch of the 10th instant I had the honour to inform your Lordship that it was my intention to suggest to the Representatives of the other three Powers, parties to the Convention of the 22nd of October, 1864, the holding of a Conference on the questions likely to connect themselves with the expedition of the Tycoon against the Prince of Nagato.

The proposed meeting took place at the French Legation on the 21st instant, when a joint Minute was agreed to and paraphéd, copy of which is inclosed.

The principles embodied in the Minute may be stated briefly as:—

1. The maintenance of the free navigation of the Straits;
2. Absolute non-intervention in the civil hostilities which may ensue; and
3. Support, as required by Treaty, of measures employed by the Tycoon for the suppression of illicit trade, and especially of contraband of war during hostilities.

Consequent on the adoption of the Minute, I addressed a communication to Captain Luard, R.N., requesting that the naval commander at Nagasaki might be reinforced by an additional ship of war, so as to place the Senior Officer there in a position to effect the objects of the Minute, by the occasional or continuous presence of a ship of war in the vicinity of the Straits, as might be found advisable.

By last mail I received from your Lordship a despatch informing me that the new Order in Council provided powers for the suppression of trade in contraband during the existence of civil warfare; but no copy of the document itself has reached me.

I had, however, previously given the point careful consideration, and came to the conclusion that all the powers required were created by Article XVIII of the Treaty, the 5th parapraph of the Regulation II attached to the Treaty, and sections 32 and 33 of the Order in Council of the 23rd January, 1860. I therefore prepared a separate Memorandum for the use of the Senior Naval Officer, based on this view, as to the action to be taken (copy inclosed), the tenor of which will, I trust, meet with your Lordship's approval.

Being aware that one or more English firms in Nagasaki had entered into active trading relations at Shimonasaki, I considered it desirable to issue a public notification warning Her Majesty's subjects of the risks of illegal traffic, two printed copies of which are herewith inclosed.

Copies of the above documents have also been forwarded officially for the guidance of Mr. Acting Consul Gower at Nagasaki.

During the last week, the authorities at Yeddo were informed of the intention of the foreign Powers to place ships of war in observation at the Straits. This knowledge made them naturally anxious to ascertain directly the nature and objects of the contemplated step. One of the Governors of Foreign Affairs, attended by the well-known Kurimoto Seihé, asked for a confidential interview with me yesterday afternoon. Your Lordship will find a report of the Conference in the inclosed Minute of Mr. Siebold.

The Governor was evidently much satisfied with the explanations given, and as this was probably one of the last occasions of confidential conference I may have before my departure for Shanghae, I requested him once more to present to the Gorogio those views of the relations of Japan which I had already explained, and on the adoption of which it is my firm belief the happiness and welfare of the country depend.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

P.S.—Since the above was written, an answer from the Senior Naval Officer has been received, and my despatch to the Gorogio has been forwarded, copies of which I have the honour to inclose.

C. A. W.

Inclosure 1 in No. 39.

Memorandum.

CHOSHIU, Prince of Nagato, being in a state of overt insurrection against the Tycoon, and His Majesty the Tycoon having resolved to march himself at the head of an army intended to reduce his contumacious vassal to obedience, civil war is imminent, and from the situation of its theatre may, to a certain extent, compromise the interests of the Treaty Powers by impeding the free navigation of their vessels through the Straits of Shimonasaki.

In presence of this state of things the Representatives of the four Powers subscribing the Convention of the 22nd October, 1864, have met for the purpose of consulting as to the measures it may be convenient to adopt for protecting the interests of their countrymen and securing the results contemplated by the expedition successfully directed by their respective naval forces against the batteries of Shimonasaki in September 1864.

This meeting took place on the 21st of June, 1865, and the following is the result of the joint deliberations of the Undersigned :—

Considering that the batteries erected by the Prince of Nagato in the Straits of Shimonasaki were employed to prohibit the free navigation of the Inland Sea to foreigners, and were disarmed by the Commanders of the allied forces, who imposed upon the Prince the formal obligation not to re-arm them ;

Considering that the allied forces have not renounced the occupation of a military position in the Straits, save on the formal obligation accepted by the Government of the Tycoon to guarantee the free navigation of the Straits to foreign vessels ;

Considering, moreover, that while the rules of a wise policy require of the Powers signing the Convention to avoid every act of intervention in the conflict which has just commenced between the Tycoon and the Prince of Nagato, their Treaty relations of friendship and commerce which exist only with the Tycoon, require from them the moral support and facilities necessary to the exercise of the rights acknowledged by such Treaties to belong to the Tycoon ;

For these reasons, the Undersigned have adopted with one accord, the following Articles, and are agreed that copy of this

Memorandum.

CHOSHIU, Prince de Nagato, s'étant mis en état d'insurrection vis-à-vis du Taïkoun, et Sa Majesté ayant pris la résolution de marcher elle-même à la tête du corps d'armée destinée à faire rentrer ce Daimio, son vassal, dans l'obéissance, une guerre civile est imminente, guerre qui, vû le theâtre où elle aura lieu, peut à un certain point compromettre les intérêts des Puissances signataires des Traités, en mettant des obstacles à la libre navigation de leurs bâtiments à travers les Détroits de Shimonasaki.

En présence de cet état de choses, les Représentants des quatre Puissances signataires de la Convention du 22 Octobre, 1864, ont jugé opportun de se réunir afin d'aviser d'un commun accord aux mesures qu'il convient d'adopter pour sauvegarder les intérêts de leurs nationaux et d'assurer les résultats qu'ils ont eu en vue d'obtenir par l'expédition que leurs escadres respectives ont glorieusement dirigée contre les batteries de Shimonasaki, au mois de Septembre 1864.

Cette réunion a eu lieu en effet le 21 Juin, 1865, et voici le résumé des déterminations prises par les Soussignés :—

Considérant que les batteries élevées par le Prince de Nagato dans le Détroit de Shimonasaki avaient eu pour résultat d'intercepter la libre navigation des étrangers dans la Mer Intérieure, et qu'elles ont été désarmées par MM. les Commandants des forces alliés, qui ont imposé au dit Prince l'obligation formelle de ne plus les réarmer ;

Considérant que les forces alliés n'ont renoncé à l'occupation d'une position militaire dans le Détroit de Shimonasaki, qu'à la condition formelle, acceptée par le Gouvernement du Taicoun, de garantir la libre navigation de cette partie du Détroit aux navires étrangers ;

Considérant, en outre, que si les règles d'une sage politique commandent aux Puissances signataires de la Convention du 22 Octobre d'éviter tout acte d'intervention dans le conflit qui vient de s'élever entre le Souverain du Japon et le Prince de Nagato, les relations d'amitié et de commerce qui existent entre elles et le Taicoun, en vertu des Traités, leur commandent d'accorder à Sa Majesté un appui moral et les facilités nécessaires pour l'exercice des droits que lui reconnaissent ces mêmes Traités ;

Par ces motifs, les Soussignés ont adopté, d'un commun accord, les Articles suivants, et sont convenus que copie du présent

Memorandum shall be addressed to the Commanders of the naval forces of their respective nations now present, or hereafter to arrive in Japan :—

Memorandum sera adressée à MM. les Commandants des forces navales de leurs nations respectives présentes actuellement au Japon, ou qui pourront ultérieurement y arriver :—

ARTICLE I.

In the interval which will elapse before the land and sea forces of the Tycoon shall present themselves in the Straits of Shimonasaki, the naval commanders of the Powers parties to the Convention of the 22nd of October, ought, in virtue of that Convention, to oppose the re-armament of the batteries of the Prince of Nagato in the said Strait, or even to proceed to their disarmament if the Daimio should have rearmed them ; but as the carrying these measures into effect might bring about conflicts and complications which the Undersigned wish absolutely to avoid, the commanders of the naval forces are requested in this latter case to make to the Prince of Nagato, or his representative, such remonstrances as they may deem appropriate, and in any event to ascertain the state of things and to furnish the Undersigned with an immediate report, in order that they may communicate with the Government of the Tycoon thereon, and place their respective Governments in a position to give them instructions.

Pendant le temps qui s'écoulera à partir de ce jour jusqu'au moment où les forces de terre ou de mer du Taicoun se présenteront dans le Détroit de Shimonasaki, MM. les Commandants des forces navales des Puissances signataires de la Convention du 22 Octobre devraient, en vertu de cette Convention, s'opposer au réarmement des batteries du Prince de Nagato dans le dit Détroit, ou même procéder à leur désarmement si ce Daimio les avait réarmées ; mais l'exécution de ces mesures pouvant amener des conflits et des complications que les Soussignés désirent absolument éviter, MM. les Commandants sont invités dans cette dernière hypothèse à faire au Prince de Nagato, ou à son représentant, les remonstrances qu'ils jugeraient convenables, et, en tout cas, constater l'état des choses et vouloir bien en rendre immédiatement compte aux Soussignés, afin qu'ils puissent agir en conséquence auprès du Gouvernement du Taicoun, et mettre leurs Gouvernements respectifs à même de leur donner des instructions à ce sujet.

ARTICLE II.

Apart from the object of the preceding Article, it is desirable that the commanders of the naval forces should be able to assure the free passage of the Straits to foreign ships, using it in regular trade with Japan, and to lend the aid required by Treaty for repressing on the part of merchant-ships belonging to their respective flags, in any part of the territories of Nagato contiguous to the Straits, trading operations which in terms of the Treaties are only authorized in the ports actually opened to foreigners.

En dehors de l'objet considéré dans l'Article précédent, il importe que MM. les Commandants des forces navales puissent assurer la libre passage du Détroit de Shimonasaki aux navires étrangers, qui font un commerce régulier avec le Japon, et prendre les mesures prévues par les Traités pour empêcher les bâtiments de leurs nations respectives de se livrer, sur un point quelconque du territoire de Nagato, à des opérations commerciales, qui, en vertu des dits Traités, ne sont autorisées que dans les ports ouverts actuellement aux étrangers.

ARTICLE III.

It is equally important to prevent the ships of the Tycoon charged with the prevention of unlawful commercial operations with the insurgent Prince from going in such cases beyond the limits of right and humanity.

Il importe également d'empêcher que les bâtiments du Taïcoun qui serait chargés de s'opposer à ce que les navires étrangers fassent des opérations illicites avec le Prince rebelle ne dépassent pas, en pareil cas, les limites du droit et de l'humanité.

ARTICLE IV.

When hostilities shall commence in the Straits between the Tycoon and Choshiu, the commanders will warn foreign ships of the necessity of passing beyond the lines of fire, and should even require them to abstain from entering the Straits if the passage at the time should bring them into actual danger.

Dès que les hostilités auraient commencé dans le Détroit entre les forces du Taïcoun et celles de Choshiu, MM. les Commandants devraient veiller à ce que les navires étrangers passassent en dehors de la portée des feux de l'artillerie ou même s'abstinssent d'entrer dans le Détroit, si le passage offrait pour eux un véritable danger.

ARTICLE V.

It is well understood that all the measures indicated by the Undersigned shall be carried out in the manner which the naval commanders shall consider most fitting, and in any case that their desire is that the strictest neutrality should be observed in all that concerns the military operations between the Tycoon and the Prince of Nagato.

Il est bien entendu que toutes les mesures indiquées ci-dessus par les Soussignés seront mises à exécution par MM. les Commandants de leurs forces navales de la façon dont ceux-ci le jugeront convenable, et en tout cas que leur désir est que la plus stricte neutralité soit observée par rapport aux opérations militaires du Taïcoun et du Daimio de Nagato.

Yokohama, June, 21, 1865.

(Signed) LEON ROCHES, *Ministre Plénipotentiare de Sa Majesté Impériale au Japon.*
CHARLES A. WINCHESTER, *Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Japan.*
A. L. C. PORTMAN, *United States' Chargé d'Affaires in Japan.*
D. DE GRAEFF VON POLSBROEK, *His Netherlands Majesty's Political Agent and Consul-General in Japan.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 39.

Mr. Winchester to Captain Luard.

Sir, *Yokohama, June* 21, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that yesterday the Representatives of Great Britain, France, Holland, the United States of America, parties to the Convention of the 22nd October, 1864, assembled at the French Legation to deliberate on the present state of affairs as connected with the differences between the Tycoon and the Prince of Choshiu, and that a Memorandum, copy of which I inclose for your guidance, was then paraphéd.

The points of principal importance will be found embodied in Articles I and II. In reference to the former, you will observe that its language in no way departs from the principle of abstinence from all operations tending to intervention in Japanese civil hostilities, and that the only action which it contemplates being taken by the commanders of the naval forces is that of remonstrance against the rearming of the Straits' batteries, pending a reference to their respective Representatives and Governments. Any force employed, under the existing circumstances, to compel Choshiu's observance of his arrangement with the Admirals, so long as he does not interfere with the free navigation of the Straits by foreign ships, would, in my opinion, be an act of effective intervention in favour of the Tycoon, and, as such, not desirable.

With reference to the suppression of illicit trade, which I have made the subject of a separate Memorandum and Notification, copies herewith inclosed, it is scarcely necessary to observe that the terms of the joint Minute imply the giving of aid and support to such preventive measures as the Tycoon's Government may institute for the suppression of unauthorized commerce, and in no way contemplate the adoption by Her Majesty's ships of any independent action to effect objects in which the Tycoon's Administration must take the initiative. Still it is most desirable that these anticipated hostilities should not be fed under cover of the British flag by delivery of arms and ammunition; and under Article XXXIII of the Order in Council, the naval commander may adopt in his discretion a wider scope of repressive action than would be necessary in respect to ordinary smuggling.

These remarks are prefatory to the official request now made that the senior naval officer at Nagasaki may at once be reinforced, so as to provide for his being able to visit the Straits, either in his own or other vessel of war, or to station a ship in the vicinity of the Straits, as occasion may require, for the objects referred to in this despatch and its inclosures.

Until the actual assembly of the Tycoon's expeditionary force in the neighbourhood of the Straits, I believe that an occasional visit will sufficiently carry out the objects in view.

Any vessel despatched about the 27th or 28th instant may meet Sir Harry S.

Parkes on the way or at Nagasaki. If at the latter port, the senior naval officer will, I trust, be instructed to communicate with him on the subject of your orders.

Mr. Gower, the Acting Consul at Nagasaki, will be directed to furnish you with the occasional services of Mr. Lowder, as interpreter, or should it appear expedient to detach a gentleman permanently for this purpose, Mr. Satow will be placed at your disposal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure 3 in No. 39.

Memorandum.

1. AMONG the passages in the Minute on which it is necessary to offer specific suggestions are the words, "lend the aid required by Treaty for repressing," &c.

Very ample powers to effect this purpose are conferred on the Commanders by Articles XXXII and XXXIII of the Order in Council of the 23rd of January, 1860.

"XXXII. And whereas it is stipulated in and by the said Treaty agreed upon and concluded between Her Majesty and His said Majesty the Tycoon of Japan as aforesaid, that the ports and towns of Hakodadi, Kanagawa, and Nagasaki, shall be opened to British subjects on the 1st day of July, 1859, and that, in addition thereto, the following ports and towns shall be opened to them at the dates thereinafter and hereinafter specified, that is to say, Nee-e-gata, or if Nee-e-gata be found unsuitable as a harbour, another convenient port on the west coast of Nipon, on the 1st day of January, 1860, and Hiogo on the 1st day of January, 1863:

"Now it is hereby further ordered, that all trade whatsoever of Her Majesty's subjects in, to, or from any part of the dominions of the Tycoon of Japan, excepting the ports and towns aforesaid, and all trade whatsoever of Her Majesty's subjects in, to, or from any of the ports and towns aforesaid, before the respective days and times specified in the said Treaty as aforesaid, shall be and same is hereby declared to be unlawful, and every person engaged in such trade as a principal, agent, shipowner, shipmaster, or supercargo, shall be liable to be apprehended by any of Her Majesty's Consuls, and shall, when so apprehended, be sent by him to Yeddo, in any of Her Majesty's ships of war, or in any British ship or vessel, for trial before the Consul-General. And it shall be lawful for the Commander of Her Majesty's ships of war, or of any British ship or vessel, to receive any such person on board under a warrant from the said Consul addressed to the Consul-General, and thereupon to convey him in custody to Yeddo, and, on his arrival there, to deliver him, with the said warrant, into the custody of the said Consul-General, who, on the receipt of the said warrant and the person therein named, shall be authorized to commit, and shall commit, the person so sent for trial, and detain, or cause him to be detained, in any place of safe custody at Yeddo, and the Consul-General shall forthwith proceed to hear and determien the charge against such person, and such person shall, upon conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding 10,000 dollars, or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

"XXXIII. And it is further ordered, that it shall be lawful for any of the commanders of Her Majesty's ships, or any other officer duly authorized in that behalf, to seize any ship or vessel under the British flag which may reasonably be suspected of having been engaged, or of being engaged, in any trade declared by the next preceding Article of this Order to be illegal, and to bring such ship or vessel, and the master, officers, supercargo, and crew thereof to Yeddo, and there to detain such ship or vessel, and the master, officers, supereargo, and crew thereof, until the said Consul-General shall have tried and determined the charge which may be brought against them, or any of them, in respect of such unlawful trade as aforesaid."

2. The Japanese Government must themselves devise and execute their own measures for preventing unauthorized trade, and making seizures and captures; but the commander of any of Her Majesty's ships stationed near the Straits, in consequence of the events on which this Memorandum is based may most properly warn British merchant-ships and subjects engaged, or intending (to all appearances) to engage in unauthorized trade, more especially contraband of war, that they can look for no protection or countenance from Her Majesty's ships or officers; but will be held responsible for any crimes or offences committed in resisting the Tycoon's officers in the lawful execution of the rights guaranteed by Treaty; and that should circumstances require it, the authority to seize, created by the Article XXXIII above referred to, will be acted upon.

3. The naval commander will recognize as valid and lawful the detention by the Tycoon's officers of any British ships or subjects seized while, or in consequence of, being engaged in illegal traffic elsewhere than at the open ports, and in no way dispute their right to retain possession of any goods or cargo seized under such circumstances.

4. Apart from the maintenance of the free navigation of the Straits, and the observation of the proceedings of the hostile parties, one of the principal objects Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires has had in view, in suggesting the stationing there of a ship of war, is the preventing English ships or subjects from furnishing munitions of war. Any action which the commander of Her Majesty's ships may adopt under the authority above cited will be entitled to favourable appreciation, in so far as it may tend to prevent a trade in contraband of war being carried on under British colours.

5. Article IV refers only to ships passing the Straits while actual firing is going on, or is expected to be commenced, and the commander of Her Majesty's ship would, in the case of a vessel under a foreign flag, endeavour to effect his object by an earnest intimation of danger before taking active steps to oppose her further progress.

Yokohama, June 22, 1865.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

Inclosure 4 in No. 39.

Official Notification.

WHEREAS there are rumours of unauthorized trading operations in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Shimonasaki, and the existence under present circumstances of illicit commerce, more especially in arms, munitions of war, &c., is in contravention of Treaty and likely to complicate the international relations of Great Britain and Japan, it is the duty of the Undersigned to call the attention of all British merchants, traders, and shipmasters, resident in or frequenting Japan, to the annexed extracts:—

1. Article XVIII of the Treaty of Yeddo of 26th August, 1858.
2. Paragraph 5 of Regulation 2 attached to the aforesaid Treaty.
3. Sections XXXII and XXXIII of the Order in Council of 23rd of January, 1860.

And to warn all British subjects, that in pursuit of such illegal traffic they lose all claim to protection and countenance, and subject themselves to penalties set forth in the annexes, and that Her Majesty's ships of war stationed in or passing through the Straits, will, as required by Treaty, support the officers of the Tycoon engaged in its repression.

Given under my hand at the British Legation in Japan at Yokohama, this 22nd day of June, 1865.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER, *Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires and Acting Consul-General.*

ARTICLE XVIII.

The Japanese authorities at each port will adopt the means that they may judge most proper for the prevention of fraud or smuggling.

ARTICLE XX.

Regulation 2.

If any British ship shall smuggle or attempt to smuggle goods in any of the non-opened harbours of Japan, all such goods shall be forfeited to the Japanese Government, and the ship shall pay a fine of 1,000 dollars for each offence.

ARTICLE XXII.

Trade of British Subjects in contravention of Treaty with Japan declared unlawful and punishable.

And whereas it is stipulated in and by the said Treaty agreed upon and concluded between Her Majesty and His said Majesty the Tycoon of Japan as aforesaid, that the ports and towns of Hakodadi, Kanagawa, and Nagasaki, shall be opened to British subjects on the first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine, and that, in addition thereto, the following ports and towns shall be opened to them at the dates, and hereinafter specified, that is to say, Nee-e-gata, or if Nee-e-gata be found unsuitable as a harbour,

another convenient port on the west coast of Nipon, on the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty,* and Hiogo on the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three: †

Now it is hereby further ordered, that all trade whatsoever of Her Majesty's subjects in, to, or from any part of the dominions of the Tycoon of Japan, excepting the ports and towns aforesaid, and all trade whatsoever of Her Majesty's subjects in, to, or from any of the ports and towns aforesaid, before the respective days and times specified in the said Treaty as aforesaid, shall be and same is hereby declared to be unlawful, and every person engaged in such trade as a principal, agent, shipowner, shipmaster, or supercargo, shall be liable to be apprehended by any of Her Majesty's Consuls, and shall, when so apprehended, be sent by him to Yeddo, in any of Her Majesty's ships of war, or in any British ship or vessel, for trial before the Consul-General. And it shall be lawful for the Commander of Her Majesty's ships of war, or of any British ship or vessel, to receive any such person on board under a warrant from the said Consul addressed to the Consul-General, and thereupon to convey him in custody to Yeddo, and, on his arrival there, to deliver him, with the said warrant, into the custody of the said Consul-General, who, on the receipt of the said warrant and the person therein named, shall be authorized to commit, and shall commit the person so sent for trial, and detain, or cause him to be detained, in any place of safe custody at Yeddo, and the Consul-General shall forthwith proceed to hear and determine the charge against such person, and such person shall, upon conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding 10,000 dollars, or to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding two years.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Vessels and Persons engaged in Unlawful Trade may be seized and sent for Trial.

And it is further ordered, that it shall be lawful for any of the commanders of Her Majesty's ships, or any other officer duly authorized in that behalf, to seize any ship or vessel under the British flag which may reasonably be suspected of having been engaged, or of being engaged, in any trade delared by the next preceeding Article of this Order to be illegal, and to bring such ship or vessel, and the master, officers, supercargo, and crew thereof to Yeddo, and there to detain such ship or vessel, and the master, officers, supercargo, and crew thereof, until the said Consul-General shall have tried and determined the charge which may be brought against them, or any of them, in respect of such unlawful trade as aforesaid.

Inclosure 5 in No. 39.

Précis of an Interview between Mr. Winchester, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, and Yamakuchi Suruga no Kami, Governor for Foreign Affairs, and Kurimoto Seihe Ometzke, on the 22nd of June, 1865.

AFTER the usual compliments the Governor commenced by saying that the Gorogio had heard rumours that some English ships were going to the Inland Sea, and that he wished to hear from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires whether this was the case, and if so, he wished to know the motives and object with which they were sent.

Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires replied that the ships were going for two objects; first, to be on the spot and see that obstructions were not made to the free navigation of the Straits and the Inland Sea, to foreign ships; and secondly, to give moral support to the Government of the Tycoon, and such aid as the Treaty provided for, in suppressing the illegal trade in arms and munitions of war which had lately been attempted. The Commander would lend the same sort of assistance to the officers of the Tycoon engaged in suppressing contraband operations, as the Consul did to the Governors at the open ports, in preventing smuggling. There was not the slightest intention to take any active part in their internal differences; indeed, the motives for sending the ships to the Inland Sea were of the most friendly nature towards the Tycoon.

The Governor expressed his entire satisfaction with the explanations given, and said that he would report them to the Gorogio on his return.

Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaries then observed that he intended to write to the Gorogio as soon as he had collected the papers, and more specially inform them of this matter. He concluded by saying that he wished to impress upon them once more, and as a parting advice, the urgent necessity of the Tycoon pursuing a more liberal policy towards the Daimios, and granting them certain advantages of trade by opening a port in the

* Opening postponed indefinitely.

† Opening postponed to January 1, 1868.

Inland Sea. The desire on their part to partake in foreign trade was becoming more and more conspicuous, and they would themselves find means of carrying on direct relations with foreigners if the Tycoon would not grant them the privileges they were fairly entitled to. The favourable moment had now arrived for the Tycoon to carry out this policy as he had gone with an imposing force to Osaka and Kioto.

Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires remarked that if the Daimios wished for trade, nothing would be more easy for the Tycoon than, having first obtained from the Mikado the entire direction of foreign affairs, to come to an understanding with them, and allow them a fair share in the trade. In case, however, the Tycoon continued his attempts to oppose the natural course of progress, the inevitable result would be civil dissension, against which he could not caution them too strongly, as the greatest evils which the rulers of a country had to guard against.

After some discussion on the subject of salutes the interview closed.

(Signed) ALEX. von SIEBOLD.

Inclosure 6 in No. 39.

Captain Luard to Mr. Winchester.

Sir, "*Conqueror*," *Yokohama, June* 24, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 21st instant, with inclosures, informing me that the Representatives of Great Britain, France, Holland, and the United States of America, had adopted a joint Minute, with reference to the state of affairs, consequent upon difficulties between the Tycoon and Prince Choshiu, and your observations thereon; also requesting that arrangements may be made for an English ship of war to visit the Straits of Shimonasaki, as occasion may require, previous to the arrival of the Tycoon's expeditionary force, and that a ship of war may be subsequently stationed in the vicinity of the Straits, to carry out the views set forth in the aforesaid joint Minute.

2. Her Majesty's ship "Osprey" will leave for Nagasaki on the 27th instant, weather permitting, calling at Shimonasaki on her passage, for the purpose of obtaining information as to the state of affairs in that neighbourhood. The Senior Naval Officer at Nagasaki will then have directions either to visit the Straits occasionally, or to station a vessel there, as may be most desirable.

3. With reference to the joint Minute:—

Article I. The Senior Naval Officer in the Straits will be directed to oppose any attempted re-armament of the forts solely by remonstrance, until he shall have received further instructions.

Art. II. The Senior Naval Officer in the Straits will be directed to maintain the free passage of the Straits to English merchant-ships using it in regular trade with Japan; should the occasion arise provided for in Article XXXIII of the Order in Council of June 23rd, 1860, he will act upon the power therein conferred.

Art. III and IV. No special instructions will be required upon these subjects.

Art. V. Absolute neutrality will be enjoined upon the officer commanding Her Majesty's ships in the Straits.

4. With reference to your Memorandum upon this Minute:—

Paragraph 1. No power is conferred upon the commanders of Her Majesty's ships by Article XXXII of the Order in Council, beyond receiving and carrying to Yeddo persons apprehended by Her Majesty's Consuls.

Pars. 2 and 3. The Senior Naval Officer in the Straits will be directed to act in compliance with the principles herein laid down.

5. The Senior Naval Officer at Nagasaki will be directed to communicate with Sir Harry Parkes (in the event of meeting) respecting the orders under which he will then be acting.

6. I do not think it necessary, at present, to avail myself of the services of Mr. Satow, but shall be glad to do so if hereafter required.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. G. LUARD

Inclosure 7 in No. 39.

Mr. Winchester to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Your Excellencies, *Yokohama, June* 24, 1865.

TWO days ago the Governor for Foreign Affairs, Yamakutchi Suruga no Kami, visited me by your Excellencies' directions, for the purpose of inquiring about certain reports as to intended visits of foreign ships of war to the neighbourhood of Shimonasaki.

I explained to the above-named Governor that the objects of any of Her Majesty's ships which might pass through or remain near the Straits would be twofold :—

1st. To see that the passage is not interrupted to British vessels using it for lawful navigation; and 2nd. To give support to such measures as the Tycoon's Government may adopt for the suppression of unlawful trade, especially in arms and muitions of war.

With the view of preventing British subjects engaging in such illicit commerce, I have issued a public notification (copy inclosed).

Under no circumstances will any of Her Majesty's officers interfere with the warlike operations which may be carried on by the opposed Japanese forces, but they are at all times ready to aid and advise the Tycoon's Government in dealing with the difficulties arising out of the unlawful acts of British subjects. Your Excellencies will, I trust, see proofs of this in the language of the Notification, as well as in the counsel offered and hopes expressed, at the recent interview, to the Governor, that the present internal difficulties may be settled without recourse to civil war, and be terminated by the adoption of an arrangement which, in guaranteeing to the Tycoon the control of foreign relations, will admit the Princes to share in the advantages which never fail to attend free trade.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WINCHESTER.

No. 40.

Mr. Winchester to Earl Russell.—(Received August 27.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, June* 26, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to forward copy of a recent Circular calling on the nat merchants in Yeddo for an unusual contribution in respect of the actual condition affairs.

This document is, at all events, an illustration of the progress made by the Japanese in matters of finance.

Inclosure in No. 40.

Circular.

[THE following is a translation of a Circular sent round by the Japanese Government, calling for money to defray the charges of the present expedition.]

To the Headmen (of the city),

For some years the expense of protecting the coasts and also of repairing and building the Tycoon's palaces, besides that incurred during the last three years—in which the Tycoon has been twice to Kioto to visit the Mikado—has been very great. But now he is again about to leave Yeddo upon an expedition requiring more money than ever. Therefore—

Let it be known in Yeddo, Osaka and all the provinces belonging to the Tycoon, that they must give to him as much as they can. And, particularly, tell the merchants of Yeddo, who are always with the Tycoon and whose presence renders their business more safe and very much larger than is the case of the other provinces, and who, although they so profit largely by him, do nothing for him in return, they ought to provide a portion of the profits they have been making for so long a time

The circumstances are now different to those formerly existing. The Tycoon, really has not money in anticipation of the present case. So inform the merchants and shopkeepers that they must provide as much as they can; and order the headmen (every five or six houses in Yeddo has such an officer) to write out the names of contributors and the amounts they give, and send in the writing to Tachi Chimo. It is to be hoped that all

will give their utmost, but let these headmen (of five or six houses) know that if they do not exert themselves in persuading all to give liberally they will be punished.

P.S.—This money shall be paid back in ten years, by instalments of so much a-year—or so much a month—from next year. Let this be explained to every one.

D. J. H.

June 22, 1865.

No. 41.

Earl Russell to Mr. Winchester.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 30, 1865.

HER Majesty's Government approve your proceedings, as reported in your despatch of the 23rd of June, with reference to the impending operations on the part of the Government of the Tycoon against the Prince of Nagato.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 42.

Sir. H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received September 2.)

My Lord, *Nagasaki, June* 30, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report my departure from Shanghae on the 24th instant, and arrival here on the morning of the 27th. Tempestuous weather which has prevailed since that date has contributed to the detention of Her Majesty's ship "Leopard," but I am informed by Captain Leckie that he will be ready to proceed to-morrow morning, and, as was first proposed, will take the route of the Inland Sea; I have therefore desired Mr. Frederick Lowder to accompany me, as it is possible that I may require the services of an interpreter during that part of the voyage.

It is gratifying to learn from Mr. Consul Gower that affairs at this port are, on the whole, in a satisfactory condition. Unfortunately, however, he has had to bring to my notice one of those murderous attacks on foreigners which have from time to time imperilled our intercourse with this country. On the 11th instant a Japanese ruffian rushed through the settlement with a drawn sword, cutting at every foreigner he met; he only succeeded, however, in wounding one European (a coloured sailor lately belonging to a British vessel) and five Chinese, and then passing out of the settlement under the eyes of a Japanese guard, made good his escape, and has not yet been arrested. While, on the one hand, the consequences of the outrage have providentially not proved serious, as all his victims are recovering from their wounds, it is unsatisfactory to note the same absence of vigour or of will on the part of the Japanese authorities in the pursuit of the offender as has marked their conduct, with one recent exception, on all similar occasions. The fulfilment of their duty might have been more readily looked for in this instance, as the offender is not the retainer of an influential or a hostile Daimio, but an inferior individual of known bad character, and the resident of a village close at hand. I thought it necessary, therefore, in the course of a visit paid me by the Governor to support the just remonstrances of Her Majesty's Consul at the delay which had occurred in the man's arrest, and was assured that the circumstance was attributable to the accident of his having escaped into the mountainous country at the back of the port; and that, though he might elude pursuit for the present, he would be eventually secured and punished.

The Governor appears to be a friendly and well-disposed man, but in all matters of business he stated that the orders of the Gorogio left him little discretion, and that he still waited the receipt of instructions in regard to the removal of certain monoplies which contrary to the Treaty are retained by Chinese and considerably hamper the trade of the port. Other restrictions have also been pointed out to me as attributable to illiberality on the part of the Tycoon, but it is satisfactory to observe that complaints of this nature do not proceed from foreign sources only, but are joined in by that section of the Daimios which already seeks a remedy for the present imperfect state of affairs, not in the suppression but in the extension of foreign trade.

I think I may say that I see some confirmation of the statements made to me to the above effect in the readiness with which several of the officers of influential Daimios, who

happen to be at Nagasaki, asked me to receive them as soon as they heard of my arrival.

At the interviews which I willingly gave them they stated that the foreign policy of their Government continued to form the absorbing topic of the day, and that a freer admission to the advantages of foreign trade was earnestly desired by some of the Daimios. I regretted, however, to hear them combine with these liberal opinions the conviction that the feeling amongst the governing class was so divided, and in some instances so unfavourable to the Tycoon, that a civil struggle might be expected at no distant date.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 43.

Sir F. Bruce to Earl Russell.—(*Received September* 8)

My Lord, *Washington, August* 25, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note which I have received from the Secretary of State of the United States in answer to one which I addressed to him in accordance with your Lordship's instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FREDERICK W. A. BRUCE.

Inclosure in No. 43.

Mr. Seward to Sir F. Bruce.

Sir, *Department of State, Washington, August* 15, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 29th of July last, accompanied by a copy of Earl Russell's despatch which you have submitted confidentially for my perusal, in order to ascertain the views of this Government on the subject of securing common action in affairs in Japan arising out of the Agreement of 1864, and in the course adopted by the Representatives of the Treaty Powers in that country. In reply, I have the honour to state that until the Treaty is ratified by the Senate, the Government of the United States cannot constitutionally take action therein. But anticipating the ratification, this Government is disposed to concur nominally, and to co-operate in the plans proposed by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM SEWARD.

No. 44.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(*Received September* 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, July* 12, 1865.

IT may be of interest to your Lordship to be informed of the few observations bearing upon the relations between the Tycoon and the Prince of Choshiu, which came under my notice during my passage through the Inland Sea.

From several of Choshiu's officers who boarded Her Majesty's ship "Leopard" at Shimonasaki, and from inquiries made by Mr. Lowder on shore, I learned that the Prince and his son were still waiting in retirement the movements of the Tycoon, but adhered firmly to their resolution of resisting attack. They did not appear certain that hostilities would occur, but spoke of considerable preparations for defence which they had made at no less than six points within their own territory, on a scale which would be formidable if their estimates could be considered reliable. They had not attempted, however, as we satisfied ourselves by inspection, to re-arm the batteries at Shimonasaki, nor did the town bear the appearance of a place threatened with attack; but they volunteered the remark that as the Convention made with Admiral Kuper prevented their putting heavy guns in battery, they should defend themselves with field artillery. The feeling evinced to all those who landed from the "Leopard" was of a very friendly character.

No signs of hostile proceedings were observable in our course through the Inland Sea. We visited Hiogo and the head of Osaca Bay, and from Mr. Lowder, whom I sent on shore at both these places, I received uniform accounts of the friendly disposition of the people but of reserve on the part of the Tycoon's officers. Two of the Tycoon's steamers lay at Hiogo and one off the entrance to Osaca, but one of the former was actively engaged in discharging cargo, and no other appearance of force was visible. The favourable position of Hiogo as a port, and the capacity of Osaca for trade, were striking even to a superficial view.

A native informant whom I sent into Osaca returned with the report that he had seen a considerable number of troops in the town, but he could not hear of more than three Daimios of rank being present, although several others were named as about to arrive for the purpose of meeting the Tycoon. The latter it was said would reach Kioto on the 6th instant, and it was expected that he would hold a meeting of Daimios in a few days' time, though whether at Osaca or Kioto appeared still uncertain.

Mr. Siebold, as your Lordship will learn from the enclosed Memorandum, has heard that the expedition against Choshiu has been postponed, and I am glad to think that the above observations go far to corroborate this information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 44.

Memorandum by Mr. Siebold.

ADVICES from the army of the Tycoon are to the effect that the expedition to Choshiu is looked upon as postponed for the present, as the Tycoon has been summoned to Kioto, where he is to meet a congress of Daimios. Orders for the despatch of Court dresses have been received in Yeddo.

It is reported that only part of his army will accompany him to Kioto.

No. 45.

Earl Russell to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 30, 1865.

HER Majesty's Government have considered, in communication with the Law Officers of the Crown, Mr. Winchester's despatches of the 10th and 23rd of June, reporting the measure adopted by the Representatives of the Treaty Powers, in view of the impending hostilities between the Tycoon and the Prince of Nagato, and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that Mr. Winchester took every proper step in his power, the Order in Council of the 9th of March last not having then reached Japan, to prevent British subjects from interfering in those hostilities.

Her Majesty's Government are further of opinion that you will have ample power under sections 7, 8 and 9 of the new Order to prevent British subjects from interfering in the apprehended civil war, as "any strait or other water in Japan" (Par. 95) may be closed by your orders, or the passage through it made subject to any restrictions which may be deemed expedient. So with regard to the prevention of illicit trading, the provisions of the new Order are, in the judgment of Her Majesty's Government quite adequate; as indeed were the provisions of the Order in Council of the 23rd of January, 1860, under which the measures adopted by Mr. Winchester were taken.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 46.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received October 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, August* 10, 1865.

THE Japanese Ministers have informed me, in the inclosed letter, that they have despatched two ships of war to the Straits of Shimonasaki, with orders to seize any foreign vessels they may find engaged in illegal trade. I have accordingly made known this

resolution to Her Britannic Majesty's subjects in Japan by notification, of which I inclose a copy; and have informed Admiral King of the desire of the Japanese Ministers that these vessels may be placed in communication with Her Majesty's ships. I also inclose copy of my reply to the Japanese Ministers.

The latter state in their letter that the Japanese vessels had been despatched on the 25th ultimo; but a private steamer that arrived here yesterday from Nagasaki, which she left on the 2nd instant, did not sight them on her passage through the Inland Sea. Her Majesty's ship "Barrosa" was off the Straits, having proceeded thither in pursuance of the agreement between the foreign Representatives, which was reported to your Lordship by Mr. Winchester, in his despatch of the 23rd of June last.

I am informed that the transactions hitherto attempted in Choshiu's territory are not of a character to encourage commercial operations in that quarter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 46.

The Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs to Sir H. Parkes.

(Translation.)

I SEND you the following communication.

As we have been informed that foreign ships carry on illicit trade at Shimonasaki, in the province of Nagato, orders have been given on the 3rd instant (July 25) to the two men-of-war "Siokako" and "Kokurio," now at anchor in the Bay of Osaka, to proceed thither, and to seize any ships carrying on such unlawful trade in the Inland Sea, after the offence has been inquired into and proved.

My colleagues at Osaka have informed me of the above, I therefore request you will notify this to all British ships passing through the Inland Sea, and as the men-of-war of the different nationalities there and our own may have to come into contact with each other, in order to arrive at a just settlement, it is desirable you should also notify it to them.

With respect and consideration.

13th day of 6th month of 1st year of Kaï-o (4th August, 1865).

(Signed) MIDZOONO IDZOOMI NO KAMI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 46.

Circular.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Consul for the port of Kanagawa, begs to circulate for the information of British subjects within this Consular district, the accompanying notification, issued this day by Sir Harry Parkes, K.C.B., Her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan.

(Signed) MARCUS FLOWERS.

Notification.

With reference to the notifiation issued by Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires and Acting Consul-General, on the 22nd day of June last, making known the risks and penalties which would be incurred by British subjects in resorting to the neighbourhood of Shimonasaki for purposes of illicit trade, the Undersigned has now to give notice to all subjects of Her Britannic Majesty that he has been officially informed by the Government of the Tycoon that two Japanese ships of war have received orders to cruize in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Shimonasaki, and to seize all foreign vessels which they may find engaged in unlawful trade, either in that neighbourhood, or in the Inland Sea.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Her Britannic Majesty's Legation, August 8, 1865.

Inclosure 3 in No. 46.

Sir H. Parkes to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

August 9, 1865.

THE Undersigned has to acknowledge the letter of his Excellency Medzuno Idzumi no Kami, dated the 5th instant, informing him that the two Japanese ships of war, "Siokaku" and "Kokurio" had been despatched to the neighbourhood of Shimonasaki to suppress illegal trade on the part of foreigners in the Inland Sea, and requesting that facilities might be afforded to those vessels for communicating with any of Her Majesty's ships they might meet in that neighbourhood.

On returning to Yokohama on the 7th instant, the Undersigned lost no time in making known by public notification to all subjects of Her Majesty the object for which the said Japanese ships of war have been despatched, and he communicated the same information to the new naval Commander-in-chief in China and Japan, Vice-Admiral King, who arrived at Yokohama on the 7th instant. The Undersigned also recommended that the vessels should be assisted by Her Majesty's ships in the manner already promised by Mr. Winchester in his letter of the 24th of June last.

The Undersigned is happy to inform the Gorogio that Admiral King will readily direct Her Majesty's ships to maintain a friendly understanding with the vessels of the Tycoon, and also to assist them in the suppression of illegal trade. The Admiral quite concurs with the Undersigned in deprecating in particular a trade in contraband of war as calculated to promote the continuance of present troubles which are injurious to regular commerce, as well as to the peace of the country.

It affords the Undersigned much pleasure to offer the Gorogio those friendly assurances. He trusts on their part, they will also shortly be able to assure him that due attention has been given to the advice of his predecessors to remove all existing obstacles in the way of free trade on the part of the Daimios.

With respect, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 47.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received October 16.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, August* 11, 1865.

THE movements of the Tycoon, in connection with the threatened operations against Choshiu, do not yet appear to have been shaped into a decided course. All that is positively known is, that he is continuing at Osaca his deliberations with the Daimios, and that a considerable body of the irregular forces of the country is awaiting the result either at Osaca or Kioto, or between those places. It is obvious that much discussion must take place before any approach to unity of purpose or action can be secured among an assemblage of Chiefs, who probably hold very divided opinions both as to the degree of Choshiu's offence, and as to the consequences to their order of his subjection by the Tycoon. The consent of the Mikado, which, however formal in itself, may yet not be readily obtainable, seems indispensable to the constitutional authorization of hostilities on the part of the Tycoon.

It seems not wholly impossible, however, that if the latter persists in his intention to humble Choshiu, and if the Daimios of the Empire keep aloof from the contest, he may enter upon it with his own means and the aid of his own feudatories. If any reliable deductions are to be drawn from the observations of the Japanese Ministers in Yeddo, it would appear that an uncompromising course is the ruling desire of the Tycoon's Government. At the interview I held with them on the 1st instant, they gave expression to very implacable feelings against Choshiu, and declared that nothing less than complete dispossession of his territory, and even capital punishment, would satisfy the Tycoon.

A meeting of all the Daimios then in Yeddo had taken place the day before to present addresses on the occasion of the safe arrival of the Tycoon at Osaca. Without particulars as to the number and position of the personages who thus assembled, it is impossible to estimate the degree of importance that may attach to the occurrence; but it appears to have increased the confidence of the Ministers, as they spoke with more decision than when I saw them for the first time on the 22nd ultimo, although they afforded me no information on either of these occasions.

The information which reaches us from the direction of Choshiu's territory is of the

same uncertain character. He and a few other Daimios who are closely allied to him, and indeed share his province, are prepared to resist attack from the Tycoon, thongh they do not appear convinced that this is imminent. They have an impression that hostilities may yet be turned aside by the deliberations at Kioto, where, notwithstanding that it was the scene of the gravest treasonable violence on Choshiu's part, he appears not to be wholly unfriended. His officers have remarked that he feels the disadvantage which the continued disarmament of his batteries by the Convention with the Allied Powers entails upon him; but that he considers himself able to cope with the present naval force of the Tycoon as long as it is not reinforced by the iron-clad, which the latter has so long been endeavouring to obtain from the United States, through the agency of the American Minister, Mr. Pruyn.

In the meantime the country suffers from this unsettled state of affairs. Trade is naturally interfered with, and foreign goods in particular, owing either to interrupted enterprise or impeded communications, remain unsaleable both at Yokohama and Osaca. An unusually wet season which has greatly retarded, and may yet prove to have injured the standing crops, is an unwelcome addition to the other elements of distress and disturbance, and is aggravated by the heavy demands upon the grain in store for the use of the large bodies of men who have now been called into actual service.

I have urged the Gorogio on two occasions to encourage the free importation of foreign rice, as even if the demand were not considerable, the opening of a fresh source of supply would check the hoarding of stocks on the part of the native grain dealers, and would certainly add to the popularity of foreign commerce. I am not aware, however, whether the assent which they readily gave to the principles of free trade in grain will be suffered to influence their action. In the absence of the Tycoon and two of the three leading members of the Gorogio, who have hitherto conducted the business of foreign relations, considerable hesitation is felt on the part of the functionaries who remain in Yeddo to act in such matters on their own responsibility; and in our own interest, therefore, it becomes highly desirable that this absence should not be greatly prolonged.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 48.

Mr. Grey to Earl Russell.—(*Received October* 16.)

My Lord, *Paris, October* 14, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a despatch which I have received from Mr. Bigelow, forwarding the copy of a despatch from the Secretary of State for the United States, by which the American Minister is instructed to assist, on behalf of his Government, in the adjustment or modification of the terms to be exacted from the Japanese by the three Western Powers named in the Treaty which followed the hostilities jointly undertaken by them for the purpose of overcoming the resistance to the free passage of the Strait of Shimonasaki.

I have informed Mr. Bigelow, in reply, that I have referred his despatch to your Lordship with a request for instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. G. GREY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 48.

Mr. Bigelow to Earl Cowley.

Legation of the United States, Paris, October 13, 1865.

THE Undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, presents his compliments to his Excellency Earl Cowley, Ambassador Extraordinary of Her Majesty, and has the honour to transmit to his Excellency a copy of a despatch received from the Secretary of State of the United States, by which the Undersigned is instructed to assist on behalf of his Government in the adjustment or modification of the terms to be exacted from the Japanese by the three Western Powers named in the Treaty which followed the hostilities jointly undertaken by them for the purpose of overcoming the resistance to the free passage of the Strait of Shimonasaki.

The Undersigned will be happy to wait upon and confer with his Excellency Earl

Cowley, whenever in his Excellency's opinion a conference would promote the objects contemplated by the inclosed instructions.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) J. BIGELOW.

Inclosure 2 in No. 48.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

Sir, *Department of State, Washington, September* 8, 1865.

M. DROUYN DE LHUYS has instructed the Marquis de Moutholon to propose to this Government a modification of the terms exacted from the Japanese by the three Powers in the Treaty which followed the hostilities jointly undertaken by them for the purpose of overcoming the resistance to the free passage of the Strait of Shimonasaki.

I inclose a translation of an abstract of the instructions, which abstract the Marquis has left with me for consideration.

Though on its face the proposition which it contains does not seem to offer any serious objection, it is preferred that if practicable the adjustment desired should be made at Paris, especially as both England and France are more largely interested in this particular matter than we are, and the English Minister at Paris being so near home can act under full instructions from his Government. The subject is consequently commended to your best discretion.

Although it may be desirable that the affair should be disposed of without delay, so far as we are concerned there is an important element to be taken into consideration, which, if the business were to be settled by the Executive authority of the United States, would not make that settlement legally binding. The Treaty itself has not yet been submitted to the United States' Senate. This is indispensable in any instrument of the kind, even one which does not impose an obligation on us, or which does not, like the one in question, contain a stipulation for an exchange of ratifications. You will, of course, mention this to M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

I am, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

No. 49.

Mr. Grey to Earl Russell.—(Received October 18.)

My Lord, *Paris, October* 17, 1865.

I INQUIRED yesterday of M. Drouyn de Lhuys whether the American Minister at this Court had made to him any similar communication to that which I had the honour to forward to your Lordship in my despatch of the 14th instant, on the subject of the adjustment or modification of the terms to be exacted from the Japanese by the three Powers named in the Treaty which followed the hostilities which took place in the Straits of Shimonasaki.

His Excellency replied that he had received a communication from Mr. Bigelow, but that he had not understood it to refer to any modification of the terms to be exacted from the Japanese, but simply to the mode in which the pecuniary indemnity to be paid by Japan should be distributed among the Powers whose forces had been engaged in the hostilities in the Straits of Shimonasaki. M. Drouyn de Lhuys had no objection to a Conference meeting at Paris to determine this point, but he said he would examine the communication made to him by Mr. Bigelow more carefully before he pronounced an opinion upon it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. G. GREY.

No. 50.

Earl Russell to Mr. Grey.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 21, 1865.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 14th instant on the subject of a communication which has been made to you by Mr. Bigelow, the United States' Minister

at Paris, on the question of the adjustment or modification of the terms to be exacted from the Japanese by the three Powers named in the Treaty which followed the hostilities which took place in the Straits of Shimonasaki, I transmit to you herewith, for your information, a copy of the instructions which I addressed to Her Majesty's Minister in Japan on the 23rd of August last, and I have to state to you that until an answer is received from Sir Harry Parkes, no further steps can be taken in the matter by Her Majesty's Government.

You will accordingly make a communication to this effect to Mr. Bigelow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 51.

Mr. Grey to Earl Russell.—(*Received October* 25.)

My Lord, *Paris, October* 23, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I this day informed Mr. Bigelow, in reply to the communication he made to me on the 14th instant, that until further news had been received from Japan, no steps would be taken by Her Majesty's Government in the question of the adjustment or modification of the terms to be exacted from the Japanese by the three Powers named in the Treaty which followed the hostilities in the Straits of Shimonasaki.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. G. GREY.

No. 52.

Earl Russell to Mr. Grey.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 27, 1865.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 23rd instant on the subject of the communications which have passed between Mr. Bigelow and myself with regard to the terms to be exacted from the Japanese by the three Powers named in the Treaty which followed the hostilities in the Straits of Shimonasaki, I have to state to you that if the question raised by Mr. Bigelow relates only to the distribution of the indemnity, Her Majesty's Government will have no objection to discuss that point at Paris.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 53.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(*Received October* 28.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, August* 25, 1865.

IN his despatch of the 12th April last, Mr. Winchester reported that the Gorogio, in the exercise of the option reserved to the Tycoon in the IIIrd Article of the Convention of the 22nd October, 1864, had expressed their determination to pay the indemnity rather than open Shimonasaki, or other port in the Inland Sea; but instead of being prepared to deliver the indemnity money by quarterly instalments, as stipulated in the Convention, they proposed an interval of twelve months between the payment of the first and second instalments, and were silent in respect to the discharge of the remaining sums.

In his succeeding despatch of the 25th April, Mr. Winchester informed your Lordship that he and his colleagues had accepted the offer of the Tycoon's Government to pay the first instalment in the course of the 6th Japanese month; on the condition, however, that the acceptance of this sum should in no degree affect the right of their respective Governments, either to claim the literal fulfilment of the conditions of the

Convention, or to negotiate for equivalent advantages in return for the accommodation that the Japanese Government would obtain by delay.

Your Lordship having apprised me, in your despatch of the 8th April, that the views of the French and Netherlands Governments were averse to the renunciation of a money payment in favour of a port, and that further consultation with those Governments and that of the United States was necessary before final instructions could be forwarded, I had hitherto refrained from alluding to the subject in my communications with the Gorogio. I had also felt that as, by the IInd Article of the Convention, payment of the indemnity is only to commence "from the date when the Representatives of the Four Powers shall make known to the Tycoon's Government the ratification of this Convention, and the instructions of their respective Governments," I should have had some difficulty in insisting upon the fulfilment of the Gorogio's offer to pay the first instalment in their 6th month (which terminated on the 20th instant) had they not elected to abide by that offer. On the evening of the 18th instant, however, Tamura Higo no Kami announced to me his arrival from Yeddo; and at the interview which was held by his request with the foreign Representatives at this Legation on the following day, he informed us that, in fulfilment of the Gorogio's offer of April, he had brought with him, and was prepared to deliver to us the first instalment of the indemnity, amounting to 500,000 dollars.

In a short conference between ourselves which had preceded the interview, the United States' Chargé d'Affaires referred to the inconvenience, which was probably generally felt, of our receiving even this instalment under a Convention the ratifications of which had not yet reached us; but it appeared to me that it was undesirable to disturb the arrangements in respect to this particular sum that had been concluded four months previously between the Gorogio and the foreign Representatives, and that it would be better to receive and to hold the money subject to the instructions from our Governments, which are probably already on the way, rather than lead the Gorogio to infer, from any hesitation on our part, that some difference of opinion might exist between the four Powers on the subject. The Dutch Agent and Consul-General was quite of this opinion, and I was aware that it was fully shared by the Minister of France, who, being absent at the time on account of indisposition, was represented at the meeting by the Acting Consul-General.

The United States' Chargé d'Affaires having concurred in this view, and no objection being therefore entertained to the receipt of the money, we agreed to take delivery of it, and arranged that it should be paid into the two chief banks of Yokohama, subject to the orders as to its disposal or division that we might receive from our respective Governments. The Representatives having signed a Memorandum of this understanding, copy of which I inclose, delivery commenced on the 22nd instant, and will probably continue for several days, as facilities do not exist for the examination of more than 50,000 dollars on each day.

When the delivery is completed I shall be careful that the receipt given to the Gorogio shall clearly record the conditions under which this instalment will have been paid.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 53.

Memorandum of the Foreign Representatives concerning the Temporary Disposal of the First Instalment of the Indemnity.

THE Government of the Tycoon having offered in April last to pay in the course of the 6th month of the Japanese year of Gengi (which terminated yesterday, Sunday, the 20th August), to the Representatives of the foreign Powers who signed the Convention of the 22nd October, 1864, a sum of 500,000 dollars, as the first instalment of the indemnity stipulated for in the said Convention, and the said offer having been accepted in April last by the Representatives of the signing Powers, and Tamura Higo no Kami having tendered, on the 19th instant, to the Undersigned, on the part of the Government of the Tycoon, the said sum of 500,000 dollars, the Undersigned hereby record their agreement to take delivery of the said money, and, with a view to its safe custody, to authorize, by the letters at foot, the deposit of the same, in two equal sums of 250,000 dollars, in the Chartered Oriental Bank and the Chartered Mercantile Bank, at Yokohama, each bank to receive one of the said sums, and to hold the same, subject to the instructions now

expected from the respective Governments of the Undersigned, as to the manner in which the said money is to be disposed of.

Signed at Her Britannic Majesty's Legation this 21st day of August, A.D. 1865.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES, *Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.*
A. L. C. PORTMAN, *Chargé d'Affaires* ad interim *of the United States.*
D. DE GRAEFF VON POLSBROEK, *His Netherlands Majesty's Political Agent and Consul-General.*
Pour le Ministre de France,
P. CHEVREY RAMEAU, *Gerant du Consulat-General de France.*
CTE. DE TURENNE, *Attaché.*

To J. G. Rickard, Esq., Manager of the Chartered Oriental Bank Corporation; A. Brett, Esq., Manager of the Chartered Mercantile Bank Corporation.

You are hereby authorized to receive from the Japanese authorities the sum of 250,000 dollars, and to hold the same to our conjoint order.

As the delivery of this sum may extend over several days, you will give a receipt at the close of each day for the amount received on that day, which will be countersigned by Mr. Eusden, Japanese Secretary to Her Britannic Majesty's Legation.

(Signed) H. S. P.
A. L. C. P.
D. DE G. VON P.
Pour M. Roches,
P. C. R.
C. DE TUR.

No. 54.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received October 28.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, August 26,* 1865.

NO authentic information of an important character has been received in relation to the movements of the Tycoon since I last addressed your Lordship on the 11th instant. It is known, however, that no expedition has yet left Osaca, nor were military preparations observable in that bay by three vessels that have recently arrived here by the way of the Inland Sea.

The Dutch Political Agent and Consul-General has returned by the same route from a visit to Nagasaki, and on passing Shimonasaki heard the account, that has already been so often repeated, of Choshiu's readiness to resist the Tycoon if attacked. He was also informed there that reports had been spread by the Tycoon that he would be actively assisted by the foreign Powers, and by the English in particular, and the red coat uniform which he has adopted for a corps of his men seems to have given some colour to these reports in the eyes of the people. Choshiu's officers appear to have assumed a very independent tone in their conversation with M. Polsbroek, and to have charged him in a very discourteous manner with having given information against them to Shibato, the Commissioner now in Europe, at an interview, full proceedings of which had been reported to them. M. Polsbroek is of opinion that an exaggerated account of his remarks had probably been sent them from Yeddo in order to awaken ill-feeling on their part.

M. Roches was lately visited at Atami by two Governors of Foreign Affairs, but he has informed me that he could obtain from them no information as to the Tycoon's proceedings, and the United States' Chargé d'Affaires has not been more successful at Yeddo; indeed, we may feel assured that it is not to official sources that we may look for reliable intelligence, and the system of surveillance is too strictly maintained at Yokohama to allow of much being gleaned from private quarters.

From several directions, however, reports have just reached me that an attempt was made to take the Tycoon's life shortly before he reached Osaca, at the seat of a Daimio where he was to have put up on his journey. The Tycoon received notice in time to prevent exposure to the danger, and seventeen persons are said to have been arrested.

The present uneasy condition of trade is naturally regarded as a symptom of political

disquiet. Native dealers appear to be making very small purchases of imports, and they are careful to send them only to short distances where they can be promptly realized.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 55.

Earl Russell to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 2, 1865.

HER Majesty's Government approve the course you pursued, as reported in your despatch of the 25th of August, with reference to the payment of the first instalment of the Japanese indemnity money.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 56.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received November 11.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, September* 12, 1865.

I HAVE lately visited Yeddo for two days, having occasion to see the Gorogio on the subject of the arrest of two Japanese in the employment of an officer of Her Majesty's Consulate at Nagasaki, and also to urge on their attention the commencement of the buildings to be occupied as a temporary Legation.

I took up my quarters on this occasion in the temple of Dai-chiuji, which, as I have already reported, has been assigned for my use until the temporary Legation can be constructed. I found that the Japanese officers had not used great expedition either in making the few fittings I had asked for in this temple, or in preparing the estimates of the new building; but they gave as a reason, which is to some extent a valid one, the occurrence of the autumnal holiday, which had interrupted all business for several days.

As usual the Gorogio had no political information to communicate to me. With a view of drawing something from them on the subject of the Tycoon, I congratulated them on his recent escape from danger, which I observed was the subject of common report, and in their guarded reply, which was to the effect that the Tycoon naturally incurred some risk whenever he absented himself from his capital, I saw that foundation existed for these unfavourable rumours. The events of late years are confirmatory of their remark, as each absence of the Tycoon appears to have been marked by an attempt upon his life, and also by some measure or threat directed against foreigners.

I am not in a position to report what occurred on this occasion, as the accounts are contradictory, and all are unauthentic. To show their character, it may be mentioned that one story describes the plan as an attempt to blow up with gunpowder the house in which the Tycoon was to pass the night; another one, and the most moderate, says that an agent of Choshiu had been discovered near the Tycoon's person. The danger, whatever it might have been, was encountered in the Daimioate of Zeze, on the journey to Osaca, and the most significant circumstance reported in connection with it is the arrest or surveillance under which Stotsubashi is now said to be placed at that city. This Prince has aspirations, or possibly it may be said claims, to be considered as the successor of the present Tycoon, and the jealousy with which he appears to be regarded by the latter may arise either out of their old rivalry, or a suspicion of his being concerned in the recently frustrated plot.

I gathered from another incidental remark of the Japanese Ministers that the return of the Tycoon from Osaca was not soon expected. A common rumour that he will remain there for several years is doubtless an exaggeration of this delay, which appears to have been determined on, and which the Tycoon may find necessary, not in view only of the exigencies of the Choshiu question (of which nothing further has transpired), but also for the purpose of strengthening his position at Kioto, which has apparently become a focus of active intrigue since the powerful Daimios were released from their stated attendance on the Court of Yeddo.

The prolonged absence of the Tycoon from his capital, with four out of the six members who compose his chief Council, is not however unattended with public inconvenience, and may at any time become embarrassing to the foreign Representatives. It

tells injuriously also upon the capital itself, which appears to be emptied of its principal occupants, and is reported to be much disturbed by robbers.

It is some satisfaction, however, to feel that the right of residence at Yeddo, which may be said at one time to have almost lapsed, has now, as a consequence of the energetic measures of the last year, been practically recovered. I have paid three visits to Yeddo during the two months I have passed in Japan, and looking to the powers usually given to the subordinate officers sent by the Gorogio to Yokohama, I have already had reason to appreciate the advantage of access to their superiors. But while the country remains in its present unsettled condition, and so much mystery or uncertainty obtains as to the seat of the real administrative power, I am disposed to believe that a residence at Yokohama with ample facilities for going up to Yeddo whenever he may have occasion, and for staying there as long as he may see fit, is probably the best position for Her Majesty's Minister to occupy under existing circumstances.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

P.S.—Since writing the above, Mr. Von Siebold has communicated to me a report that great dissatisfaction prevails amongst the troops and Daimios of the Tycoon's army, because he continues to postpone active measures against Choshiu, and has contented himself with summoning to Osaca, for purposes of negotiation, Choshiu's principal Karo (or Minister), and Mori Awaji no Kami, another of his subordinate vassals.

H. S. P.

No. 57.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received November 11.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, September* 12, 1865.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 25th ultimo, I have to inform your Lordship that the payment of the first instalment of the Shimonasaki indemnity was completed on the 1st instant, and the inclosed receipt for the same was signed by myself and the Representatives of France, the United States, and the Netherlands.

The money now lies in the Oriental and Mercantile Banks waiting the instructions as to its disposal of the Governments concerned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 57.

Receipt given to the Japanese Government on the Payment of the First Instalment of the Indemnity.

THE undersigned Representatives of Great Britain, France, the United States, and the Netherlands hereby acknowledge to have received from the Government of the Tycoon the sum of 500,000 dollars as the first instalment of the indemnity payable to the aforesaid four Powers under the Convention of the 22nd October, 1864.

The Government of the Tycoon having applied in April last to the aforesaid Representatives for an extension of time in respect to the payment of the second instalment of the said indemnity, the aforesaid Representatives have submitted that application to the consideration of their respective Governments and now await instructions on this point. The payment of the present instalment is entirely independent of that application, but to prevent the possibility of misunderstanding, it is hereby distinctly declared that the receipt of the aforesaid 500,000 dollars does in no degree affect the right of the aforesaid four powers, to require, if they see fit to do so, from the Government of the Tycoon, the punctual payment of the whole indemnity in quarterly instalments in the manner stipulated in the aforesaid Convention.

At Yokohama, this 4th day of September, 1865.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES, *Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan.*
LEON ROCHES, *Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français au Japon.*
A. L. C. PORTMAN, *Chargé d'Affaires* ad interim *of the United States of America in Japan.*
D. DE GRAEFF VAN POLSBROEK, *His Netherlands Majesty's Consul-General and Political Agent in Japan.*

No. 58.

Mr. Grey to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 18.)

(Extract.) *Paris, November 16, 1865.*

WITH reference to my despatches of the 14th and 23rd October to Earl Russell, and to his Lordship's replies of the 21st and 27th of the same month, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Drouyn de Lhuys spoke to me to-day on the subject of the distribution of the indemnity to be paid by Japan to the Powers concerned in the hostilities which took place in the Straits of Shimonasaki. I had already informed his Excellency that if the question raised by the United States' Minister related only to the distribution of the indemnity, Her Majesty's Government had no objection to the discussion of that point at Paris.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys expressed his desire that that question should be proceded with at once. He said that Mr. Bigelow was ready, and that as the Congress of the United States would soon assemble, it was important to him to see the matter adjusted. His Excellency said he did not conceive it was a question involving any difficulty. One instalment of the indemnity had already been paid by the Japanese, so that whether any modification of the further amount to be paid by them was agreed to or not, whether a longer term was to be granted to them or not, or whether the opening of a port was to be accepted in lieu of money or not, there was at all events a certain sum to be shared amongst a certain number of claimants, and the proportion in which this sum should be distributed might now be fixed and serve as a rule for the distribution of all future instalments.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys went on to say that the impression of the French Government was that time might be granted to the Japanese Government, as they asked, for the payment of the rest of the indemnity. He thought that the best policy to pursue was to yield to the desire expressed by the Tycoon, whom he believed it was our interest to support. He preferred the payment of a sum of money by the Japanese as an indemnity to the alternative of opening a port, which we could not force them to do. But if that question were to be raised again, or if Her Majesty's Government after receiving further news from Japan were to alter their views, the Conference which should meet in Paris for the distribution of the indemnity might or might not discuss the matter. What his Excellency appeared to me to be most anxious about was that the adjustment of the proportion in which the indemnity is to be distributed should be fixed at once, taking the first instalment already paid as a basis to work upon.

I had already on a previous occasion told M. Drouyn de Lhuys that Her Majesty's Government were disinclined to allow the Government of the Tycoon to delay the payment of the indemnity beyond the time stipulated in the Convention, and as I conceived his Excellency to be making his remarks to-day in answer to what I said before, I confined myself to the statement that I was instructed to agree on the part of Her Majesty's Government to the discussion only of the distribution of the indemnity.

No. 59.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Grey.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, November 22, 1865.*

I HAVE received your despatch of the 16th instant, reporting a conversation with M. Drouyn de Lhuys respecting the distribution of the Japanese indemnity, and I have to acquaint you that I approve the language which you held on that occasion.

Her Majesty's Government have no objection to your discussing with M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and with the United States' Minister at Paris, the question of the manner in which the first instalment of the indemnity which has been already paid by the Japanese Government should be distributed.

You will, however, understand that the result of your discussion must be referred home before it can be definitively adopted.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys' proposal, referred to in his despatch to the French Ambassador of the 22nd of July, that the money now deposited in local banks shall be remitted to Europe, is under the consideration of the Treasury, and I hope soon to be able to give you an answer to it.

With regard to the further observations made by M. Drouyn in your conversation of the 16th, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government must await Sir Harry Parkes'

report, in answer to the reference made to him on the subject, before they can come to a conclusion as to the course which it would be most advisable to pursue in regard to the remainder of the indemnity due by the Japanese Government.

Her Majesty's Government at present see no reason to alter their opinion, with which you are already acquainted, that it would be more advisable to obtain greater commercial facilities, such as might be expected from the opening to trade of one or more ports in Japan, than to insist upon the punctual payment of the remainder of the indemnity; and this being the case, you must take care to make it clearly understood that the discussion in which you now are authorized to take part has reference solely to that portion of the indemnity which has already been paid.

No. 60.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received November 28.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, September 29, 1865.*

I HAVE visited Yeddo, and have had two interviews with the Gorogio. I expressed at one of these interviews the hope that the protracted stay of the Tycoon at Osaca would be conducive not only to the settlement of internal difficulties, but also to the satisfactory re-establishment of external relations on the sound and reliable basis that is derivable from the confirmation of the Treaties by the Mikado.

To these observations they replied that they had not lost sight of the subject, and that it would indeed be a most happy occasion for them when they were able to convey to the foreign Representatives the announcement that the ratification of the Treaties by the Mikado had been obtained. I am reluctantly, however, compelled to add that the tone of their remarks did not afford great room for hope that the realization of this desirable result admitted of speedy or easy attainment.

How far it rests with the Tycoon and his Ministers to bring it about I am unprepared to say, but in respect to the participation of the Daimios in the advantages of foreign trade, which is understood to be essential to the improvement of the views and feelings of that important class, and which the Tycoon unquestionably has it in his power to confer upon them, the same degree of delay is observable. It was only yesterday, that in the course of conversation with an intelligent Governor of Foreign Affairs, who had come down from Yeddo to confer with me on various matters, he volunteered the remark that no Daimio could come to Yokohama, or have dealings with or speak to a foreigner; and it is well known that the Yeddo Government regard with extreme jealousy the intercourse between the agents of certain Daimios and foreigners, which has sprung up at Nagasaki, where, in consequence of the remoteness of that port, the powers of the Central Government for surveillance and control are much weaker than in the neighbourhood of the capital.

No. 61.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, September 30, 1865.*

I AM glad to have to inform your Lordship that I have received from the Japanese Ministers the inclosed formal notice of their resolution to relinquish certain monopolies, which, contrary to the stipulations of the Treaty, and the agreement made in London in 1862, they have hitherto tenaciously maintained, in the case of particular marine productions, known as iriko (bêche-de-mer), awabi (shell-fish), and sharks' fins. It appears that under old enactments the fisheries where these productions were obtainable were only worked for the Government. All the fish caught had to be delivered by the people to the Government at a very low rate, and when collected by the latter, were forwarded to the ports of Nagasaki and Hakodate, where it was generally sold by the authorities to Chinese dealers at rates which placed all other foreign purchasers at great disadvantage. As transactions in the larger staples of trade are not extensively conducted at the ports named, this disadvantage has been seriously felt, and been made the subject of constant complaint.

I have continued since my arrival to press the demands for the removal of these restrictions that for a long time past have been perseveringly made by my predecessors, and have urged upon the Japanese Ministers the necessity of their fixing a time within which the general promises they had previously made should be fulfilled. Your Lordship will observe that they have now named the 8th of November next as the date on which

dealings in these articles shall be made completely free; and if the accounts that reach me of the oppression to which the fishermen have hitherto been subjected are correct, there is reason to hope that the removal of these restrictions will confer considerable relief on an honest and hard-labouring class of the native population.

I trust when the time named arrives I shall be able to report that the engagement has been faithfully adhered to by the Japanese Government. I may obtain further information at Hakodate on the subject that may be worth communicating to your Lordship, as Mr. Consul Vyse is strongly impressed with the importance of securing the complete abolition of these monopolies, which he considers have proved very prejudicial to trade at that port, and I am aware that the same opinion is shared by Mr. Consul Gower in respect to Nagasaki.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 61.

Midzuno Idzumi no Kami to Sir H. Parkes.

(Translation.)

I SEND you the following communication.

In reference to the trade in iriko, dried awabi, and sharks' fins, I have instructed the Governors of the three ports to communicate to the Consuls of the different Treaty Powers that it has been decided on to abolish the hitherto existing law with reference to the three articles in question, and to allow them to be sold without hindrance, as all other articles; and that this trade law will come into operation on the 20th of our 9th month (November 8th).

Bnt it may be the Governors will be able to allow this trade before the day fixed on. In that case they will notify it to the Consuls.

I request you to communicate the above to your Consuls.

With respect and consideration.

2nd of 8th month of 1st year of Kai-on (September 21, 1865).

(Signed) MIDZUNO IDZUMI NO KAMI.

No. 62.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, September 30, 1865.*

THE accompanying despatch, with inclosures, from Mr. Consul Gower, informing me that the Japanese, Tsunetaro, who tried to cut down several foreigners in the streets of Nagasaki, last June, has not yet been arrested, is another illustration of the slowness of the course of Japanese justice. I am of opinion that the Yeddo Government is desirous that the ruffian should not go unpunished, and the despatch of a special officer from Yeddo to Nagasaki is a proof of earnestness on their part. The Governor-elect of Nagasaki continues to visit me on the same subject, and, on the 28th instant, expressed his deep regret that the vessel which had then come in from Nagasaki had not brought more satisfactory reports. He is apprehensive that the man, having gained the coast at a part remote from Nagasaki, may have found it easy to take passage in some boat or junk, and thus made good his escape to some crowded town, where it will be difficult to trace him.

The little information that I have yet obtained as to the police system of Japan leads me to fear that it is very ineffective, and that the means at the disposal of the general Government for pursuing offenders from province to province, and of arresting them when discovered, are very imperfect. They may have it in their power, however, to attain a desired end by means of great perseverance, although a considerable amount of time may be occupied in the accomplishment of the object; but, in order to induce them to continue their exertions, they have to be convinced that the foreign Governments are not indifferent to the result.

A remarkable instance of the eventual infliction of punishment, although long delayed, has occurred here this morning, in the case of a Japanese ronin, who was executed for having cut down at Yokohama, in 1859, the Chinese servant of Mr. J. Loureiro, then Consular Agent for France. The Chinese, being dressed in foreign clothes, was mistaken for an European by his murderer, who had determined to revenge himself on the first convenient foreigner he might meet, in return for a blow he had received from a Russian

officer. He was arrested for other offences, but, having confessed to the above crime, was sent by the authorities to Yokohama for execution, as satisfaction to the foreign Government that had thus been outraged.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 62.

Consul Gower to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Nagasaki, September* 16, 1865.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 1st of August, I regret to state that I have as yet nothing satisfactory to report in reference to the Japanese assassin Tsunetaro.

Some time past, at one of my weekly interviews with the Governor on the subject, I was told that the offender was traced in the neighbouring province of Hisen, where he sold his sword and trowsers, now in his Excellency's possession, but that the fugitive made good his escape.

Again, the Superintendent of Police reported to his Excellency in the inclosed letter that Tsunetaro was supposed to be in Hiuga, but had not yet been arrested.

I yesterday met at Government-house Kanemadzu Kanejiro, an officer sent from Yeddo to this port by the Gorogio expressly to help the Governor in securing the ruffian, and I was again assured of their earnest intention to that effect.

Although I am of opinion that the Governor is sincerely endeavouring to give us some satisfaction, I believe that his uuderlings will gradually become inactive in carrying out his views, unless the Yeddo Government repeatedly convey fresh orders, which I request you will kindly cause.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. A. J. GOWER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 62.

Reports.

(Translation.)

WHILE I am still busied with the inquiry, the trace of the offender Tsunetaro, I have been informed by one person belonging to the police that he heard the travellers speaking on the road, while he passed through the province Higo, on another Government business, that one man called Tsunetaro, living in the village Moji, has wounded the coloured man at Nagasaki, when he was intoxicated, and escaped from there; but on the inquiry of the local Government, which was very strict, he proceeded to several places, and further escaped to the sea-shore, on a part of province Hiuga, which name is unknown, yet the police officer, having heard this news, has applied to arrest them.

Having once heard that one person of the same appearance with Tsunetaro has proceeded towards Hiuga, I have sent the policemen there to arrest him; but the information of their arrival is still not given, therefore it is not clearly understood if the offender Tsunetaro surely has proceeded there, or such news is only arisen on hearing the report that the policemen have been sent out.

Thus I will inform your Excellency as soon as I receive the further news, and no other news at present which will assist the inquiry.

25th of the 6th month.

Police Officer.

26th day of the 6th month of 1st year of Kai-o.

I beg to inform you that I have asked police officers whether Tsunetaro, who lives at Moji, is known to them or not, and received their answer that there be no certain means to catch him, after his running away; but I give you inclosed letter, made by police officers after they considered the circumstances stated by under-officers of the police.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) HATTORI SAYEMONOSKE.

To Abel A. J. Gower, Esq.

No. 63.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 5, 1865.

HER Majesty's Government approve your successful efforts, as reported in your despatch of the 30th September, to obtain the removal of the restrictions hitherto existing on the sale of iriko and other articles which were claimed by the Japanese Government as a Government monopoly.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 64.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 6, 1865.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 30th September, reporting that the assassin Tsunetaro is still at large. Her Majesty's Government consider it very desirable that this man should be apprehended and punished, as a warning to others of his class, and I have to instruct you to take a fitting opportunity of stating to the Japanese Government that you have been directed to urge this matter upon their serious attention.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 65.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Grey.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 12, 1865.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 22nd ultimo, respecting the disposal of that portion of the Japanese indemnity which has been paid by that Government, I now transmit to you a copy of a letter from the Treasury, from which you will perceive that the Board will be prepared to receive the amount of this instalment, namely, 500,000 dollars, to be held in deposit, subject to future arrangements as to its distribution, and that they further propose that the money should be at once paid into the Commissariat Chest at Yokohama, in which case an equivalent amount in sterling will be available in this country to be distributed among the Powers.

I have to instruct you to propose to the French Government and to Mr. Bigelow that the money should be remitted to Europe in the manner suggested.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 66.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received December 27.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, October* 30, 1865.

I HAD the honour to receive on the 6th instant at Hakodate, your Lordship's despatches of the 24th and 26th of July, and on the 23rd instant, at this place, that dated the 23rd of August—the latter one being of the new series to my address. In these despatches your Lordship makes known to me the views of Her Majesty's Government relative to the delay proposed by the Tycoon in respect to the payment of the second instalment of the indemnity due under the Convention of October 22, 1864, and your Lordship instructs me that as M. Drouyn de Lhuys was inclined to take a different view to that of your Lordship as to the feasibility of endeavouring to obtain from the Japanese Government the immediate opening of the port of Hiogo and other compensations in return for the remission of two-thirds of the indemnity, you had arranged with him that this question should be submitted to the consideration of the Representatives of the four Powers in Japan, in order that they might decide on the course to be adopted or to report to their Governments in the event of disagreement.

In order to give effect to these instructions I communicated with all my colleagues on my return to Yokohama, and on the 26th instant held a Conference with M. Roches, the Minister of France, and M. Polsbroek, the Political Agent of the Netherlands; the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States being absent in Yeddo. On making known to them the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that advantages calculated to promote the extension of commerce were to be preferred to the exaction of the indemnity of the Convention, and that the British Government were willing that two-thirds of the said money should be remitted in return for the prompt opening of the port of Hiogo and city of Osaca, the ratification of the Treaties by the Mikado, and the regularisation of the Tariff on a basis of 5 per cent., I had the satisfaction of finding that these views were concurred in by M. Roches. He explained the apparent change in the opinion he had given in the early part of the year in favour of the payment of the indemnity by pointing to the superior value of the compensations now proposed to the opening of a single port, which is the alternative stipulated in the Convention, and he observed that neither Shimonasaki nor Hiogo would in his opinion have compensated the four Powers for the relinquishment of the whole of the indemnity. The option of accepting the new proposals or continuing to pay the indemnity would, of course, be still reserved to the Tycoon; but in the event of the latter maintaining his preference for the indemnity, then its payment in quarterly instalments should, in M. Roches' opinion, be punctually exacted.

Being agreed, therefore, that it was desirable to obtain the above-mentioned conditions in lieu of two-thirds of the indemnity, it remained for us to consider how the necessary negotiation could be best undertaken, in view of the absence of the Tycoon and his principal Ministers at Osaca.

The following circumstances showed that their return cannot soon be looked for. According to information supplied both to M. Roches and myself, the Tycoon finds himself placed in a situation of considerable difficulty in the prosecution of the operations he has undertaken against Choshiu. The severe measures he had at one time proposed being not approved of by the Daimios, more moderate demands had been substituted, but these also had hitherto failed to secure Choshiu's submission. Finally, the Tycoon had sent in an ultimatum which would expire on the 15th of November, when, in the event of non-compliance on Choshiu's part, the Tycoon will either have to commence active hostilities, or relinquish the contest without having vindicated his supremacy. Any fresh contingency, therefore, that would enable him without loss of dignity to avoid entering on this deplorable conflict would probably be welcomed as a means of escape from his present dilemma.

The presence with the Tycoon at Osaca of four out of the five members of the Gorogio suggested to my mind the expediency of the foreign Representatives visiting that place and discussing with them the questions on hand, instead of with the single other member now at Yeddo, Midzuno Idzumi no Kami. I felt it would be vain to attempt to obtain through the instrumentality of the latter the performance of that important engagement, the ratification of the Treaties by the Mikado, or the opening of the port of Hiogo. It also appeared to me that Osaca at this time would present more favourable opportunities than Yeddo for acquiring the information which your Lordship instructs me in your despatch of the 23rd of August to procure on the disputed question of whether the opening of Hiogo to foreign trade involves danger to the Tycoon's Government. And it also occurred to me that whatever result might attend our negotiations, the appearance of a fleet off Osaca could not fail to exercise a beneficial effect both on the Daimios who surround the Court of Kioto, and have had little opportunity of satisfying themselves of our power, and also on the people generally of that vicinity, whom it is well to begin to accustom to the sight of foreign visitors. It would serve also as an assertion of our intention to eventally claim our right of location at Hiogo, at the latest on the expiration of the delay allowed in the Agreement of 1862, unless by consent of the Japanese Government it should be opened at an earlier date.

On mentioning these considerations to my colleagues, they concurred with me that it was desirable that we should undertake at Osaca, instead of at Yeddo, the negotiation with which we are now charged. M. Roches also entertains a strong belief that our appearance at Osaca at this juncture would furnish the Tycoon with a sufficient excuse for again postponing hostilities against Choshiu, and would thus afford the Government and the Daimios another opportunity of avoiding the outburst of civil war.

Our opinions, therefore, were unanimous as to the manner in which our negotiation should be proceeded with, and we also agreed that the expedition to Osaca should be undertaken with as little delay as possible. We minuted in the inclosed memorandum the subjects which had come under our consideration and the resolution we had taken, and on communicating this memorandum to the United States' Chargé d'Affaires at Yeddo, he at

once intimated to us his wish to sign it, and his readiness to join us in the execution of the proposed plan.

I inclose copy of my letter to Admiral King, applying for as many vessels as he could conveniently spare, and I add his reply informing me that he will convey me to Osaca Bay in his own flag-ship, and will take with him four other vessels. The French Minister will be accompanied by two ships, and the Dutch Agent by one. The United States' Chargé d'Affaires having no national vessel at his disposal, has been provided by Admiral King with accommodation in one of Her Majesty's ships. The 1st of November has been fixed for our departure.

I inclose copy of a "note identique," in which the four Representatives announce to the members of the Government at Yeddo their departure for Osaca. Upon hearing that the expedition was in contemplation, the remaining member of the Gorogio, Midzuno Idzumi no Kami, and the Vice-Minister Sakai Hida no Kami, came down to Yokohama yesterday to see M. Roches and myself for the professed purpose of dissuading us from the proposed movement. I was glad of the opportunity of explaining to the Minister that the objects of the expedition were strictly of a friendly nature, and of receiving his assurances that he would carefully maintain the tranquillity of Yokohama during our absence. Another noteworthy circumstance attaching to this visit is that it forms the first occasion on which a member of the Gorogio has called on a foreign Minister at his own residence.

In conclusion, I beg to say that I shall give to the important inquiries contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd August my best attention, and I trust that our visit to Osaca may aid me in forming a reliable opinion as to the true source and extent of the opposition with which foreigners have still to contend.

Inclosure 1 in No. 66.

Memorandum.

EN vertu de la Convention signée le 22 Octobre, 1864, le Gouvernement Japonais s'est engagé à payer aux Gouvernements d'Angleterre, de France, des Etats Unis d'Amérique et des Pays Bas une somme de 3,000,000 de dollars comme indemnité des dépenses nécessitées par l'expédition de Shimonasaki.

Les Représentants des quatre Puissances susnommées, désireux de témoigner auprès du Gouvernement Japonais les sentiments désintéressés de leurs Souverains, et de leur unique désir d'améliorer leurs relations avec le Japon, laissèrent à Sa Majesté le Taïkoun la faculté de remplacer le paiement de cette indemnité par l'ouverture d'un nouveau port au commerce étranger.

Sommé par les Représentants des dites Puissances d'avoir à déclarer s'il voulait, ou non, user de cette faculté, le Gouvernement Japonais déclara, il y a six mois environ, qu'il préférait payer l'indemnité, attendu que l'état du pays lui faisait considérer comme impolitique l'ouverture d'un nouveau port. Mais, en même temps, il demandait un délai d'une année pour opérer le second versement de l'indemnité.

Les Représentants des quatre Puissances, tout en reconnaissant au Gouvernement Japonais le droit d'opter entre les deux conditions, ne se crurent pas autorisés à accorder le délai demandé et durent en référer à leurs Gouvernements respectifs. Les instructions qu'ils ont demandées à ce sujet sont parvenues aux Soussignés.

Le droit du Taikoun d'opter entre le paiement de l'indemnité aux termes fixés par la Convention du 22 Octobre, et l'ouverture d'un port dans la Mer Intérieure, est naturellement reconnu par chacune des dites Puissances, mais elles diffèrent d'opinion au sujet du délai demandé par le Gouvernement Japonais.

Les Cabinets de St. James et de la Haye exigent ou l'exécution rigoureuse des Articles de la Convention du 22 Octobre à cet égard, ou bien consentent à ce délai, et même à l'abandon des deux tiers de l'indemnité aux trois conditions suivantes:—

1. Que le Gouvernement Japonais ouvre le port de Hiogo et la ville d'Osaca le 1 Janvier, 1866.

2. Que le Mikado ratifie les Traités conclus avec les Puissances étrangères.

3. Enfin que le Tarif des droits d'entrée soit fixé pour le plupart des marchandises à 5 pour cent et ne puisse en aucun cas dépasser 10 pour cent.

Le Cabinet de Paris ne verrait, au contraire, pas d'obstacle à accorder un délai au Gouvernement Japonais, si ce dernier agissait de bonne foi à l'égard des Puissances signataires des Traités, et il verrait un danger à lui imposer l'ouverture d'Osaca avant

l'époque fixée par la Convention Additionnelle de 1862. Le Cabinet de Paris déclare en outre formellement, ce qui est également admis par les Cabinets de St. James et de la Haye, que le Taïkoun étant libre d'opter entre le paiement de l'indemnité et l'ouverture d'un port, nous ne serions pas en droit, si ce Prince exécute l'une de ces conditions, d'exiger l'ouverture anticipée de Hiogo et d'Osaca.

Le Ministre de l'Empereur ajoute, en résumé, dans la dépêche que son Excellence adresse aux Cabinets de Londres, de la Haye, ou de Washington, en date du 22 Juillet, 1865, que le Gouvernement Impérial est d'avis que la solution de cette question soit remise aux Représentants des quatre Puissances au Japon.

En réponse à cette communication, Lord Cowley a fait connaître à M. Drouyn de Lhuys que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique consentait à cette dernière proposition.

Le Représentant des Etats Unis d'Amérique n'a pas reçu d'instructions de son Gouvernement, mais les mesures arrêtées par le présent memorandum n'étant que la conséquence de la politique qui a été inaugurée entre les quatre Puissances signataires des Traités, M. Portman, Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*, n'hésite pas à cette occasion de s'unir à ses collègues.

M. le Graeff van Polsbroek a reçu des instructions identiques de son Gouvernement.

En l'état, les Représentants soussignés d'Angleterre, de France, des Etats Unis d'Amérique et de Hollande ont jugés nécessaire de se réunir à l'effet de s'entendre :—

1. Sur les moyens de concilier entre elles les instructions de leurs Gouvernements respectifs, tout en conservant intacte l'union et l'entente commune qui leur ont déjà donné tant de force. Et

2. Sur la marche à suivre afin de tirer le meilleur parti possible de la situation actuelle.

Après avoir examiné la question sous toutes ses faces :

Considérant, d'un côté, que les propositions du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique relativement à l'abandon d'une partie de l'indemnité : 1. De l'ouverture anticipée du port de Hiogo et de la ville d'Osaca ; 2. De la ratification des Traités par le Mikado ; et 3. De la revision du Tarif des Douanes,—sont conformes à l'esprit de la Convention du 22 Octobre, 1864 ;

Considérant, d'un autre côté, que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté l'Empereur ne s'écarte des propositions du Cabinet de St. James qu'en ce qu'elles auraient d'inopportun, vu l'état des partis au Japon ;

Considérant que les conditions réclamées par l'Angleterre et la Hollande, si elles étaient accordées spontanément par le Gouvernement Japonais, n'offriraient plus les dangers que redouteraient la France si ces conditions étaient imposées, et seraient préférables pour tous les intéressés au paiement des deux tiers de l'indemnité, et que dès lors la France n'aurait plus d'objection à opposer à ce nouvel arrangement, qui, on le répète, est tout à fait conforme à l'esprit de la Convention du 22 Octobre ;

Considérant que l'intérêt bien entendu des Puissances signataires des Traités et du Japon lui-même exige une prompte solution aux questions pendantes, et que l'abandon des deux tiers de l'indemnité pourrait faciliter et hâter la ratification des Traités par le Mikado, ratification qui est la meilleure garantie, à l'avenir, des bonnes relations des Puissances étrangères avec le Japon, et que, du reste, le Gouvernement du Taïkoun s'est engagé à l'obtenir du Mikado ;

Considérant que l'absence du Taïkoun et de ses principaux Ministres rend toute négociation à Yédo, si non impossible, du moins illusoire ; qu'il importe pourtant d'affirmer notre droit d'obtenir, en son temps, l'exécution d'un engagement et d'une Convention solennels, et de convaincre le Gouvernement Japonais, ainsi que le Mikado et les Daïmios, que les Puissances étrangères sont irrévocablement décidées à exiger l'ouverture de Hiogo et d'Osaca à l'époque fixée par les Traités, s'ils ne l'obtiennent pas avant, par suite d'un accord mutuel ;

Les Représentants soussignés sont convenus, d'un commun accord, de transporter momentanément à Osaca le siège des négociations.

Cette mesure, qui est parfaitement conforme à l'esprit des Traités, puisque les dits Représentants sont accrédités auprès de la personne du Taïkoun, aura, en outre, aux yeux des amis et des ennemis du Taïkoun une signification qui pourra singulièrement influer sur l'heureuse issue des événements qui se preparent.

En effet, les Soussignés ont été informés que le Taïkoun, cédant aux instances du Mikado et des Daimios qui l'entourent, a consenti à recevoir le Prince de Nagato à résipiscence moyennant des conditions que ce Daimio rebelle avait acceptées, il y a huit mois environ, du Prince d'Ouari, Généralissime de l'armée Taïkounate, mais qu'il n'a pas remplies sous divers prétextes. Or, le Taïkoun se méfiant, avec raison des dispositions

réelles de son sujet, a fixé une époque (le 15 Novembre,
comme non avenues les conditions favorables qu'il a bien voulu a laquelle il considérera
et procédera immédiatement à son châtiment. der au Daimio rebelle,

L'arrivée à Osaca des Représentants des Puissances signataires a traités venant à
ce moment décisif, suivis d'une force navale respectable, traiter amicalement avec les
Ministres du Taïkoun, empêcherait, il y a lieu de le croire, le commencement d'hostilités
qui seraient peut-être le signal de la guerre civile, dont les conséquences, quelles qu'elles
fussent, ne pourraient que nuire aux intérêts politiques et commerciaux des Puissances
étrangères au Japon. En tout cas cette arrivée ne peut manquer de donner au Gouverne-
ment Japonais l'appui moral qui doit lui faciliter le résultat de ses démarches à l'effet
d'obtenir du Mikado la ratification des Traités.

En conséquence, les Soussignés sont convenus de s'adresser immédiatement aux commandants des forces navales de leur nations respectives afin de lui faire connaître la situation politique et de les inviter à les transporter à Osaca, où ils séjourneront le temps nécessaire pour mener à bonne fin l'importante négociation qui les y appelle.

Les Soussignés prennent cette détermination avec la conviction intime qu'elle peut amener de très heureux résultats, et qu'en aucun cas elle n'est de nature à compromettre la politique sage et conciliante que leurs Gouvernements respectifs leur ont ordonné de suivre à l'égard du Japon.

Fait à Yokohama, en quadruple exemplaire, le 30 Octobre, 1865.

(Signé) HARRY S. PARKES, *Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan.*

LEON ROCHES, *Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français.*

A. L. C. PORTMAN, *Chargé d'Affaires,* ad interim, *of the United States in Japan.*

D. DE GRAEFF VON POLSBROEK, *His Netherlands Majesty's Political Agent and Consul-General in Japan.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 66.

Sir H. Parkes to Vice-Admiral King.

Sir, *Yokohama, October* 26, 1865.

HAVING received the instructions of Her Majesty's Government to make to the Government of the Tycoon, in concert with the Representatives of the four Powers who signed the Convention of the 22nd October, 1864, certain important representations relative to the delay occasioned by the Tycoon in the fulfilment of the conditions of that Convention, I have the honour to inform you that at a meeting held this day between myself and my colleagues of France and the Netherlands the opinion was unanimously agreed to, that in view of the prolonged absence at Osaca of the Tycoon and the principal Ministers of his Cabinet, it is desirable that the negotiations we have to undertake should be conducted at that port.

I have accordingly to request that you will furnish me and my suite of three gentlemen with the means of conveyance to the Bay of Osaca, and also that you will allow me to be accompanied by as large a force of Her Majesty's vessels as you can conveniently detach on this service.

The object of the expedition is entirely of an amicable nature; but I am of opinion that it is highly important in the preservation of our interests that the opportunity should not be lost of reminding both the Government of the Tycoon and the party reputed to be hostile to foreigners who are still believed to surround the Mikado that we retain in these waters the means of defending those Treaty rights which have been gravely imperilled by one or other of these parties on more than one occasion.

I find it difficult to form beforehand any estimate of the time that may be occupied in our negotiation, as this will chiefly depend upon the readiness shown by the Japanese authorities to meet the proposals we have to submit to them. I may remark, however, that I see reason to hope that the detention of the foreign Representatives in Osaca Bay may not exceed three weeks.

I should mention that my colleagues are agreed with me that it is very desirable that all the vessels forming the expedition under our respective flags should sail in company, as far as this is practicable; and I may add, that the French Minister will be accompanied

s now in port, "La Guerrière" and "Dupleix," and the Dutch
by both the French "Zoutman."
Political Agent is are also anxious that Monday morning, the 30th instant, should be
My colleay of departure.
named as t

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 3 in No. 66.

Vice-Admiral King to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, "*Princess Royal*," *at Yokohama, October* 28, 1865.

IN reply to your letter of the 26th instant, requesting conveyauce for yourself and suite to the Bay of Osaca, and also that you may be accompanied by as large a force as can be conveniently detached on this service, I beg to offer my flag-ship for the accommodation of yourself and suite, and I have detailed four other ships of the squadron to accompany the "Princess Royal," and shall be ready to sail on Monday if required.

The "Perseus" (and probably a gun-boat) will follow on the arrival of the English mail; but should it arrive before the French packet, I dare say it would be acceptable to the French Minister, that the "Perseus" should await the arrival of the last-mentioned steamer, so that all letters, &c., might be brought on.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE KING.

Inclosure 4 in No. 66.

Sir H. Parkes to the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

Yokohama, October 30, 1865.

HAVING received the instructions of my Government relative to the proposal of their Excellencies the Japanese Ministers, as communicated to Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in their letter of the 6th of April last, to defer for a year the payment of the second instalment of the indemnity stipulated in the Convention of the 22nd of October, 1864; and as it is necessary that immediate action should be taken upon these instructions, I have carefully considered the whole question in conference with my colleagues, the Representatives of France, the United States of America, and the Netherlands, and have formed with them the unanimous opinion that the surest and promptest mode of securing a solution that will prove satisfactory to all the contracting Powers is, to conduct with the Ministers who are at present with the Tycoon, the negotiation of this important affair.

The Undersigned has therefore the honour to inform their Excellencies that he intends to proceed immediately to Osaca with his colleagues of France, the United States of America, and the Netherlands, and as the objects they have in view are strictly of a friendly character, they cannot doubt that this step will lead to the desired results.

With respect, &c. (Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 67.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received December 27.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, October* 31, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch from Mr. Consul Gower giving cover to an interesting report by Mr. Assistant Schmid of his visit to the Goto Islands in search of the survivor of the the crew of a ship which had foundered in that neighbourhood and proved to be the Dutch vessel "Johan Melchior Kemper."

I feel I should not omit to recommend to your Lordship's notice the good judgment exercised by Mr. Schmid on this occasion, or to point to another instance of the good feeling so constantly evinced by the Japanese people towards shipwrecked foreigners. Less liberality appears to have been shown by the officers of the Government of Nagasaki who accompanied Mr. Schmid, and tried to check his intercourse with the people who proved themselves to be so well disposed.

I have received the thanks of Mr. Polsbroek, the Political Agent of the Netherlands, for the services rendered by Mr. Schmid.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 67.

Consul Gower to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Nagasaki, September* 26, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the 21st instant I requested Captain Webb of Her Majesty's ship "Rattler" to cause one of the gun-boats in harbour to go to the Goto Islands, and there render assistance to the crew of a totally wrecked ship whose nationality was unknown to my native informants.

As I was unable to proceed there myself, I desired Mr. Assistant Schmid to represent me, who most ably did so, and on his return furnished me with a very detailed and interesting report, copy of which I have the honour to inclose. By this document you will observe that it was the Dutch barque "Johan Melchior Kemper" which was totally lost; and all that could be traced of her were four of the wreck's victims washed on shore and one single living sailor, who was safely handed over to Mr. A. J. Banduin, Consul of the Netherlands at this port. I have since received the expression of his sincerest thanks for the service thus rendered; and in reply I observed that we had done nothing more than an act of humanity, which would naturally be expected at the hands of those who might have the means to carry it into effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ABEL A. J. GOWER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 67.

Mr. Schmid to Consul Gower.

Sir, *Nagasaki, September* 25, 1865.

IN accordance with your instructions I proceeded on Thursday night the 21st instant on board Her Majesty's gun-boat "Bustard," to the Goto Islands, in order to make search after the ship reported by the Governor of Nagasaki to have been lost there on the 22nd day of the 7th Japanese month (11th instant), to ascertain her nationality and the particulars of the shipwreck, to rescue the sole survivor stated by the Governor to be there, and to see what had been done with the four corpses also stated to have been washed on shore.

We arrived at daybreak the 22nd instant at Twase-uri, the principal village of the Island of Nakadori, the second in extent of the Goto group. The first message of the shipwreck had been sent to Nagasaki from that village, and we therefore supposed the calamity had taken place thereabout.

We stopped at one mile's distance from Twase-uri, and soon espied a boat with native officials approaching the "Bustard." On coming on board they informed us that the tops of the ship lost had been seen close to the shore amongst some islands to the south of Nakadori; that one man had been washed on shore alive on the 22nd day of the 7th Japanese month (11th instant), and taken to the Island of Hinoshima, where he would now be found, together with four corpses washed on shore about the same time, and evidently part of the crew.

With regard to the nationality of the ship, and the colour of these men, no information could be gathered. The officers, however, promised to send at once intelligence to Hinoshima of our arrival, but stated it would take some time before a reply might be expected, which, as we afterwards found, might have been for several days. They strongly dissuaded us from going to the island, as it was not approachable by even such a small vessel as the "Bustard." It became more or less obvious that it was merely their wish to prevent us from gaining any information with regard to the island group, generally speaking.

When they also warned us from proceeding to the Kuga Channel (since years already surveyed, and at no far distance from Hinoshima), and stated that there was no anchorage anywhere to be found there, we knew what value to attach to their advices, and therefore

gave them to understand that we could no longer be detained, and requested them to procure a pilot for us if they had any with them.

When they became aware of our determination, they at last agreed that some native whom they had brought in their boat, and whom they stated to be acquainted with the coast, should accompany us. I may, however, state that his knowledge was of the scantiest and least reliable, and that it was only owing to our charts we rode in the afternoon of that day safely at anchor in the beautiful and perfectly sheltered little harbour called Hardy Harbour, close to the island and village of Narushima.

A boat with the officials of that village arrived without delay alongside the "Bustard," and gave us again the same indistinct account of what had happened. Boats, however, were procured for me to go over to Hinoshima, but owing to the stress of bad weather, the attempt had to be relinquished on that day.

No doubt, seeing our determination to reach the place where the shipwrecked man and the four corpses were kept, the officers the Governor of Nagasaki had sent on board the "Bustard" to accompany us became more pliant, and of course the officers of the island followed in their wake. We learned that we could approach the Island of Hinoshina in our gun-boat without any apprehension from rocks and shallow water, and would find quite a safe anchorage there. The promise was made that a pilot would take us round on the following morning, with the solemn assurance we might rely on his knowledge of the coast.

Thus, on Saturday morning, the 23rd instant, we started from Hardy Harbour with the pilot and our Nagasaki officers on board, and arrived at Hinoshima about noon, after having passed close to the points where the ship was lost and the men were washed on shore. We discovered, on our arrival at Hinoshima, a magnificent harbour, till now never visited by foreign ships. I have no doubt Captain Adams of the "Bustard" will inform his superiors of the great advantages it may offer to navigation on future occasions.

At the village of Hinoshima we finally found the man sought after, and learned from him, he was a Dutch sailor. The ship he formally belonged to was the Dutch barque "Johan Melchior Kemper." She had left Yokohama on the 2nd instant, bound for Nagasaki in ballast, with fifteen souls in all on board. According to his statements, she foundered from shifting of the ballast (gravel) on the evening of the 10th September. We ascertained that this must have been about two miles south-west of Hinoshima, where she went to the bottom of the sea, bow foremost. He had leaped, timely enough, overboard; and partly by the waves, partly by his own exertions in swimming, managed to keep clear of the rocks and reach a safe landing, whence he was taken by the natives of Hinoshima. He appeared to be quite happy at that village, and stated he had been treated by the people during his stay there with extreme kindness. From the little I had occasion to observe, I feel certain that such must have been the case. The four corpses subsequently washed on shore he recognised to be those of the master, second mate, boatswain, and a sailor. Three of these bodies had already been buried at once near the spot where they were first found; but, when the fourth was washed on shore, they were disinterred, and all the four taken to Hinoshima, where they were put in wooden boxes neatly covered with straw mats. As nearly a fortnight had elapsed since the occurrence of the shipwreck, we found these four bodies too far gone in decomposition to be taken by us to Nagasaki, without endangering the health of about fifty people on board so small a "Bustard;" and yet the Nagasaki officers insisted on their being taken away by us, pleading that only at the ports open to foreigners, foreigners could be interred. I knew before, that this objection would be raised, but was determined to combat what I on such occasions specially considered to be mere prejudice and intolerance. At the same time, I could clearly perceive the authorities of the village themselves were not at all unwilling to grant me a burial-ground and, in fact, made it dependent on the decision of our Nagasaki officers. After a very lengthy conversation on this subject, they agreed to assist us in the interment on a native cemetery in the island of Wakamasu, in the innermost part of the harbour; the dead bodies, however, to remain there only subject to the approval of the Gorogio. We also had to promise we would arrange matters with His Netherlands Majesty's Consul at Nagasaki, that no Dutchman would be allowed in future to visit the grave without the consent of the Governor of Nagasaki.

It was on conducting the coffins in boats to that place, one of the loveliest spots my eyes ever rested on, we discovered the full extent and advantages of the harbour already mentioned.

On Saturday evening at twilight, the grave dug with the mutual assistance of the "Bustard" seamen and the natives, was closed, and the local authorities gave us the promise it would be respected, and taken care of henceforth.

On Sunday morning, the 24th instant, we left Hinoshima, embarking the shipwrecked

man, a box containing some flags and two bundles of cloth, the only remains of the "Johan M. Kemper," driven on shore. A few spars and planks which had also been washed on shore, we did not think it worth while to take on board as of no value, and we therefore left them in the hands of the Hinoshima people. We arrived about noon again at Hardy Harbour, and remained there at anchor until early on the following morning, when we left for this port, which we safely reached to-day.

I at once informed His Netherlands Majesty's Consul of the loss of the ship belonging to his country's flag. The only survivor of her crew, together with the articles before mentioned, were delivered into his hands.

In conclusion I venture to offer a few general remarks arising from this cruize.

I cannot refrain from specially mentioning the kindness invariably evinced towards us by the natives on the islands we visited, and only regret to say our Nagasaki officers, who seemed to find immediate compliance with their orders wherever we went to, systematically tried to prevent any friendly intercourse we wished to hold with the people on shore.

Two vessels (the French barque "Rigi," in June last) have now been shipwrecked on the bold coast of the Goto Island group, within a couple of months of each other, during the present year, and we have to apprehend similar accidents for the future. I therefore consider it of vital importance that every opportunity should be made use of to engender kindly feelings to foreigners amongst the inhabitants of these islands. Even should they not have the power to save ships in danger on their coast from wreck and ruin, they might at least render great and important service in saving the lives of foreigners and parts of cargoes. The erection of light-houses, or at least of beacons in dark and stormy nights, would be most desirable, chiefly on an island like Hinoshima, where vessels from the coast of China bound for Nagasaki, and driven as far north as the 33rd degree of north latitude, could at all times find an easy entrance and a safe anchorage.

As to the productions of the soil of these islands, I was not able to form a correct idea except by judging from the income of the Prince (Goto Hida no Kami) 12,000 kokus of rice per annum. Wherever ground is available it is highly cultivated, and must yield abundantly for the want of the islanders, whose villages we discovered now and then hidden in some snug corner.

Fishing also seems to be one of their chief pursuits, and I believe a considerable surplus of cuttle fish and other dried fish, as well as of sea-weed, chiefly for the China market, might be annually exported from these islands in exchange for some of our manufactures. Chinese junks, I was told, used in former years occasionally to trade there.

I would finally recommend the native authorities of the villages of Hinoshima and Karushima, particularly the former, to your special notice at your next interview with the Governor of this port, as I think an official conveyance of your thanks to them through him would not fail to leave a good impression on their minds, and be proof to them that the anxiety they showed in the case of the shipwreck, and the willingness with which they wished to assist us, were fully appreciated.

(Signed) K. E. SCHMID.

No. 68.

The Earl of Clarendon to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December* 30, 1865.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Sir Harry Parkes,* and of its inclosures, upon the question of the payment by the Japanese Government of the remaining instalments of the indemnity, or of foregoing their payment in consideration of other advantages to be accorded to Treaty Powers.

I have to instruct your Excellency to communicate this correspondence to M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

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* No. 66.

No. 69.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 1, 1866.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 31st of October, inclosing a copy of the Report made by Mr. Schmid to Consul Gower of his visit to the Goto Islands in search of the survivors from the wreck of the Dutch vessel "Johan Melchior Kemper," and I have to instruct you to convey to Mr. Schmid my approval of his proceedings on the occasion in question.

You will express to the Japanese Government the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the conduct of the islanders in this affair.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 70.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 1, 1866.

YOUR despatch of the 30th of October, with its inclosures, has been received and laid before the Queen, and I have to convey to you the entire approval by Her Majesty's Government of your intention to proceed, in company with your colleagues, to Osaca, with a view to conduct in that city the negotiations with which you are charged, on the subject of the concessions to be made by the Japanese Government in lieu of the indemnity payable under the Convention of the 22nd October, 1864.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 71.

The Earl of Clarendon to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, January* 1, 1866.

THE French Ambassador has spoken to me several times within these few days respecting the manner in which the indemnity payable by the Japanese Government in regard to the transactions at Shimonasaki should be divided between the four Powers, namely, England, France, Holland, and the United States.

Of the 3,000,000 dollars which the Japanese Government covenanted to pay, they have only as yet paid 500,000 dollars; and they have asked for a prolongation of the time within which the stipulated instalments of the balance were to be paid.

Her Majesty's Government, as you are aware, have from the first been of opinion that it would be much better for the interests of commerce, and generally of the relations of foreign Powers with Japan, to come to an understanding with the Japanese Government on the principle of commuting the payment of the balance of indemnity for greater facilities for the trade of foreign nations.

The French Government were indisposed to share this opinion, but they eventually agreed to refer the question to the consideration of the Representatives of the four Powers in Japan.

The despatch of Sir Harry Parkes of which a copy was inclosed in my despatch of the 30th ultimo, and which you were directed to communicate to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, shows that, after a joint deliberation, it was agreed that the Representatives should proceed together to Hiogo, and there endeavour to enter into direct communication with the Mikado, at whose Court the Tycoon and four out of five of the principal Ministers of the Tycoon were residing, and, if possible, to obtain:—

1. The immediate opening of the port of Hiogo and city of Osaca to foreign trade.
2. The ratification by the Mikado of the Treaties with foreign Powers.
3. A modification of the Tariff on the principle of a general 5 per cent. duty, with only a few exceptions, in which a duty not exceeding 10 per cent. might be levied.

The result of this expedition may reach Europe by the next or by the subsequent mail; and in the meantime, the only sum of the indemnity which is available for division is that of 500,000 dollars already paid by the Japanese Government, and which constitutes one sixth part of the whole.

The late Mr. Grey, as your Excellency will find on consulting the archives of your Embassy, was authorized to concert with M. Drouyn de Lhuys and Mr. Bigelow, the Minister of the United States, as to the manner in which division should be made; but I am not aware whether anything was done by him before his death in the matter.

The French Ambassador, however, about a week ago, placed in my hands the extract of a despatch from M. Drouyn de Lhuys of the 22nd of July last to the French Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, which had been already communicated by the latter *in extenso* to Earl Russell, explaining his views as to the principle on which the indemnity receivable from the Japanese Government should be divided.

You will find in Sir Rutherford Alcock's despatch of the 28th of October, 1864, an account of what passed in Japan in regard to prior claims which the Governments of France, Holland, and the United States were held to have on the stipulated indemnity of 3,000,000 dollars; and in conformity with what is recorded in that despatch, M. Drouyn de Lhuys suggests that the separate claim of France should be held to be for 140,0000 dollars, being the amount agreed upon between the French Government and the Japanese Envoys at Paris in the month of June 1864, as compensation for certain injuries sustained by French subjects, and that the separate claims of Holland and of the United States for damages done to their respective shipping in the Straits of Shimonasaki, before the operations against Choshiu were undertaken, should be held to be severally for the same amount, thus making an aggregate sum of 420,000 dollars a first charge on the whole indemnity of 3,000,000 dollars which the Japanese Government had undertaken to pay, and payable, rateably of course, out of the several instalments as they might be received from Japan.

Her Majesty's Government have no objection to this arrangement, which is in accordance with the understanding among the Representatives in Japan; and accordingly, as a sixth part of this indemnity, or 500,000 dollars, has now been received fron Japan, a sixth part of the entire special compensation due to France, Holland, and the United States, namely, 70,000 dollars, must be deducted in the first instance from the sums received, whereby a balance of 430,000 dollars will remain for distribution among the four Powers.

The Representatives in Japan did not attempt to lay down any rule by which the balance remaining, after providing for the special compensation above alluded to, should be divided; but Sir Rutherford Alcock sent home to his Government, as the Representatives of the other Powers probably did to their own Governments, a return of the naval and military forces of the four Powers employed within the waters and territories of Japan, on sea or on shore, at the time that the joint operations against Shimonasaki were undertaken by the allied forces.

It was apparently held, and with justice, by the Representatives in Japan, that the forces which were left to guard the foreign settlements at Yokohama and elsewhere, as well as the ships employed in keeping up communication with the squadron engaged in active operations at Shimonasaki, all contributed, though in different ways, to the success of those operations, and were therefore all entitled to be reckoned in estimating the amount of material means contributed by the several Powers.

Proceeding to the consideration of the manner in which the balance of the indemnity, after providing for the special compensations, should be divided, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, in his despatch to which I have referred, suggests that the division should be made according to the proportion the forces of each Power in Japan bore to the aggregate force of the four.

The United States' Minister, on the other hand, is understood to contend that as the general co-operation of all the four Powers must necessarily have had great and equal weight if not in the actual operations at all events in the measures which preceded them, and afterwards in turning the result to good account, it would be fair to look upon the several Powers as contributing in an equal degree to the success of the common cause, and therefore as entitled to share equally in the indemnity which the Japanese Government agreed to pay.

Her Majesty's Government are not indisposed to concur in this view of the question. It cannot be doubted that the joint action of all the Powers collectively afforded, and still affords, the surest means of producing a most salutary effect on the Japanese Government and people, who would be only too glad to detect and would certainly take advantage of the slightest indication of the existence of a separate interest among them.

The American principle of partition will secure to France a larger share of the indemnity than she would obtain under the principle of distribution suggested by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, while Holland and the United States would be benefited by it in a still greater degree. England alone would be required to make a sacrifice; but Her Majesty's Government will consent to do so, if only to mark their conviction of the

community of interest which the four Powers have in Japan, and as an evidence of their hope and desire that that community of interest will be the principle by which the conduct of all of them will invariably be regulated in that distant and peculiar country.

Your Excellency, in the communications which it will be henceforward your place to have with M. Drouyn de Lhuys and the American and Dutch Ministers on this subject, will regulate your language by the tenour of this despatch.

No. 72.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received January 5, 1866.)

(Extract.) *"Princess Royal," off Hiogo, November 14, 1865.*

IN my despatch of October 30 I had the honour to inform your Lordship that having submitted to the consideration of my colleagues the Representatives of France, the United States of America, and Holland, the conditions which Her Majesty's Government deem it desirable to obtain from the Tycoon in return for the proposed remission of two-thirds of the indemnity due under the Convention of October 1864, they had entirely concurred in the views of Her Majesty's Government. I also stated that we were unanimously of opinion that the negotiation of these proposals could not be conducted with success at Yeddo, with the single member of the Gorogio now remaining there, and that we had accordingly determined to visit the Bay of Osaca, in order to secure communication with the four other members of the Tycoon's Cabinet who have been in attendance on the Tycoon at Osaca since his departure from Yeddo six months ago.

I now propose to report very briefly to your Lordship the steps we have taken up to this date in furtherance of the above determination, as I do not wish to neglect an opportunity which is afforded me by the despatch of a French frigate to Saigon, as it is possible that this vessel may arrive there in time to intercept the French mail that precedes by a few days the usual English packet. In four days, however, from this date I shall be able to send to Shanghai, to meet the latter conveyance, full accounts of our proceedings.

Our squadron, consisting of five English vessels, three French, and one Dutch, left Yokohama on the 1st instant and arrived off Hiogo on the 4th. The United States' Chargé d'Affaires being without a national vessel at his disposal, accompanies his colleagues in one of Her Majesty's ships. We have encountered no difficulty in opening communications with the Gorogio at Osaca. They had heard of our intended visit, and were quite prepared to admit our right of access to them. Some delay has been occasioned by the absence at Kioto, at the time of our arrival, of the Tycoon and two of their number, and the distance of this anchorage from Osaca, and several days of unfavourable weather, have unavoidably interfered with the transaction of business. During the ten days that have elapsed since our arrival, our officers have visited Osaca on three occasions to make arrangements for conferences between the foreign Representatives and the Japanese Ministers, and two important interviews have taken place at this anchorage, the latter preferring to visit the Representatives on board their vessels to receiving them on shore either at Hiogo or Osaca.

During these visits, the last of which occurred only this morning, the proposals of the four Powers to accept the sanction of the Treaties by the Mikado, the immediate opening of Hiogo and Osaca, and the revision of the tariff, as equivalents for the remission of two-thirds of the indemnity, have been clearly placed before the Ministers of the Tycoon. The earnestness with which they have received our representations have satisfied my colleagues and myself that we have chosen a favourable moment for pressing these subjects upon the attention of the Tycoon, though it would be altogether premature for me to attempt to foretell the result of our negotiations.

We can perceive that the internal affairs of the country are seriously disturbed, and that we have arrived at a critical period in the history of the Tycoon's administration. He is about to enter on a struggle with a powerful Daimio, Choshiu, on the successful issue of which the maintenance of his supremacy may depend, and while embarrassed with these hostilities he has to contend at the same time with a strong opposition to his foreign policy at the Mikado's Court, which may at any time take an active form and add materially to his difficulties. The appearance at this moment in Osaca Bay of the foreign Representatives, attended by a considerable naval force, is a proof of the determination of the foreign Governments to insist upon the performance of their Treaties, as he can point to it in justification of his wish to observe those Treaties, and can demonstrate to the hostile party the risk they incur by attempting the repudiation of these engagements. At the same time, we find that although his Ministers pledged their word to the foreign

Representatives after the affair at Shimonasaki to obtain the Mikado's formal approval of the Treaties, no material advance has yet been made towards this most desirable result. The omission indicates either that the good faith of the Tycoon is at fault, or that his influence at the Court of the Mikado is unequal to that exercised by an opposite faction which seek to subvert his rule, and have hitherto found his foreign policy, which they allege to be unconstitutional, a convenient pretext for attack.

It is not improbable that he has hitherto avoided pressing an unpalatable subject on the notice of the Mikado, but is no longer indisposed to make a strenuous effort, now that the appearance of the foreign Representatives in this Bay with a fleet renders further concealment of their demands impossible. The Ministers that we have met have promised to do all in their power to obtain the Mikado's sanction to the Treaties, and the Tycoon after coming down to Osaca to consider the question in a full Council of his Ministers leaves again to-morrow for Kioto, as we are informed, in order to urge upon the Mikado the necessity of no longer withholding this approval. The other points of the question, namely, the opening of Hiogo and revision of the Tariff, are evidently considered by the Tycoon's Ministers to be altogether subordinate to that of the confirmation of the Treaties, and unless this can be obtained, I fear that there is but a faint prospect of the Tycoon being willing to undertake the opening of this port either at the present date, or even on the expiration of the time named in the London Agreement.

The Japanese Ministers now assure us that the general question of foreign relations, which the Mikado to this date professes to ignore, will now be most seriously debated between the latter and the Tycoon, and in the course of ten days the result will be known. The importance of the question at stake can scarcely be over-estimated; for until the Tycoon is relieved from the present anomalous position in which he stands to his Suzerain in respect to foreign relations, or until our Treaties have received the highest sanction that the State can give to them, it is evident that our rights may be assailed by any party that chooses to oppose itself to foreign intercourse, and that the authority of the Tycoon may become unequal to the performance of its engagements.

Your Lordship will be pleased to hear that we have met with a friendly reception from the people of Hiogo, and that the only restraints on our intercourse with them are those imposed by the jealousy of officers of Government. At Osaca also our presence does not appear to have occasioned alarm or to have awakened any expression of ill-feeling; but as that city is at present crowded with troops, forming the proposed expedition against Choshiu, we have hitherto refrained from visiting it, except for the purposes of business.

No. 73.

Earl Cowley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received January* 6.)

My Lord, *Paris, January* 4, 1866.

I YESTERDAY communicated to M. Drouyn de Lhuys your Lordship's despatch of the 1st instant, containing the views of Her Majesty's Government with reference to the mode in which the Japanese indemnity should be divided among the four Powers which took part in the expedition against Shimonasaki.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, in paying a just tribute to the liberality displayed by Her Majesty's Government, said that he had of course no objections to offer to these proposals, and that he would communicate in this sense both with Holland and the United States.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 74.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(*Received January* 13, 1866.)

(Extract.) *"Princess Royal," off Hiogo, November* 17, 1865.

I TOOK advantage of the departure of a French frigate for Saigon on the 15th instant, and the probable opportunity thus offered of communicating by the French packet, to report to your Lordship, in my despatch of the 14th instant, my arrival at this anchorage, in company with the Representatives of France, the United States, and

Holland, and I have now the honour to report at greater length the particulars of our proceedings up to this date.

My despatch of the 30th ultimo will have informed your Lordship that I had taken this step in concert with my colleagues above-mentioned, for the purpose of laying before the Ministers of the Tycoon the proposal of Her Majesty's Government to remit two-thirds of the indemnity due under the Convention of October 22, 1864, on the conditions that Hiogo and Osaca should be immediately opened, the sanction of the Mikado given to the Treaties, and the tariff revised on a basis of 5 per cent.

Consequent on the understanding arrived at between your Lordship and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, these proposals had been reserved for the consideration of the Representatives of the four Powers who signed the Convention. The Government of the Netherlands had already concurred in your Lordship's views; and on communicating with my colleagues of France and the United States, I found that they willingly approved of them as being preferable to the indemnity, and better calculated to improve foreign relations with Japan.

On considering the manner in which these proposals should be laid before the Government of the Tycoon, we were unanimously of opinion that, in order to secure due attention to the subject, we should place ourselves in communication with the four members of the Gorogio assembled at Osaca, instead of with the single Minister who, since June last, has represented the Tycoon's Council in Yeddo. We were aware that, if we confided the question to his hands, he would only refer it to his colleagues and the Tycoon; and we were of opinion that this reference could be made more effectually by ourselves, provided we could proceed to the Bay of Osaca, and be accompanied by an imposing naval force. We were also of opinion that this step should be taken without delay, as we had been informed that the Tycoon might have to leave Osaca at any time after the 15th instant, in order to direct operations against Choshiu, in the event of that Daimio refusing compliance with an ultimatum, which would expire on that date; and in the event of the Mikado's sanction being obtained to the Treaties, an opportunity would be afforded to the contending parties to effect a peaceable adjustment of their differences, which have arisen out of the disputes relating to foreign intercourse.

The grounds on which my colleagues concurred in supporting the views of Her Majesty's Government, and the considerations which prompted us to undertake the negotiation at Osaca, are fully stated in the Memorandum which I forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch of the 30th ultimo. On communicating the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, and the resolutions we had taken, to Admiral King, he at once offered me the support of his fleet then lying at Yokohama; and the French and Dutch Commanders being equally ready to assist their Representatives, a combined squadron was formed of five English, three French, and one Dutch vessel. In the absence of an American ship of war the United States' Chargé d'Affaires made an application for accommodation in one of Her Majesty's vessels, to which Admiral King willingly responded. Such a decided proof of unity of views and of action on the part of the principal Treaty Powers could not fail to exercise a salutary effect on the Japanese Government, which would probably not be the less felt because the combination had been undertaken, on this occasion, for the attainment of a peaceful object.

I have now to report our proceedings up to this date. On the 1st instant the combined squadron left Yokohama, and reached this anchorage on the 4th, which is distant about twelve miles from the mouth of the small river that leads to Osaca. The next morning the several Representatives dispatched officers in an English gun-boat and French steam tender to deliver letters announcing our arrival to the Ministers of the Tycoon, and to arrange a Conference between them and the Representatives. I inclose copy of my communication, and should add that I deputed Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Siebold on this service, and that the former also acted for the United States' Chargé d'Affaires. They found that the river could only be entered by ships' boats, and on landing at a fort at its entrance they were courteously received by Japanese local officials, and afterwards by Ongasawara Iké no Kami, one of the Ministers of the Gorogio, who came from the city to meet them on hearing of their arrival. He at once assured our officers that the Gorogio were quite disposed to receive the foreign Representatives; but that those most familar with foreign affairs were then absent with the Tycoon, who had left the previous day for Kioto, distant about thirty-five miles. These, or one of them, Abé Bungo no Kami, would return, he said, to meet the Representatives, and he engaged that an interview should be held on board the ships at Hiogo, on the 9th instant.

When that day arrived, however, we were visited by the two Governors of Osaca, who came to explain the inability of Abé Bungo no Kami to fulfil his engagement in consequence of being detained at Kioto to assist the Tycoon at an audience with the

Mikado. They apologised with much earnestness for this unexpected delay, and again named the 12th as the day for the meeting. I accepted their apologies, with the observation that I trusted the attention which I understood from them was being given to our affairs at Kioto would eventually facilitate a satisfactory settlement, but I pressed for an earlier interview than the 12th, and this they promised to make known at Kioto.

Eventually Abé Bungo no Kami came down from Osaca on the morning of the 11th, and it was arranged that he should first be received by myself and the Representatives of the United States and Holland on board Admiral King's flag-ship, and afterwards by the French Minister on board his frigate. The discussion which ensued at our interview (as I am informed by my French colleague) did not differ in any substantial respect from that which passed with M. Roches.

The proposals of Her Majesty's Government were clearly stated to the Minister of the Tycoon, and urgently pressed on his consideration. It was with some disappointment that we heard from him that the Tycoon had made but little advance, during the last twelve months, towards the fulfilment of the promise made by his Ministers to the foreign Representatives in October 1864, to obtain the sanction of the Mikado to the Treaties, and also that, in the opinion of the Tycoon, the opposition to foreign intercourse was still too strong to allow of his giving fresh opportunities for its extension by opening Hiogo and Osaca. He admitted, however, that progress had been made in the conciliation of adverse opinions, that the hostile Daimios had abandoned their advocacy of active opposition, and that if the Mikado's approval of these Treaties were once obtained, all obstructions to foreign intercourse would disappear. On my part, while regretting that the Tycoon's endeavours should have hitherto failed to secure this desirable result, I urged on his attention that whether this sanction were given or withheld, the Treaty Powers would insist upon the scrupulous fulfilment of the Treaties; and also that as the Tycoon's Government had omitted to carry out the London Agreement of 1862, in not removing illegal restrictions on our trade, Her Majesty's Government had the right to withdraw the concessions then made, which were conditional on the removal of those restrictions, and were granted in order to lessen the Tycoon's difficulty in controlling hostility which was now known to be disappearing. If, therefore, they saw fit to do so, Her Majesty's Government could at any time insist upon the opening of Hiogo and all the other places named in that Convention, wholly irrespective of the offer they now made to accept that port and Osaca as part compensation for the remission of two-thirds of the indemnity. I also pressed upon his notice that the Powers would form their judgment of the Tycoon's real position in the Government of Japan, and of his disposition towards foreigners, by his acts, rather than by the professions of his Ministers, and that he must prove himself equal to the discharge of all the obligations of the Treaties if he wished to be regarded as the Ruler of Japan.

Abé Bungo no Kami seemed to be impressed with these arguments, and requested an adjournment of the conference to enable him to consider them. Instead, however, of meeting us again on the following day, as had been at first arranged, he sent to say that the gravity of the questions that had been discussed rendered it necessary for him to represent all that had passed to the Tycoon and his colleagues, and that after attending the Council which would be held for this purpose, he would again meet the Representatives on the 14th instant.

On that day Tachibano Idzumi no Kami, a Vice-Minister and member of the Second Council, and Tazawa Tsushima no Kami, Principal Ometské of the Tycoon, came down from Osaca, being sent, as they stated, in place of Abé Bungo no Kami, who was reported to be ill. The Council had been held. The Tycoon was convinced, they said, that the sanction of the Mikado to the Treaties had become indispensable. As the negotiations he had to undertake for this purpose required time, Tachibano pressed the Foreign Representatives to extend their stay to fifteen days from the date of the interview (the 14th).

I distinctly pointed out to the Tycoon's Envoy that whatever differences might have arisen between the Tycoon and the Mikado, these did not affect the force or validity of the Treaties, and that the foreign Powers would hold the Government of Japan, in whomsoever it might be vested, responsible for the scrupulous fulfilment of every engagement contained in those Treaties. I could not lead them to expect, however, that we could wait an indefinite period in Osaca Bay for the attainment of a result which concerned the Tycoon more than ourselves, and that ten days would probably be the extent of the detention we could agree to. In that time we expected to be able to form an opinion as to the degree of authority remaining in the Tycoon's hands, and also as to his disposition to exert this authority in the execution of the Treaties contracted in the name of the Japanese Government and Empire.

Inclosure in No. 74.

Sir H. Parkes to the Japanese Ministers at Osaca.

On board Her Majesty's ship "Princess Royal," Osaca Bay, November 4, 1856.

THE Undersigned has the honour to announce to their Excellencies his arrival in the Bay of Osaca, for the purpose of determining with their Excellencies, in concert with his colleagues, the Representatives of France, the United States of America and Holland, certain questions of grave importance arising out of the Convention of October 22, 1864.

The absence of their Excellencies from the usual seat of government at Yeddo, and the obligations under which the Undersigned is placed of giving immediate effect to the instructions he has received from his Government has rendered this visit to Osaca necessary. He is able, however, to assure their Excellencies that it is undertaken in the most friendly spirit, and in entire conformity with the above-mentioned Convention, which, their Excellencies are aware, has for its chief object the establishment of better relations with Japan. Looking, however, to the long delay that has occurred since the conclusion of that Convention, their Excellencies will feel the justice of the Undersigned and his colleagues in demanding a prompt and satisfactory settlement of the questions referred to. It will give the Undersigned the most sincere satisfaction to learn that the adjustment of these questions may be greatly facilitated by their Excellencies being provided with the formal approval of the Treaties by His Majesty the Mikado, which their Excellencies in October last admitted to be essential to the maintenance of a good understanding between European nations and Japan, and which they then promised to obtain.

The Undersigned sends this letter by Messrs. Macdonald and Siebold, officers of Her Majesty's Legation, who are instructed to consult with their Excellencies as to the manner in which the necessary conferences should be entered upon.

The Undersigned also takes this opportunity of informing their Excellencies that he is accompanied by Admiral King, C.B., the Commander-in-chief of all the naval forces of Her Britannic Majesty in China and Japan, and that this letter is dated from his Excellency's flag-ship.

With respect and consideration.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 75.

Earl Cowley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 14.)

My Lord, *Paris, January* 13, 1866.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 5th instant, requesting an answer from the French Government to your Lordship's despatch to the late Mr. Grey of the 12th ultimo, relative to the mode of payment of the first instalment of the Japanese indemnity, I have now the honour to inclose copy of a note which I have received from M. Drouyn de Lhuys, dated the 12th instant, informing me that the Imperial Government are quite willing to adopt the course proposed by Her Majesty's Government, provided no obstacles to it should present themselves at Yokohama, and that the French Ambassador in London has already been directed to inform your Lordship of this decision.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys requested me further to inform your Lordship that the Imperial Government made no objection to the equal division of the Japanese indemnity between the four Powers as soon as they were aware that Her Majesty's Government preferred this mode of partition.

I have, &c.

(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 75.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys to Earl Cowley.

M. le Comte, *Paris, le* 12 *Janvier,* 1866.

VOUS m'avez exprimé le désir de connaître la réponse du Gouvernement de l'Empereur à la proposition contenue dans la note de M. Ellis du 19 Décembre relative-

ment à la remise en Europe des 500,000 dollars déjà payés pour le premier terme de l'indemnité Japonaise. J'ai l'honneur de faire savoir à votre Excellence que nous sommes tout disposés à adopter la combinaison suggérée par le Cabinet de Londres, si, comme il y a lieu de le penser, elle ne présente pas à Yokohama même d'inconvénients, et que M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne a été déjà chargé d'en informer Lord Clarendon. Je viens aussi d'inviter l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à annoncer au Principal Secretaire d'Etat que nous ne faisions pas difficulté de nous rallier à l'idée d'un partage égal de l'indemnité Japonaise entre les quatre Puissances, dès que le Cabinet de la Reine inclinait de préférence pour ce mode de répartition.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) DROUYN DE LHUYS.

No. 76.

Earl Cowley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received January* 23.)

My Lord, *Paris, January* 22, 1866.

IN compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch to the late Mr. Grey, dated the 12th December last, Mr. Ellis addressed a letter to Mr. Bigelow stating the manner in which Her Majesty's Government propose that the first instalment of the Japanese indemnity should be remitted to Europe.

I have now the honour to inclose a copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Bigelow, inclosing a *note verbale* which he has given to M. Drouyn de Lhuys on this subject, and in which he states that he is ready to accept the proposal of Her Majesty's Government that the indemnity, already paid or still to be paid, should be equally divided between the four Treaty Powers, provided the other Treaty Powers consider it acceptable. Under the same condition Mr. Bigelow would also accept the proposal as to the manner in which the first instalment of the indemnity should be remitted to Europe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 76.

Mr. Bigelow to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Paris, January* 20, 1866.

I HAVE had the honour to receive a communication from Mr. Ellis bearing date the 19th December, 1865, in reference to the transmission of the Japanese indemnity from Yokohama to London. In reply to the inquiry therein addressed to me, and in reply to a verbal communication received a few days since from his Excellency M. Drouyn de Lhuys, I beg to transmit to your Excellency a copy of a verbal note which I have had the honour to address to M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BIGELOW.

Inclosure 2 in No. 76.

Verbal Note.

THE Minister of the United States at Paris has been advised of a despatch recently addressed by Sir Harry Parkes to the British Government, dated Shanghai, Deceember 8, 1865, which states that the Mikado had approved of the Treaties entered into between the Government of Japan and the Governments of England, France, Holland, and the United States; that the tariffs had been modified; that the opening of Hiogo had been guaranteed anew; and that the stipulated indemnity was to be punctually paid.

The Minister of the United States is also advised that the British Cabinet had proposed that the covenanted indemnity, as well what had already been paid as what should hereafter be paid, should be equally divided between the four Treaty Powers.

Assuming that the telegraphic advices from Sir H. Parkes shall be sustained by official despatches, and that the Senate of the United States will ratify the Convention Yokohama of October 22, 1864, the Minister of the United States does not hesitate

embrace the liberal proposal of the British Cabinet, if found acceptable to the other Treaty Powers.

The British Cabinet also proposes to deposit the first instalment of 500,000 dollars in its military chest at Yokohama, and an equivalent in sterling to the credit of the Treaty Powers in the Treasury in London. This proposal also the Minister of the United States is ready to embrace, subject always to the conditions attached to his acceptance of the preceding proposition.

No. 77.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(*Received January* 29, 1866.)

My Lord, *"Princess Royal," off Hiogo, November* 25, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a notification which is issued this day by myself and colleagues of the four allied Powers to the subjects and citizens of our respective Governments, in order to inform them of the result of the negotiations we have been engaged in at this place.

I beg your Lordship to observe that the sanction to the Treaties and the revision of the tariff, these being two of the three conditions for which Her Majesty's Government were willing to relinquish two-thirds of the indemnity due under the Convention of October 22, 1864, have been obtained.

The immediate opening of Hiogo and Osaca, which formed the remaining condition, continues however to be deferred, as the Tycoon's Ministers assured us that though willing, as soon as circumstances should permit, to anticipate the period stipulated in the London Agreement of 1862, they could not in the present condition of affairs undertake the responsibilities attending the admission of foreigners to these places, nor could they give any positive promise of early improvement in this respect.

In conjunction therefore with my colleagues, I considered it necessary to insist upon the payment of the indemnity, and the decided preference they evinced for this alternative, which it was optional to them to adopt, satisfied us of their intention to meet this obligation with punctuality in future. They affirm that the second instalment, which becomes due on the 18th instant, counting three Japanese months from the date of the first payment, is now waiting delivery at Yeddo, and they have given directions for the payment of the other instalments in the terms of the Convention.

I shall have the honour to continue in another despatch my report to your Lordship of the particulars of these proceedings. I should here state that my colleagues altogether approve the result, and I trust that this opinion may be confirmed by your Lordship. A higher satisfaction would doubtless have been generally felt if we could have obtained the immediate opening of Hiogo and Osaca in the place of the payment of the indemnity, as this would have furnished a welcome proof of the advance of friendly and liberal opinions in the Japanese councils, and of ability on the part of the Tycoon's Government to give effect to the Treaties. I trust, however, that the approval of the Treaty by the Mikado will prove the most important of the desired concessions, as we may expect that it will terminate those unfortunate dissensions between the Mikado, Tycoon, and Daimios on the subject of the foreign policy of the country, which have hitherto interfered so seriously with the fulfilment of the Treaties, and to which so much of the danger to which foreigners in Japan have hitherto been exposed, may be attributed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 77.

Notification.

"Princess Royal," Osaca Bay, November 25, 1865.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, has the satisfaction of making known, for the information of all subjects of Her Majesty, that the negotiations in which he has lately been engaged at Osaca, in concert with his colleagues the Representatives of France, the United States of America and Holland, have been attended with the following results:—

1. The Mikado has given his formal sanction to the Treaties concluded by the Tycoon with foreign Powers.

2. Negotiatiens for the revision of the Tariff on a basis agreed upon will at once be proceeded with at Yeddo.

3. The opening of the port of Hiogo and the city of Osaca is guaranteed at the time mentioned in the London Convention of 1862, or at an earlier date if circumstances should permit.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 78.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(*Received January* 29, 1866.)

My Lord, *"Princess Royal," off Hiogo, November* 25, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a letter I have this day addressed to Admiral King, to inform him of the conclusion of the negotiations undertaken at this place by myself and colleagues of the four allied Powers, and in which I have endeavoured to express my high appreciation of the efficient support I have received from him on this occasion, and the extent to which the services of his squadron have contributed to the satisfactory result of the expedition.

I feel assured that the peaceful character of these services will not diminish their importance in your Lordship's estimation. No other object, as my previous despatches will have shown, had ever been contemplated by myself and colleagues, and the force that accompanied us consisted simply of the vessels that happened to be lying at Yokohama at the time that we applied to our respective naval Commanders for assistance. We felt, however, the importance of giving all the effect in our power to a negotiation which had to be conducted on a new scene, and in the presence of influences which were known to be unfriendly to foreign interests. The appearance off Osaca of an imposing naval force, though not employed for coercion, or to support a menace, would at least serve to remind the faction that has hitherto placed itself in opposition to the Treaties, that the Powers with whom those engagements have been concluded, possess the means of insisting upon the fulfilment of them when they see fit to do so; and speaking after the event, I can assert with confidence that had it not been for the presence of the allied fleet on this occasion, the Tycoon would not have been persuaded to make to the Mikado those energetic remonstrances and representations without which union between these rulers on the subject of the Treaties, and the foreign policy they render necessary, would not have been effected.

I have also felt it due to Admiral King to notice in my letter the excellent impression which I am satisfied, from my own observation, has been created by the conduct of the officers and men of the squadron, on the feelings of the people of Hiogo, as the opinions formed of us by the latter on the present occasion may have an important effect upon our future intercourse.

During the three weeks that the fleet has lain at this anchorage constant communication has been kept up with the shore, and parties of officers, in the course of daily walks or excursions, have traversed the country in many directions. They have been invariably treated with marked goodwill by the private orders of the people, who in return have been freely permitted to visit our vessels. Our endeavours to promote this interchange of civilities received at first a check from the authorities at Osaca, who issued a notice forbidding the people to go on board the ships; but on becoming informed of this circumstance, I insisted upon the interdict being withdrawn as publicly as it had been imposed, and during the last days of our visit numerous Japanese, often accompanied by their families, satisfied by personal inspection the universal curiosity and admiration which the size and equipment of the flag-ship occasioned.

The Government, however, judged it necessary to keep us, when we landed, constantly attended by guards, who being sent for the purpose from Yeddo, were familiar with these inconvenient duties. The precaution appeared to be altogether unnecessary as far as the people generally were concerned, but the Tycoon's Government make locality no exception in the apprehension which they profess of outrages on the part of fanatical individuals or hired assassins, and we may conclude that violence will always form a feature in the conduct of a population that comprises an extensive class of armed men who are subject to a limited restraint.

Supplies of a good quality were furnished by the authorities to the fleet at moderate terms, though some difficulty was at first experienced in meeting the unusual demand which our presence occasioned.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

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* Inclosure in No. 78.

Sir H. Parkes to Vice-Admiral King.

(Extract.) "*Princess Royal*," *Hiogo, November* 25, 1865.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the negotiations in which I have been engaged here, in concert with my colleagues of France, the United States of America, and the Netherlands, have been terminated by the receipt this morning of a despatch from the Ministers of the Tycoon, copy of which I inclose, conveying distinct replies to each of the three proposals which I had been instructed by Her Majesty's Government to make to this Government.

Your own observation of the progress of this difficult negotiation, and your personal share in the anxiety with which it was attended, will have informed you of its course up to the 21st instant, when I and my colleagues found it necessary to address the Tycoon himself the *note identique* which is already in your possession. The despatch now inclosed shows that two of the three points, namely, the sanction of the Treaties by the Mikado and the revision of the Tariff, have been agreed to, while the opening of Hiogo and Osaca continues to be withheld. The Japanese Ministers have not hesitated to state, with great frankness, in their verbal discussions, that they believe themselves to be unable to protect foreigners from outrage at the hands of that armed and dangerous class who may be prompted to commit aggression, either by their own fanatical feelings, or at the instigation of that faction who are opposed to the Tycoon. The latter, therefore, prefers to the responsibility of the protection of a foreign community in the vicinity of Kioto, where the said opposition is chiefly felt, the alternative which is open to him of the payment of the indemnity; and orders have accordingly been given for the discharge of the third instalment in February next, while the second is stated to be now waiting delivery at Yeddo.

Under these circumstances, I and my colleagues are of opinion that we have good reason to be satisfied with the result of the negotiation. Much as we may have desired the immediate opening of Hiogo and Osaca, we cannot but be sensible that in obtaining the sanction of the Mikado to the Treaties, we have secured a most important measure, upon which the stability of foreign relations and the cessation of internal distractions may be said to depend.

My colleagues and myself are fully sensible that we are indebted, for whatever success has attended our efforts, to the efficient and generous aid of our naval commanders; and it would be superfluous for me to point to the extent to which that success is attributable to your exertions. It is my duty, nevertheless, to endeavour to mark my appreciation of those services, and to return you my cordial thanks for your earnest co-operation. And it will, doubtless, have afforded you considerable satisfaction to observe, throughout our stay in this new port, the people of which had previously held no intercourse with the foreigners to whom they were reputed to be opposed, that a very favourable impression has been created in their minds by the unexceptionable conduct of your officers and men.

In conclusion, I beg to inclose copy of a notification, in which I have made known to Her Majesty's subjects in Japan the result of this negotiation.

No. 79.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(*Received January* 29, 1866.)

(Extract.) "*Perseus*," *November* 28, 1865.

IN my despatch of the 17th instant I reported to your Lordship the progress made up to that date in the joint negotiations of the Representatives of the four allied Powers relative to the compensations which our Governments desired to accept from that of the Tycoon in return for two-thirds of the indemnity due under the Convention of the 22nd October, 1864. I then stated, that the result of these negotiations was still uncertain, and dependent upon the success of the efforts of the Tycoon to obtain the sanction of the Mikado to the Treaties.

On the night of the 19th a report reached Hiogo, that affairs had taken an unfavourable turn at Kioto, and that two of the Tycoon's Ministers and principal supporters of his foreign policy, Abé Bungo no Kami and Matsmai Idsu no Kami, had been dismissed by the Mikado. In order to satisfy ourselves of the accuracy of this report, I sent Mr. von Siebold the next morning to Osaca, in company with M. Cachon, deputed by M. Roches for the same purpose. Objections had been raised to our officers penetrating into the city on

the three previous occasions on which they had proceeded towards Osaca; and the fort at the entrance of the river, or a house selected on the outskirts of the town, formed the place of meeting. These objections were most strongly urged in the present instance, on account of the excitement which the Japanese officers declared prevailed throughout the town. These statements received some confirmation from certain occurrences that met Mr. von Siebold's notice. He observed a considerable movement of armed boats on the river, and that the guards detached for the foreign visitors greatly exceeded the number appointed on previous occasions, and were not at their ease or disposed to be communicative. They learned, however, that the report as to the dismissal of the two Ministers was correct; and that the Tycoon had left Osaca for Fu-shi-mi with a considerable body of troops.

The excitement seemed to interfere with the arrival of Yamakuchi Suruga no Kami who had been announced as the officer who would receive the messages with which Messrs. von Siebold and Cachon had been entrusted; and it was not until they had been compelled by a tedious delay of six hours to set out on their return, that a messenger overtook and informed them that Yamakuchi would follow them to Hiogo and wait himself upon the Representatives.

The next morning, the 21st instant, Yamakuchi and two other Japanese officials met myself, M. Polsbroek, and Mr. Portman, on board the flag-ship. He was sent, he said, by the Gorogio to inform the foreign Representatives that Abé Bungo no Kami and Matsmaï Idsu no Kami had left the Tycoon's Ministry by order of the Mikado, and had also been deprived of their rank as Kami.

Under these circumstances, and in view of the dismissal of the Tycoon's Ministers, my colleagues and myself considered it advisable to address direct to the Tycoon a *note identique*, again urging the necessity of attention to our proposals, and of union, based on the observance of Treaties, being preserved between him and the Mikado in respect to foreign relations. These notes, which were despatched on the morning of the 22nd instant, were delivered to the Tycoon at Kioto early on the following day.

This letter also reminded the Tycoon that the 24th instant would form the last of the ten days we had agreed to wait at Hiogo for the reply of his Ministers to our proposals.

On the afternoon of that day, a steamer arrived from Osaca bringing down Matsdaira Hoki no Kami, Yamakuchi Suruga no Kami, with other subordinate officers, and interviews were at once held with the Representatives. Hoki no Kami announced to us that the consent of the Mikado had been given to the Treaties.

I have constantly kept before the Japanese Ministers the fact that under the London Agreement Her Majesty's Government could at any time demand access to Hiogo, and the other places now temporarily closed, on the ground of the non-fulfilment of the conditions upon which the opening had been postponed. I have also been most particular in assuring them that no additional delay in the execution of the Treaty in this respect will be consented to, and, as under any circumstances, therefore, the opening of these places must occur within two years from this date, I urged on their consideration the saving they would effect, of no less than 2,000,000 dollars, if they chose to anticipate the time named in the London Agreement by two years, or even, as I was willing to say, eighteen months.

The indemnity, Hoki no Kami said, they were quite prepared to pay. It would severely tax their resources, but they decidedly preferred to meet this obligation, rather than consent at once to the opening of Hiogo and Osaca. He assured us that the Treasury had already issued the second instalment, which became due according to their calculation in the 9th Japanese month (which expired on the 18th ultimo), and that the Representatives would find this sum waiting delivery at Yeddo. Punctuality in the discharge of the remaining four instalments would not be neglected.

Proceeding to the consideration of the revision of the Tariff, Hoki no Kami expressed the assent of the Tycoon's Government to this proposal, on the general basis of 5 per cent., and informed the Representatives that Midsuno Idsumi no Kami, member of the Gorogio, had been instructed to enter on the negotiation of this question at Yeddo.

In the course of the interview, the Mikado's decree approving the Treaties was produced by Hoki no Kami. The terms in which this should be communicated to the Representatives, and also made public throughout the country, were determined after some discussion, and on the morning of the 25th instant the despatch and decree of the Mikado, of which I have the honour to inclose translations were received by each of the Representatives.

The receipt of this despatch brought the negotiations to a close. The results attained are, the ratification or approval of the Treaties by the Mikado; an agreement to revise the

tariff, and an engagement that the indemnity due under the Convention of October 1864 shall be punctually discharged. The terms in which the Japanese Ministers declare their choice of this latter condition in place of the immediate opening of Hiogo, furnish a fresh guarantee for the eventual fulfilment of the London Agreement, either at the time originally stipulated, or earlier, should circumstances permit.

Your Lordship will be satisfied, I trust, that in respect to the opening of Hiogo and Osaca, I made every effort in my power to induce the Japanese Ministers to agree to an arrangement that would have met the views of Her Majesty's Government. But the choice between the payment of the indemnity and the opening of these places rested with the Tycoon's Government, and they never evinced the least hesitation as to the election they have made.

It is to be hoped, that the ratification of the Treaties by the Mikado will greatly facilitate the adoption of improved opinions as to foreigners and their trade. It completes the validity of our position, and thus deprives the Daimios of the principal pretext they have hitherto had for assailing the Tycoon and the foreigners he has admitted into the country. If they continue their contest with the former it must take other grounds, and the latter will no longer furnish the ostensible cause of contention. As a measure, therefore, which is calculated to remove or abate an hostility which would probably have defeated every effort to extend our trade at new ports, the Mikado's ratification of the Treaties will prove, I trust, a far more valuable concession than immediate admission to a port, the opening of which cannot, under Treaty and express agreement, be deferred for more than two years from this date. It must be borne in mind that the Tycoon in signing the Treaties without the approval of the Mikado took upon himself, as the event has proved, greater responsibilities than he could perform. My predecessors had therefore clearly seen, as is well known to your Lordship, that the union of the Mikado with the Tycoon on the foreign question was essential to the security of the relations based upon those Treaties, and that unless union were at once effected, no extension of present privileges could be obtained through the Tycoon's authority alone, and probably other and more serious embarrassments might ensue.

In reporting that this important advantage has now been secured, I am very sensible, my Lord, that it would be presumptuous in me to lay claim to any other credit than that of not neglecting an opportunity of completing, in co-operation with my colleagues, the work to which they and my predecessors had so long devoted themselves, and which had been signally advanced by the affair of Shimonasaki. That blow, however, proved insufficient in itself alone to gain the end that is now attained. It will be in the memory of your Lordship that after Choshiu's batteries were destroyed, Abé Bungo no Kami was sent by the Tycoon to Kioto, at the instance of the Representatives, to move the Mikado to give his sanction to the Treaties. The opposition, however, was still too strong to allow of these representations being effectual. On this occasion, however, the presence of the Tycoon himself at Kioto, attended by his Ministers and a considerable force, furnished a more favourable opportunity for the consideration of the question. He saw also that the double dangers by which he was threatened—those arising out of his Civil struggle with Choshiu, as well as prospective difficulties with foreign Powers—rendered some decisive effort to strengthen his position indispensable. And the appearance of the allied fleet in the Bay of Osaca gave him an opportunity of taking up the foreign question with a degree of energy which he otherwise would not have ventured to exert.

It remains for me to express the hope that my proceedings may meet with your Lordship's approval.

I have acted throughout in concurrence with colleagues who, with long experience of the subject, held the decided opinion that the confirmation of the Treaties by the Mikado formed by far the most valuable of the conditions we were instructed to accept in exchange for two-thirds of the indemnity. My colleagues were also as clearly persuaded that while the neighbourhood of Hiogo and Osaca continues to be the scene of military movements and political agitation, those places could not be occupied by foreign merchants without considerable risk. If, however, we have not secured the opening of these places, which, apart from the considerations above mentioned, we could not insist upon while the Japanese Government preferred so decidedly the payment of the indemnity, we have, on the other hand, relinquished no portion of that money, although two of the three conditions we were willing to receive in exchange have been secured.

I have felt, my Lord, throughout these proceedings the grave responsibility which attaches to the movement of a fleet, even when undertaken, as in this instance, for the attainment of a purely peaceful object; but I was also sensible that this responsibility should not deter me from the adoption of the measure that appeared to me best calculated to give effect to your Lordship's instructions; and it is easy to perceive that the result

now reported could not have been obtained by representations to Yeddo, through the single member of the Tycoon's Cabinet remaining there.

I cannot omit, in concluding this despatch, to bear testimony to the zealous assistance I have received during this expedition from Mr. Macdonald, First Assistant, and Messrs. Von Siebold and Satow, the Interpreters of this Legation. My communications with Osaca were conducted by them with all the care and judgment that was rendered particularly necessary by the assertions of the authorities that no officer or foreigner could safely appear in that city, and that they would not be responsible for his security. These visits involved long journeys of thirty miles on each occasion, and some personal hazard in crossing the surf of the Osaca bar. Their services were also usefully employed in connection with the business of the fleet; and I have much pleasure in recommending the efficient and cheerful manner in which their various duties were performed to the favourable notice of your Lordship.

Inclosure 1 in No. 79.

Sir H. Parkes to His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan:

Sire, *"Princess Royal," off Hiogo, November* 21, 1865.

THE official declarations made by your Majesty's Ministers to the foreign Representatives have led the latter to conclude that the difficulties which obstruct the faithful fulfilment of the Treaties are occasioned by the opposition of the Mikado and certain of the Daimios.

In the hope, therefore, of removing a source of dispute which is highly prejudicial to our interests and, at the same time, most dangerous to the tranquillity of Japan, I and my colleagues, the Representatives of France, the United States of America, and the Netherlands, have taken advantage of the presence of your Majesty at Osaca to urge the necessity of an immediate settlement of these unfortunate differences. By giving their approval to the engagements contracted by your Majesty with foreign Powers, the Mikado and the Daimios have it in their power to put an end to the difficulties which are at present felt, and to avert those evils by which the future is threatened.

With the view, also, of facilitating the execution of the Convention of the 22nd October, 1864, my colleagues and myself have proposed to your Majesty to abandon two-thirds of the indemnity, due to our Governments under the said Convention, on the following conditions :—

1. The sanction of the Treaties by the Mikado.
2. The opening of Hiogo and Osaca at a date to be agreed upon.
3. The revision of the Tariff.

On the 14th instant your Majesty's Ministers applied to us to give them ten days to reply to these proposals; and, although we had already been detained here for that length of time, we agreed to this additional delay.

Seven of these ten days have since elapsed, and we now learn that the Minister sent by your Majesty to meet us at Hiogo has been dismissed from office.

In view of a proceeding which bears so unfriendly a construction, we consider it incumbent upon us to state that it is on your Majesty that the duty of settling these difficulties devolves. A happy accord between the Mikado, your Majesty, and the Daimios would ensure the maintenance of satisfactory relations between your people and foreigners, without prejudice to the interests or the independence of Japan. But disunion must bring upon your country the most grave disorders, as our Governments are firmly resolved to insist upon the faithful and complete observance by all parties, whether our enemies or our friends, of every condition of the Treaties concluded with your Majesty.

It remains, therefore, with your Majesty to take the proper steps for securing, by peaceful means, the execution of these Treaties.

Under any circumstances, it is necessary that I and my colleagues should receive from your Majesty, within the ten days which we have consented to wait, a categorical reply to the above-mentioned proposals. This reply, whether favourable or not, should be made to us in writing; and if not received by us within the time named, we shall consider that its absence denotes a formal refusal of our conditions on your Majesty's part, and we shall, in that case, be free to act as we may judge convenient.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 79.

The Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Sir H. Parkes.

(Translation.)

WE have lately received from you several despatches to which we should have sent separate answers, but the great pressure of our national affairs has caused a delay, for which we must express our regret. However, we now reply to them all together, and hope that this answer will be to your satisfaction.

With regard to the Treaties, our Tycoon has made such strenuous efforts in his representations to Kioto, that the imperial consent has been given, as you will see from the inclosure.

With regard to the opening of Hiogo, we are unable to discuss that at present. However, though we intend to open it at the expiry of the time fixed by the London Convention, we will open it earlier if the state of affairs should permit of it. But as we cannot decide to do so at present, we will send orders to Yeddo to pay the third instalment of the Shimonasaki indemnity during the 12th Japanese month, as is provided for by Convention. And we will carry out the remainder of the Convention of the 22nd October, 1864, according to its stipulations.

We fully consent that the Tariff shall be amended, and will send immediate orders to Midzuno Idzumi no Kami and Sakai Hida no Kami to conduct as satisfactorily as possible the necessary discussions at Yeddo.

We beg to communicate the above.

A respectful and humble communication.

24th November, 1865.

(Signed) MATSUDAIRA HOKI NO KAMI.
MATSUDAIRA SUWO NO KAMI.
OGASAWARA IKI NO KAMI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 79.

Mikado's Sanction of the Treaties, and Gorogio's Engagement for its Promulgation.

(Translation.)

THE Imperial consent is given to the Treaties, and you will therefore undertake the necessary arrangements in connection therewith.

To Iyemochi (Tycoon's name).

The above Decree having been just issued shall be communicated to all the Daimios and Hatamotos without exception. You will be informed of the terms of the proclamation at Yeddo.

I hereby put this on record.

24th November, 1865.

(Signed) MATSUDAIRA HOKI NO KAMI.

No. 80.

Sir H. Parkes to Earl Russell.—(Received January 29, 1866.)

(Extract.) *Shanghae, December 8, 1865.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, on the conclusion of the negotiations at Osaca, which I have reported in previous despatches, I took a passage in Her Majesty's ship "Perseus," which Admiral King was despatching to this port by way of the Inland Sea for the purpose of visiting Shimonasaki, and possibly Nagasaki, if circumstances would permit.

I was visited by several officers of Choshiu, who are believed to be in his confidence, and while I assured them of the complete neutrality of Her Majesty's Government in their dispute with the Tycoon, I recommended to them, as I had repeatedly done to the Gorogio, a policy of accommodation. To my inquiries for information as to the conditions demanded by the Tycoon, they replied that these consisted simply in a summons

to them to send certain of their leading Karos to Osaca to discuss matters with his Ministers, but that distrusting the treatment to which their envoys might be subjected, compliance had hitherto been declined.

On furnishing Choshiu's officers with copies of the Mikado's Decree approving the Treaties, they expressed themselves satisfied with its authenticity, and admitted that it would be generally respected by the Daimios. They remarked that the Tycoon could only have obtained it with difficulty, but, as the Mikado had by this act taken the responsibility of the Treaties upon himself, the former would be relieved from considerable embarrassment.

Since my arrival here on the 5th instant, I have learned that the intelligence of the Mikado's approval of the Treaties has also been well received by the Agents of the Daimios at Nagasaki, as well as by the officers of the Tycoon, and I am happy, therefore, to think that the hopes entertained as to the good effect that this event may have in reuniting contending parties in this country will not be disappointed.

Owing to the unexpected detention of Her Majesty's ship "Argus," I have to remain here until the morning of the 13th instant, and the same cause will oblige me to return direct to Yokohama.

No. 81.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 5, 1866.

HER Majesty's Government have received with great satisfaction the interesting reports contained in your late despatches of the proceedings of the Representatives of the four Treaty Powers during their late visit to Hiogo; and they fully appreciate the importance of the results, and more especially the manner in which they have been brought about.

Her Majesty's Government would have much regretted the employment of menace, and still more of force, without direct authority from home, to induce the Japanese Government to agree to the representations of the Treaty Powers; and they are the more gratified that, without having recourse to such measures, you should have succeeded in conjunction with your colleagues in securing the important concessions which you have thus obtained.

Of your own share in these transactions I cannot speak too highly. By temper and tact, combined with firmness, you have prevailed over the resistance, in whatever cause it may have originated, which has so long been opposed to the formal confirmation by the Sovereign of Japan of the engagements entered into by the Tycoon, but hitherto ignored by the Mikado and the Daimios; and you have achieved this success, to all appearance, not only without producing any bitterness of feeling on the part of the Japanese Government, but even with their hearty concurrence.

The Queen commands me to convey to you Her Majesty's entire approval of your conduct in this negotiation.

Her Majesty's Government, you will take an opportunity of assuring your colleagues, most fully appreciate their zealous co-operation throughout these transactions. The unanimity which has prevailed between the Representatives of foreign Powers, and their combined action, cannot fail to produce a salutary impression on the Japanese Government and people, and will doubtless contribute to the development and stability of friendly relations with them.

Her Majesty's Government are peculiarly struck with the account which you give of the demeanour of the native population, and they derive the greater satisfaction from it, as affording the most convincing proof of the good behaviour of the officers and crews of the combined squadron when brought, for the first time almost, into close contact with the inhabitants of that hitherto but little known portion of the Japanese Empire.

You will state to Vice-Admiral King that I have had great satisfaction in calling the attention of the Board of Admiralty to your report of the zealous assistance which you received from him during the late negotiations, and of the good conduct of the officers and crews of Her Majesty's ships during the stay of the squadron in the Bay of Osaca.

You will also inform Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Von Siebold, and Mr. Satow, that I highly approve of the manner in which they acquitted themselves of the duties entrusted to them, and of my satisfaction at receiving your testimonial of the zeal and ability of which they have given sufficient proof.

I am, &c.
CLARENDON.

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Correspondence respecting Affairs in Japan: 1868-70.

No. 1.

Sir H. Parkes to Lord Stanley.—(*Received January* 24, 1869.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, December* 2, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to report that His Majesty the Mikado entered Yedo on the morning of the 26th ultimo, the journey from Kioto having been performed in safety, and without the occurrence of any obstacle.

As His Majesty passed into Kanagawa on the 24th ultimo, he was saluted by an English and French guard of honour, who were drawn up near the road which leads into Yokohama, and all the vessels of war in harbour fired a royal salute at the moment when His Majesty came in sight of the anchorage.

I inclose a printed description of His Majesty's procession as it entered Yedo, and beg to reserve for another despatch some further observations bearing upon this important event.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Extract from the Japan "Times" of November 28, 1868.

THE MIKADO'S ENTRY INTO YEDO.—The decisive move of the Mikado's transfer from his seclusion at Kioto to the light and life of Yedo, a move so bold and strange that in its possibility even the best informed foreign observers of the revolution long refused, in spite of clear evidence and strong assertion, to believe—this move has been made at last. On the 4th instant His Imperial Majesty left Kioto, and on the 26th he entered the 'Capital of the Tycoons' in all the pomp of simplicity. It is only by this paradoxical phrase that we can express to European readers the singular feeling inspired in the mind of a spectator of the procession at Yeddo on Thursday last. For those who witnessed the passage of the Mikado through Kanagawa, earlier in the week, this sentiment can hardly have had existence, or must have been immediately crushed by incongruous surrounding circumstances, by the presence of European trooos and music, by the ill-regulated and supercilious crowd of foreigners, and the insignificance, numerical and material, of the native spectators. In the capital, there were but half-a-dozen Europeans to witness the entry of His Majesty, a mere speck amongst countless thousands of Japanese; all classes of them, high and low, were present, most of them in holiday apparel, the number of officials and troops in the train was vastly greater, and there was nothing to mar the dignity of the spectacle by contrast of thought or matter. It was essentially a Japanese ceremony, and viewing it, as it was difficult to avoid doing, from a Japanese mental stand-point, it was imposing in the extreme. There was about it that subtle atmosphere which seems to surround a great iron-clad ship-of-war, the appearance of irresistible power in repose; with the difference, that the young Mikado, closely shrouded from the vulgar gaze in the norimon which contained him, was the incarnation, not so much of the force of matter, as of the benigner power of law, of religion, of custom and of a prestige dating from antiquity so remote that its origin was lost in the shadow of the past, centuries before European polities emerged from it. The revolution which has so suddenly broken up, destroyed, almost obliterated the dynasty, the power, the very name of the Shogoons, may probably bring consequences in its train of which its promoters have little dreamed; but it is certain that the blind obedience to the word of their superiors, which is law to them, which is the real foundation of the power of the Japanese hierarchy and nobility, is still paid by the commons; that

their reverence for their temporal and spiritual chiefs is not yet shaken in the least; that the people is still ignorant of the power which is in it, and that the feudal system has still a long tenure of life and luxury in Japan.

We need say nothing of the long journey of three weeks along the tokaido from Kioto to Sinagawa, that noted suburb of Yedo so long a bugbear to foreigners, occasionally a real source of evil for us. That the road was mended carefully, that the bridges were repaired, that cross streets were barricaded, *débris* of buildings, heaps of building materials and other more unsightly and offensive matter, sedulously shrouded from the unseen eye of the Mikado; that the upper stories of houses were carefully closed and their windows sealed, that no man should look down on him,—these circumstances surround the march of less important personages in Japan than the Mikado, and have been often described. Nor, in the procession itself, was there much to strike the eye that can see nothing but the surface of things. The march of the Shogoon from Kioto to Yedo in 1865 was more remarkable for the number of his troops, the splendour of the chiefs, their rich armour and strangely blazoned brocades; the Mikado's train was not in "war-paint," and his power was the more apparent, because it was less displayed.

The Kugés, officers of his Court, were peculiar and noteworthy features of the procession, and were easily distinguishable by the addition to the shoe-shaped head-dress of a Japanese noble, with which the European public is now familar, of a slip of stiff black crapè, semi-transparent, and enriched by a pattern woven in the stuff, about four inches broad and three feet long, stiffened by a wire on each side. This fastened to the back of the head and falling over down the back, like a heron's plume, distinctly marks them out from the Daimios, whose rich state dresses of brocade of various colours are in many other respects similar to theirs. Of these Kugés, there were twenty-one in the train. The Daimios were four or five in number only. Katò Tôtômi no Kami, the Daimio of Ozu in Iyo, led the vanguard. He is one of the Tozama class, an hereditary foe of the old Shogoonate, though of no great power, his revenue being only 60,000 kokus. Katô Noto no Kami, no relation of the preceding, a Daimio of 25,000 kokus, was in command of the main guard. But the principal men in the train, and the best known to us, were the Princes of Bizen and Uwajima: the latter Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the former a chief with a large force at his disposal, several corps of which were in the train. The name of this Daimio will be familiar to our readers in connection with unfortunate occurrences in the beginning of this year at Kobe and Osaka, which we hope will be soon buried in oblivion. His troops were in excellent order, cleanly, fairly drilled, and well armed, mostly with breech-loaders. The immediate body guard of the Mikado, the household troops who preceded aud followed his norimon, had repeating rifles. Seen in juxta-position to our own troops, Japanese soldiers look insignificant, weak, mean and paltry. It is probable that they are conscious of their inferiority, and it is certain that the British grenadier regards them with ineffable contempt; and that these two feelings should both be perpetuated is the best thing for all of us. For if our people are thoroughly confident of their ability to beat Japanese troops at any odds, and the Japanese preserve a wholesome awe of our soldiers, the chance of our ever coming into collision is reduced to a very small one. And it is certainly better, from an æsthetic point of view, that they should be contrasted in public as little as possible. The Japanese soldier, though small, looked imposing in his own native dress, and larger and stronger than he really was. Now, in a dingy, shoddy, black coat, not made, nor apparently meant, to fit him, with the cartouche-box under the garment, instead of neatly belted round outside, and thus giving him the appearance of being humpbacked, and with the protuberant knee and drag of the foot which the wearing of a sandal from childhood necessarily induces, the undersized Japanese looks even smaller, feebler, and less to be dreaded than he is, and our drummer boys look formidable by his side. On Thursday last, however, the Japanese troops had no such overwhelming contrast to struggle against, as on the Tuesday, when they defiled before a guard of honour from a British regiment. They were in large numbers, they were on their own ground, among their own people, they had only marched three or four miles, instead of fourteen or fifteen, and they looked different men. Through the small hours of the Wednesday night, long before dawn, troops were pouring out of Yedo to join and augment the Mikado's escort at Sinagawa, and at daybreak the march of the procession began. The bulk of the soldiery had passed the Japanese Foreign Office, in Takanawa, a district just within sight of Sinagawa, and where a space was set apart for the few foreigners who witnessed the ceremony, by 9 o'clock, and then, after an interval of some half-hour, the head of the train immediately guarding His Majesty and his Court appeared in sight. Without the aid of the pencil, the ever-varying costumes of the Kugés and their attendants, and of other officers of the Imperial household and Court, can hardly be pourtrayed. Many of the Kugés are remarkably handsome men, with faces possessing much character; but in one particular differing remarkably from the Daimios

and military chiefs, many of whom, too, had striking features—they had, one and all, the sickly pallor of complexion which is the result of sedentary and luxurious life and abstinence from movement in the open air. After about half of these had passed, with their attendants, led horses, guards and baggage, with occasional bodies of troops, came the Prince of Bizen, in charge of two square boxes, borne high upon men's shoulders, and covered with a red and yellow damask silk. These were believed to contain the insignia or regalia, and small shrines for their safe custody had been erected at all the halting-places along the road. After these rode Uwajima, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and then we saw approaching the Hô-ô-ren, or Phœnix Car.

This is a black lacquered palanquin, about 6 feet square, and with a dome-shaped roof; the front is closed only by curtains, and in the centre of each side is a latticed window, through which it was possible to see that it held no one. The Mikado is suppose to travel in it, but has really a more comfortable palanquin. On the summit is a splendid image, apparently of gold, of the Hô-ô, or Phœnix, a fabulous bird, with the head and body of a peacock and the spreading, plume-like tail of the magnificent copper pheasant of Japan, turned up over its head. From the four corners depend red silk ropes two inches thick, held each by three men. These and the bearers of the car, which is carried high upon their shoulders, and on a frame which raises its base some six feet from the ground, were on Thursday all dressed in bright yellow silk, and wore a curious circular ornament of feathers at each ear, eight inches in diameter, like two out-spread fan-frames placed together. There were fully sixty of them immediately surrounding the Hô-ô-ren, and the effect of the group with the brilliant sun lighting up the sheen of the silk and the glitter of the lacquer, was very gorgeous and indescribably strange, comparable to nothing ever seen in any other part of the world. And now a great silence fell upon the people. Far as the eye could see on either side, the roadsides were densely packed with the crouching populace, in their ordinary position when any official of rank passes by. And as the train has moved between them, Kugés and Daimios, troops and warriors and statesmen, they had looked on in comparative quiet, a murmur of conversation in an undertone, and constant slight restlessness of movement, betokening the general interest. But as the Phœnix Car, with its strange crest shimmering in the sunlight, and with its halo of glittering attendants, came on, circling it like the sun-rays, the people, without order or signal, turned their faces to the earth, the Foreign Office officials, who had hitherto stood upright beside us few Europeans, sank into the same position, and no man moved or spake for a space, and all seemed to hold their breath for very awe, as the mysterious Presence, on whom few are privileged to look and live, was passing slowly by. The hush was as that which preceded the 'still, small voice' which the Prophet heard on Horeb; and though we might not do reverence to the Emperor like his subjects, we could not but respect the reverence of his people, nor with all our better knowledge and our higher civilization, could we refuse to own that a Power was in our midst before which bowed millions of our fellow-men.

The Mikado, was not, as we have said, in the Phœnix Car. His norimon, a plain one, made of new wood, and with a black roof studded with his crest, the chrysanthemum, in gold, was borne by a number of men, dressed like those who bore the Hô-ô-ren, and surrounded by eight or ten men in dark crape robes, with the Kugé's head-dress, but on foot. After his norimon came his household and baggage, and the rear-guard, commanded by the Prince of Inaba, closed the procession. The Mikado proceeded to Shiba, one of the Cemetery temples of the Shogoons, to rest, and thence to the Castle. We are told that his residence during his stay in Yedo will be at the former place, but the palace for his reception is not yet completed.

No. 2.

Sir H. Parkes to Lord Stanley.—(*Received March* 9.)

(Extract.) *Yokohama, January* 16, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose translation of a Circular letter, in which the journey of the Mikado to Kioto, and the reasons for which it is undertaken, are communicated to all the foreign Representatives, and also translation of a Decree in which the departure of the Emperor from Yedo, and his intended return, are announced to the Japanese people.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

Higashi Kuzé Chiujo to Sir H. Parkes.

(Translation.)

Sir, *January* 12, 1869.

HIS Majesty the Mikado having visited his eastern capital, in consequence of the war which has been raging in the north and east, with the object of superintending in person the concerns of Government, and of attending to the interests of his people, peace and tranquillity have now been generally restored on the mainland. The 6th February next is the date of the obsequies to be performed for the late Mikado. It has also been determined that His Majesty shall be married before the end of the Japanese year (10th February, 1869) to the daughter of Ichijô Sadaijin. In order, therefore, that these ceremonies may be performed, His Majesty will start for Kioto some time before the 22nd January, and will revisit the eastern capital in the spring.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HIGASHI KUZE CHIUJO.

Inclosure 2 in No. 2.

Notification of the Mikado's approaching Return to Kioto.

(Translation.)

HIS Majesty has visited the eastern capital, and personally superintended the affairs of Government. Although his bounty is not yet fully extended to the whole people, but as the country is now in the main restored to peace and tranquillity, His Majesty desires to make known his success to his ancestral temple. He will, therefore, return to Kioto during the first decade of next month. His Majesty intends to come hither again next spring, and all officers of Government will bear this in mind.

By order,

(Signed) THE EXECUTIVE.

January 10, 1869 (*25th day of 11th month*).

No. 3.

Sir H. Parkes to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 22.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, January* 26, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 16th instant, reporting the intention of the Mikado to return to Kioto, I have now to add that in fulfilment of this arrangement His Majesty left Yedo on the 20th instant.

The ceremonies attending the departure of His Majesty were much simpler than those which inaugurated his entry into Yedo. All the Japanese vessels in the bay of Yeddo saluted His Majesty as he commenced his journey, and several corps of infantry accompanied him to the outskirts of the city; but after these marks of respect had been paid, it was observed that His Majesty pursued his journey with an escort of not more than 400 or 500 men, and that an ordinary obeisance was all that the people were required to observe as he passed.

I must confess, my Lord, to a feeling of some admiration on observing the sensible and unostentatious way in which this Sovereign—accustomed to think of himself and a long line of ancestors as demi-gods—addresses himself, upon the advice of his councillors, to the practical duties of his new station. No attempt at compromise between his former pseudo sacred and his present secular position appears to be attempted. The object aimed at seems to be that he shall be known as a Sovereign possessing no exceptional or unnatural attributes, but charged with the welfare of some millions of his fellow-beings, whose interests he is to watch over by the aid of national advisers.

A few days before His Majesty left Yedo I witnessed his embarkation in a small steam-yacht of very moderate dimensions, in order to inspect the few Japanese ships then lying in the bay. One of the ships he visited got up steam and conveyed His Majesty a short distance round the bay. I believe this to have been the first time that he had been afloat, and the step involved a marked innovation on previous practice, and even some disregard of native superstition. It seems to be the wish of the Government to prepare the minds of the people for the contingency of their Sovereign going afloat; and on the occasion of his

recent departure from Yedo an order was issued to the different Daimios, of which I inclose a translation, in which it is stated or implied that he would have proceeded by sea in order to accomplish the journey within a certain time, if his yacht had been ready to convey him.

The progress of the Mikado from Kioto to Yedo evidently occasioned anxiety to those who were responsible for his safety, and the people looked on with doubt as to the result. The experience thus gained seems to have effectually allayed both alarm and surprise, as the return journey appears to have been undertaken without effort, and without awakening public excitement. His Majesty will, doubtless, be free in future to travel either by sea or land to any point of his dominions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 3.

Order issued by His Majesty the Mikado.

(Translation.)

HIS Majesty desires to inform his ancestral tombs of the success gained in the general pacification of the east and north. He returns to the Kioto without his yacht having been got ready, but as the ceremonies connected with the late Emperor's death take place on the 6th of February next, there is no longer sufficient time for him to reach Kioto; he will therefore dispatch an Imperial Envoy to convey his communication, and will pay a special visit to the temple in person after the new year.

By order,
(Signed) KO SEI KWAN.

12*th month* (*January* 1869).

No. 4.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 1.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, March* 9, 1869.

I MENTIONED in my despatch of the 24th ultimo that all the Daimios had been summoned to meet the Mikado on the return of His Majesty to Yedo in April next; and I now inclose copy of the decree calling the assembly, which has been obtained and translated by Mr. Mitford. The object of the assembly as stated in the decree is "to take council in His Majesty's presence upon the means of establishing the foundations of the State," and the summons embraces the Daimios and officers of all classes. To judge from the preparations already being made at Yeddo, it seems probable that the order will be generally obeyed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 4.

Imperial Edict summoning Daimios to Yedo by the 10*th day of* 3*rd month.*

(Translation.)

AS in the early spring His Majesty will again visit the eastern part of his dominions, the Daimios, great and small, together with the other nobles and officers of high degree, are summoned to take council in His Majesty's presence upon the means of establishing the foundations of the State. The Daimios, nobles, and officers of high degree will, in order to carry out His Majesty's intentions, all assemble at Yedo by the 10th day of the third month (21st of April). As some of the provinces are more distant than others, it is the Imperial will that this be borne in mind.

Although the Emperor is aware that, on account of the war which broke out in the spring of last year, great and small have been impoverished and put to great trouble, still the above debates being connected with subjects of vital importance to the country, all to

whom this is addressed will comply with the Imperial will, avoiding all useless or wasteful expenditure and pomp. This is the Emperor's command.

Issued by the Government Office ("Giyo Sei Kwan").

No date. (January 1869.)

No. 5.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received June* 4.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, April* 13, 1869.

ALTHOUGH it is not easy to follow the proceedings of the leading politicians of Japan in regard to their own internal affairs, it has been obvious for some time past that they have been earnestly engaged in considering among themselves the measures which shall be adopted in order to give power and consistency to the new form of Government. It appears that their deliberations are now producing important results. They have doubtless seen that an effective general Government could not exist side by side with the numerous petty Governments and almost independent powers of the different Daimios. They have, therefore, induced some of the leading men of the latter class to set the example of offering to give up their fiefs, with their jurisdiction and revenues, in order that these may be used to form a general Government administered by the Sovereign with the aid of Ministers and a National Council. The initiative in this remarkable movement appears to have been taken by the clans of Satsuma, Choshiu, Fosa, and Hizen, and their reasons for the step are fully stated in the joint memorial, of which I inclose a translation, prepared by Mr. Mitford. Similar representations are being rapidly sent in by other Daimios, and published by the Government as they are received. I add translations of those of Akidzuki Ukio no Suké, Toda Unémè no Sho, and Matsudaira Shosho—three Daimios whose names are almost unknown to foreigners, but who may be regarded in some sense as representative men. The first has been appointed President of the new Parliament, the second belongs to the order of nobles created by the last Dynasty of the Tycoonate, and the third, who is better known as the Prince of Dewa, is one of the most influential of the Northern Daimios who were the last to give in their adhesion to the recent changes in the Government.

On speaking on this subject a few days ago with the Principal Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Prince of Uwajima, he assured me that the Government felt confident that this movement would be attended with success. He added that upwards of twenty of the principal Daimios had declared themselves in favour of it, and that Kaga, who is well know in Japan as the possessor of the largest revenues, and also as the most conservative of his class, was included in the number. The consideration and disposal of so important a question is naturally reserved for the Parliament, which is to assemble in Yeddo in the middle of May.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 5.

Memorial of the Daimios of the West.

(Translation.)

IN the humble opinion of certain ministers (*i. e.*, in our opinion) the Great Body (the Imperial Government) must not lose a single day, the Great Strength must not delegate its power for a single day. Since the Heavenly Ancestors established the foundations of the country, the Imperial line has not failed for ten thousand ages. Heaven and Earth (*i.e.*, Japan) are the Emperor's: there is no man who is not his retainer: this constitutes the Great Body. By the conferring of rank and property the Emperor governs his people: it is his to give and his to take away: of our own selves we cannot hold a foot of land: of our own selves we cannot take a single man: this constitutes the Great Strength. In ancient times the Emperor governed the Sea-girt Land, and trusting to the Great Body and the Great Strength, the Imperial wisdom of itself ruled over all: truth and propriety being upheld, there was prosperity under heaven. In the middle ages the ropes of the net were relaxed, so that men toying with the Great Strength and striving for the Power, crowded upon the Emperor: and half the world tried to appropriate the people and to steal the land. Beating, and gnawing, and theft, and rapine, were the order of the day. When

the Great Body that should have been preserved, and the Great Strength that should have been maintained were gone, there were no means left for repressing these evils. Traitors encouraged one another until the strong preyed upon and devoured the weak. The chief traitors annexed province upon province (literally, tens of provinces), while the lesser maintained several thousand retainers. Upon this arose the Bakufu (Government of the Shôguns), which also divided territories and men, as seemed good to it, among private individuals, thus planting and defending its own power. Thus it was that the Emperor wore an empty and a vain rank, and, the order of things being reversed, looked up to the Bakufu as the dispenser of joy or sorrow. For more than 600 years the waters turned from their course have flooded the land and reached to heaven. During this time the Bakufu borrowed the name and authority of the Emperor to conceal the traces of thefts of lands and men, being forced to use the Imperial name as a blind, because the relations and duties of the vassal to his lord cannot be laid aside after ten thousand years. Now the great Government has been newly restored, and the Emperor himself undertakes the direction of affairs. This is indeed a rare and mighty event. We have the name (of an Imperial Government) we must also have the fact. Our first duty is to illustrate our faithfulness and to prove our loyalty. When the line of Tokugawa arose it divided the country amongst its kinsfolk, and there were many who founded the fortunes of their families upon it. They waited not to ask whether the lands and men that they received were the gift of the Emperor; for ages they continued to inherit these lands until this day. Others said that their possessions were the prize of their spears and bows, as if they had entered storehouses and stolen the treasure therein, boasting to the soldiers by whom they were surrounded that they had done this regardless of their lives. Those who enter storehouses are known by all men to be thieves, but those who rob lands and steal men are not looked upon with suspicion. How are loyalty and faith confused and destroyed!

Now that men are seeking for an entirely new Government, the Great Body and the Great Strength must neither be lent nor borrowed.

The place where we live is the Emperor's land, and the food which we eat is grown by the Emperor's men. How can we make it our own? We now reverently offer up the list of our professions and men, with the prayer that the Emperor will take good measures for rewarding those to whom reward is due, and for taking from those to whom punishment is due. Let the Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodelling the territories of the various clans. Let the civil and penal codes, the military laws down to the rules for uniform, and the construction of engines of war, all proceed from the Emperor; let all the affairs of the empire great and small be referred to him. After this, when the internal relations of the country shall be upon a true footing, the empire will be able to take its place side by side with the other countries of the world. This is now the most urgent duty of the Emperor, as it is that of his servants and children. Hence it is that we, in spite of our own folly and vileness, daring to offer up our humble expression of loyalty, upon which we pray that the brilliancy of the heavenly sun may shine, with fear and reverence bow the head and do homage, ready to lay down our lives in proof of our faith.

[*Note.*—This document, the composition of which is attributed to Kido Jiumchirô, formerly of the Choshiu clan, is said to have been signed by Kaga, Hizen, Satsuma, Choshiu, Tosa, and the other Daimios of the West. The copy from which the translation is made bears no signature.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 5.

Memorial of Prince Akidzuki.

(Translation.)

AFTER the Government had been returned by the Tokugawa family into the hands of the Mikado, the calamity of war ensued and the excellence of the newly established administration has not yet been able to perfect itself; if this continues I am grieved to think how the people will give in their allegiance. Happily the eastern and northern provinces have already been pacified and the country at large has at last recovered from its troubles. The Government of the Emperor is taking new steps every day; this is truly a noble thing for the country. And yet when I reflect, I see that although there are many who profess loyalty none have yet shown proof of it. The various princes have used their lands and their people for their own purposes; different laws have obtained in different places; the civil and criminal codes have been various in the various provinces. The clans have been called the screen of the country, but in truth they have caused its

division. The internal relations having been confused the strength of the country has been disunited and severed. How can our small country of Japan enter into fellowship with the countries beyond the sea? How can she hold up an example of a flourishing country? Let those who wish to show their faith and loyalty act in the following manner, that they may firmly establish the foundations of the Imperial Government.

1. Let them restore the territories which they have received from the Emperor, and return to a constitutional and undivided country.

2. Let them abandon their titles, and under the name of Kazoku (persons of honour), receive such small properties as may suffice for their wants.

3. Let the officers of the clans, abandoning that title, call themselves officers of the Emperor, receiving property equal to that which they have hitherto held.

Let these three important measures be adopted forthwith, that the empire may be raised on a basis unperishable for all ages.

I have heard that Satsuma, Choshiu, Toza, Owari, Hizen and others have already adopted this decision. What greater felicity could there be for the country?

Now I who am but a humble minister, not deterred by my own folly and weakness, out of excess of grief for my country, affixing my seal and bowing my head reverently, implore the consideration of the Emperor. Should any of my brethren (the other Daimios) be of one mind with me, I urgently beg them to affix their honoured names and seals to this document.

2nd year of Meiji (1869).

(Signed) AKIDZUKI UKIO NO SUKE.

[*Note.*—Prince Akidzuki is the President or Speaker of the Japanese Parliament which is shortly to assemble.]

Inclosure 3 in No. 5.

Statement of Toda Unémé no Shó.

(Translation.)

I HAVE the honour humbly to make a statement. The Imperial Government having been re-established, and the Emperor having taken upon himself the task of ruling, the owls have changed their cry (*i.e.*, wicked men have repented), the grass and the trees have bent to the wind. This has been one day in 10,000 years which it has been our privilege to witness. The land encompassed by the seas has admired and wondered. The territory which my poor clan has hitherto received from the Emperor, I should deeply fear to retain for my own uses, therefore, it is my desire to offer up my lands and my people. I humbly implore the Imperial decision.

1*st month.*

(Signed) TODA UNEME NO SHO.

Inclosure 4 in No. 5.

Memorial addressed by Matsudaira Shosho to the Emperor.

(Translation.)

ONCE more the supreme rule has been assumed by your Majesty, and the Four Seas are again united in one great empire. Imperial governors have been appointed over towns and districts. The feudal nobles are following the Imperial example in the treatment of their subjects, in order that all the people may acknowledge with gratitude the benefits arising from the restoration of the Imperial Government.

I have studied the events of the history of our country, and have observed that some five hundred years ago, when the Daimios assumed the government of their territory, they made the land their own, and called its inhabitants their subjects; they forgot that all were the people of the Emperor. Those people, themselves, only knew of one master, their Daimio; they forgot the existence of the Emperor, who rules over all. The evils resulting therefrom are innumerable.

Although your Majesty has repeatedly announced that the separate divisions, whether municipal, feudal, or provincial, should be done away with, and the whole consolidated into one great body of the State, still such extensive measures cannot be realized without great exertion.

Let, therefore, the deeds granting us our fiefs be returned to your Majesty. Let the

people pertaining to our lands be restored to the direct rule of your Majesty, and let the old constitution be revived, according to which the empire was divided into Imperial provinces, and districts governed by the representatives of the sovereign. The whole country, from one extremity to the other, will be filled with feelings of veneration and gratitude for the rule of your Majesty. I humbly suggest that it is only in this way that your Majesty's desire to let the Four Seas become one great house,—one great family for all your servants,—can be attained.

I have long reflected on the best way of carrying out this project; but being yet in doubt, have hitherto hesitated to give expression to my feelings. I have now heard that four Daimios have addressed a memorial to your Majesty, that the direction of the government, as well as the sovereignty, should be all restored to your Majesty, as without this power the ancient laws could not be carried out. They are also reported to have returned the deeds of their territories to your Majesty. The power of granting or of sequestrating lands should be the prerogative of your Majesty. Their memorial is founded on reason, and agrees entirely with my own views. I therefore humbly beg to return the deeds of my lands to your Majesty.

While sensible that the measures should be carried out without delay, I still consider that the principles upon which lands should be assigned, or taken back by the State, should be well considered, otherwise greater evils than those existing would arise. I hope this subject will be allowed to be decided by public discussion in the House of Representatives.

At some future time I shall take the liberty of again addressing your Majesty.

(Signed) YOSHI AKIRA, *Prince of Dewa.*

February 1869.

No. 6.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received June* 4.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, April* 13, 1869.

I HAVE mentioned in my previous despatch of this date that a National Council, to which the Japanese have given the name of "Gi-ji-in," or Parliament, is considered indispensable to the new system of government. The establishment of such an institution formed one of the first objects of the promoters of the recent revolution, and was provided for in the following passage in the oath which was taken by the Mikado when he was called upon to resume the powers of government:—"The practice of discussion and debate shall be universally adopted, and all measures shall be decided by public argument."

The formation of such a Council presents at the outset considerable difficulties. The Daimios, who, in most cases, have had but slight experience of the earnest business of life, were not eager to devote themselves to the labours of an onerous and voluntary office, and it become necessary, therefore, to select the first representatives from the leading retainers, who are really the administrators of the affairs of the clans. At first it was proposed that each clan should send one, two, or three members in proportion to the revenues, at which it is specially assessed; but a resolution has now been passed, which provides that each clan shall be represented by a single member, and it is expected that a chamber of upwards of 200 deputies will be formed by this arrangement.

These deputies have been ordered to assemble in Yedo in the course of May, and the Daimios of each clan are also instructed to attend. It remains to be seen in what degree the action of the representatives will be separated from that of their chiefs; or whether the latter will agree to form themselves into another and a higher chamber, and thus take that part in the legislation of the nation to which, if willing to exercise it, they are naturally entitled by their superior rank.

Mr. Mitford has furnished me with two translations which show that considerable attention has already been given to the details of the subject. One of these papers defines the rules of debate; the other provides for the division of the House into committees, and names the special subjects that have to be deliberated on. It is only fair to add that these documents should be regarded as first drafts, which have probably been circulated in order to awaken discussion and to elicit comment; and it may be supposed that experience of the subject will suggest various modifications.

A building has been fitted up for the use of the deputies, who will all assemble for purposes of debate in one chamber.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 6.

Scheme for the Rules and Regulations of the Japanese Parliament.

(Translation.

THE settlement of the laws of the assembly is the most important duty. Any point not included in those laws must be left to the decision of the President; the assembly cannot charge itself with (providing against) unforeseen and extraordinary cases.

The periods for which members of Parliament will serve is limited to four years. Half the members will be re-elected every two years. Retiring members may be immediately re-elected. New members will enjoy the same privileges as, and rank with, old members. When the time arrives for the first re-election, half the members will retire by lot.

Members of Parliament must have completed their twenty-fifth year.

Members of Parliament may not hold any other office.

Should any member be appointed to another office or retire, a substitute will immediately be elected.

Any member having a motion to propose will hand in the same in writing to the President.

Should any person, not being a member of Parliament, wish to introduce any motion in the House, he may entrust it in writing to the President or to any member.

Statements of motions must be brief and plain. They must have foundation and substance.

The President will receive the various motions and number them; and having copied them in form, will cause them to be printed. The order in which motions will come before the House will be according to the pleasure of the President, and will in no way depend upon the number which they bear.

Six days in every month, the 2nd, 7th, 12th, 17th, 22nd, and 27th, are fixed days of assembly.

On the fixed days of assembly, members will take their places at ten in the morning.

The places in the House will be numbered beforehand, and at the opening of the House members will draw lots for their places, in which they will take their seats accordingly. These numbers will be changed every month.

Every month six officers named Kanji* will be elected from the members of Parliament.

At every meeting of the assembly a printed motion will be handed to each member.

Members having received the printed motion will carry it home, and, after mature reflection, will criticise it, and, at the next meeting, will carry the motion with them, and publicly read out their criticisms. Should any questions be asked of them, as to the reasons of their opinions, they will be prepared to reply.

The order in which members will read out their opinions, or address questions, will be according to the fixed number of their places.

On the second occasion, when a subject comes up for debate, members are not restricted to speaking once. On other occasions they may only speak once.

When a subject has been debated by the members in conclave. any member returning home and again pondering over the subject, and having arrived at a conclusion as to its merits, may take his opinion in writing and hand it to the President at the third sitting.

Papers thus handed to the President will, when the original motion is approved, bear the character *ka*, "aye," in red ink, in the right hand corner. When the motion is disapproved, they will bear the character *hi* "no," in red ink on the left hand corner.

The President having collected the whole opinions of the members, and having duly arranged them, will, should three-fifths or more of the members be in favour of the motion, declare it to be carried, and will request the Emperor's judgment.

Should three-fifths of the members be against the motion, the President will declare it lost, and it will be abandoned accordingly. Where three votes are wanting to make up the three-fifths, the President has the power of deciding the question by his vote.

Should the ayes and the noes together not amount to three-fifths of the members of the house, the debate will be postponed, and resumed at the expiration of one year.

Should three-fifths of the whole house decide that the motion should be heard again in the same year, the motion must be heard again forthwith.

At each assembly there will be three matters to be dealt with: first, the scrutiny of the ayes and noes of the motion, of which notice has been received at the previous

* The functions of these officers are not defined. They appear, however, to be destined as a medium of communication between members of the House and the President, and to assist the latter in conferring with the officers of the Government.

meeting; secondly, the debate upon the motion, of which the ayes and noes have been scrutinized at the previous meeting; thirdly, the receipt of a new motion. These constitute the orders of the day. The President will, however, be competent to introduce variations in the orders of the day.

Should any question before the Parliament have to be referred to the officers of the Government, the debate will be postponed until the next meeting, when the officers of the Government will be invited to attend.

When the officers of the Government attend at the House, the Kanji, or officers of the House, will confer with them. At such conferences the President will attend, and, taking into careful consideration the arguments of both parties, will see that no inconvenience occurs.

The various motions, the results of the scrutinies, and the approval or disapproval of the Emperor, will all be printed.

If, in the course of the debate, the President should strike the board by his side, the House will be silent.

Should any member be prevented from attending, he may delegate a proxy.

A proxy may give his vote for the member who has delegated him.

No member may hold more than one proxy.

No scrutiny of ayes and noes can take place when less than two-fifths of the whole House are present.

Should any mistake occur in the course of debate, the President will correct it. Should he fail to do so he may be called upon to exercise his authority by any member.

Newspapers and street reports are not to be quoted to substantiate statements.

Printed for private circulation.

Office for the enquiry into Parliamentary affairs.

Dragon year, 12th month.

[*Note.*—This scheme has been printed and circulated among the members of the House, as a means of eliciting opinion.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 6.

Memorandum as to the Division of the Japanese Parliament into Committees.

(Translation.)

ALTHOUGH it is assuredly the office of all the members of the Parliament to discuss the laws which are to be promulgated to the people, still as there are a multitude of questions to be considered, which it would be a pity not to treat minutely, as a temporary measure, the framing of the laws will be entrusted to the various members divided into committees, according to the annexed scheme, each member taking up the subject which he feels himself specially qualified to deal with. Every member will choose one of these subjects, to the thorough discussion of which he will diligently apply himself. But although the subjects are thus fixed, there will be no impediment offered to the members of any committee who may have an opinion to offer upon matters outside the province of that committee. Should there be any member who does not feel specially qualified to discuss any one of the subjects, he will not be compelled against his will to enter any of the committees.

As the subjects to be discussed are all of vital importance, it is requisite that the debates should be exhaustive; and with this view, it is desirable that the members of Parliament should be distributed among the several committees as equally as possible.

(Signed) THE PRESIDENT OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Subjects to be treated by the several Committees.

Agriculture.	Public Instruction.
Taxes and Duties.	Publication of Books (Supervision of the Press).
Roads and Communications.	Criminal Laws.
Finance.	Laws to be observed in war.
Foreign Relations.	Military Tributes (Levies of Soldiers, Money, &c.)
Foreign Trade.	Navy.
Mines.	Army.
Weights and Measures.	Works and Repairs.
Internal Commerce.	
Redeeming waste Land.	

No. 7.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received July* 1.)

My Lord, *Yedo, April* 29, 1869.

I REPORTED in my despatch of the 13th instant* that a National Assembly of Representatives had been constituted, and that they would shortly meet at Yeddo, for legislative and deliberative purposes. The arrangements appear to have been more promptly executed than was anticipated, for the House was opened on the 18th instant, and a message from the Throne, of which Mr. Mitford has furnished the inclosed translation, was then delivered.

I have not yet received particulars of the manner in which this inaugural ceremony was conducted, nor as to the number of the members who are in attendance, but it appears to be generally known in Yedo that they have entered on their new labours.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 7.

Memorandum by Mr. Mitford on the Opening of the Japanese House of Representatives.

THE Japanese House of Representatives was opened on the 7th of the 3rd month, April 18, 1869

The Imperial message to the House was as follows :—

"Being on the point of visiting our eastern capital, we have convened the nobles of our Court, and the various princes, in order to consult them upon the means of establishing the foundations of peaceful government. The laws and institutions are the basis of government. The petitions of the people at large cannot be lightly decided. It has been reported to us that brief rules and regulations have been fixed upon for the Parliament, and it seems good to us that the House should be opened at once. We exhort you to respect the laws of the House, to lay aside all private and selfish considerations, to conduct your debates with minuteness and firmness; above all things, to take the laws of our ancestors as a basis. Adapt yourselves to the feelings of men, and to the spirit of the times. Distinguish clearly between those matters which are of immediate importance and those which may be delayed; between things which are less urgent and those which are pressing. In your several capacities argue with careful attention. When the results of your debates are communicated to Us, it shall be Our duty to confirm them."

The first subject of debate was upon the following question. Every large princely family has attached to it cadet and dependent families :—In the event of the heads of such cadet or dependent houses being attainted of treason or crime, it was proposed that their properties should return to the elder branch, and the guilty person alone be rendered responsible. If the property of an attainted cadet branch be held of the Crown, and not of the elder branch, then the property should revert to the Crown.

On the 22nd of the month (May 3) will be taken the votes of the House, upon the subject of the Daimios' restoration of their principalities to the Emperor.

Yeddo, April 27, 1869.

(Signed) A. B. MITFORD.

No. 8.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received July* 1.)

My Lord, *Yedo, April* 29, 1869.

A MEMORIAL from the Prince of Kishiu has been published, showing that he has joined in the remarkable movement which I reported in my despatch of the 13th instant,† as having been undertaken by a party of the leading Daimios, with the view of forming a strong central power, by surrendering to the Sovereign their separate estates and jurisdictions.

The adhesion of Kishiu to this movement, conveys with it some importance, when it is rememembered that the Kishiu clan is one of the three great houses who were distinguished by special eligibility for the Tycoonate, and who might therefore have been supposed to be attached to the old form of government. It may also be interesting to

* No. 6. † No. 5.

note in this connection that it was the ex-Tycoon himself who set the example of surrendering power to the Throne; and the opinion probably obtains among the leading Daimios that it would be inconsistent for them to acquiesce in the resumption by the Sovereign of the large revenues which were formerly enjoyed by the Tycoons, without showing themselves disposed to make a similar sacrifice of their rights and powers. The Prince of Kishiu appears sensible of the great difficulties which must attend the execution of such a vast reform; but, like many other Daimios, he seems impressed with the importance of the attainment by his country of a degree of unity and strength which shall enable her to take a respectable place among the other nations of the world.

I inclose a translation of this interesting paper, which has been prepared by Mr. Mitford.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 8.

Memorial addressed by the Prince of Kishiu to the Emperor.

(Translation.)

YOUR servant Mochihisa bows the head and prostrates himself since your servant returned to his country in the early spring, not fearing his own folly and unfitness, he has been desiring to offer up his opinion as to the foundations upon which the Imperial Government is established. Your servant's memorial has been prepared for some time, although as yet he has not presented it; now, however, he has heard that the four clans, Choshiu, Satsuma, Hizen and Tosa have offered to the Emperor lists of their possessions and of their retainers. Your servant considering that in this consists a true return to the ancient form of government, desires also to offer up the lists of his lands and men, and reverently awaits the Imperial decision. The annexed memorial contains the thoughts of your servant's loyal but humble heart, and if perchance it should find favour in the Council of the Court he will esteem himself fortunate. Your servant Mochihisa prostrates himself with fear and trembling.

(Signed) TOKUGAWA CHIUNAGON MOCHIHISA.

To the Benji.

Memorial Annexed.

In the humble opinion of your servant Mochihisa, the spirit of the times has changed, and not only is this the case, but relations with Western nations are daily being opened. These are subjects which cannot be dealt with cursorily, but your servant wishes to display the Imperial Power and to erect it side-by-side with the other countries of the world. The ancient divisions of the country (into Gun and Ken) must be restored. Still this will be attended with difficulties. Now that the Imperial Government has again united the Four Seas, it is to be desired that the ancient system should be reverted to. There could be no greater merit than the planning of such a scheme, no greater work than its execution. But this scheme and this work cannot be carried out without the strength of warriors and of horses. We are beset by grave deficiencies, and these are the difficulties mentioned above. Then it is now essential that the armaments should be placed on a strict footing in order that the foundations of the Imperial Government may be consolidated.

In the first place orders should be issued to all the Princes that they should yield up one-tenth or one-fifth of their lands to be added to the Imperial domain. It is written that the Imperial domain should be a thousand "ri"* square; it is of importance to carry out this principle. If the Imperial domain be a thousand "ri," then the people can be cared for and educated, measures can be taken to attain prosperity and power. If prosperity and power be attained, then can the armies defy the enemy at the Emperor's command, and the affairs of the country be in unison with the Emperor's desires. If this object be attained, then shall we be more than half-way towards establishing the ancient divisions of the country, and further, the perfect scheme and the great work will advance with rapid strides within and beyond the seas. Your servant has spoken his mind loyally it may be presumptuously. Your servant Mochihisa bows his head with fear and trembling.

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* The "ri" is about 2½ miles. The quotation is from the Chinese classical books.

No. 9.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received July* 1.)

My Lord, *Yedo, April* 29, 1869.

THE foreign Representatives have received the inclosed announcement of the second departure of the Mikado from Kioto for Yedo.

It is satisfactory to find that the opposition which is strongly entertained by an old and bigoted party in this country to the absence of the Sovereign from the ancient capital has again been overcome.

On this occasion the Mikado will be attended by the Daijôkwan or supreme governing body, and it is now believed that there is a good prospect of the Government being established at Yedo.

It is well both for native and foreign interests that the administrative powers should be removed from the atmosphere of prejudice and ignorance, which encompasses them at Kioto. A report became current for several days in Osaka that His Majesty had been stopped on his way by a considerable force of rônins and had been obliged to return to Kioto. The rumour is now said to be groundless, but its occurrence is a sign of the opposition which is offered to the advancement to liberal ideas, and which must occasion considerable difficulty to those who are charged with the arrangement of affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 9.

The Japanese Ministers to Sir H. Parkes.

(Translation.)

Sir, *April* 21, 1869.

HIS Majesty the Emperor has left Kioto on the 18th instant, and will proceed to the temples at Isé along the Tokaido Road and from there continue his voyage to Tokei.

Having received the above, we have the honour to communicate it for your information.

We have, &c.
(Signed) DATE CHIUNAGON.
HIGASHI KUZE CHIUJO.

No. 10.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received July* 5.)

(Extract.) *Yedo, May* 11, 1869.

I REPORTED in my despatch of the 29th ultimo the departure of the Mikado from Kioto, and I have now to add that His Majesty entered Yedo in state on the morning of the 9th instant.

No. 11.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received July* 11.)

My Lord, *Yedo, May* 13, 1869.

I HAVE forwarded in previous despatches translations of several of the Memorials presented to the Throne by Daimios who have voluntarily offered to transfer their territories and rights of Government to the Emperor. I now beg leave to add to these the Memorial of the Prince of Unshiu, as this document describes, in expressive language, the manner in which the Daimios became possessed of their powers, and the prejudice thereby occasioned to the authority of the Sovereign, which the writer considers should be re-established on its former basis.

The translations now in your Lordship's hands may suffice to illustrate the arguments used by the Princes in support of this movement, which is rapidly becoming general. By the inclosed Memorandum, which has been prepared by Mr. Mitford, it will be seen that already, on the 16th ultimo, 118 Daimios, representing 12,000,000 of kokus of assessed

revenue, or the equivalent of 24,000,000*l.* sterling, had signified their adhesion to the proposed restoration of power to the Sovereign. The total number of Daimios of all classes is given at 276, and the aggregate of their revenues is estimated at rather less than 20,000,000 of kokus. Consequently, on the 16th April the movement was already supported by a majority in point of means, and the fact of no less than thirteen of the eighteen independent nobles ("kokushi") having joined in it, shows that a preponderating influence had at that date been secured in favour of the measure.

The results of these proposals, however, cannot be foreseen until the question is seriously debated at the general councils that are about to be held at Yedo, and to which the Emperor has scrupulously referred every offer that has been submitted to him.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 11.

Memorial addressed by the Prince of Unshiu to the Emperor.

(Translation.)

YOUR servant, Sadayasu, in his folly and worthlessness, ignorant of the laws of decorum, dares to lift up his voice in defiance of all propriety. To discuss the affairs of the Government of the Empire is a crime deserving ten thousand deaths. Now I humbly reflect that the Imperial Government has been restored to its ancient form, and that the whole Empire, with its myriad machineries, is united under the rule of the Sovereign. Truly, we must say that, after an interval of 700 years, the foundation has been laid of a reformation which shall last for 10,000 generations. The Emperor issues his illustrious commands, and the millions of the people are purified in the reformation. Hence it is that your servant Sadayasu, disregarding the heinousness of the crime which he is committing, dares to offer up his humble opinion. The affairs of the Empire may be said to have their seasons. Acting in accordance with these seasons, it is easy to perform meritorious actions: it is to these seasons then that we must direct our minds. At the present moment the restoration of the Imperial Government is such a season. The first consideration is that the root of the tree should be firmly planted. The root is the Sovereign power: to restore the Sovereign power to the Emperor is to plant the root firmly. The restoration of the Sovereign power is effected when the whole machinery of the State depends upon the Imperial Government; when the Emperor is venerated as a religion of rule and reformation, which, flowing down to the million of his people, extends throughout the land to the very shores of the sea; and when the people, recognizing the Sovereign as the father and mother of the Empire, reverently receive his commands. In the middle ages the military class curtailed the possessions of the Emperor, and handed down the lands which they had so taken as a heritage to their descendants, until by degrees they created for themselves regal power. At last, in their mutual struggles, the great swallowed up the small, the strong annexed the weak. Each of these (Feudal Princes) supporting their retainers and people for their own selfish purposes, presented the picture of a country divided into petty kingdoms, maintained by force. Thus they opposed and thwarted to the utmost the Imperial commands, so that the people of the remote districts knew not that above all there was one who was the Lord of the myriads and of the millions. How can such a grief be endured? But now that the complex machinery of the State has been renewed, the myriads and millions purified in the the overflowing dews of the deep, benevolence will at once reverently recognize their Emperor, and the roots of the tree will be firmly planted; the roots being firmly planted, the branches and leaves will flourish luxuriantly. How much the more now that friendly relations exist with foreign countries should we place our Divine country under the Sovereign rule, and setting up our one Emperor as the Head of the Universe, and restoring the singleness of the supreme power illustrate its virtue and strength to the four seas. Your servant, Sadayasu, acknowledges with gratitude that, degenerate as he is, he is Chief of the least of all the clans. At a moment so auspicious as the present, how can he refrain from expressing his humble opinion? Cheerfully braving the punishment of the executioner's axe, he dares to lift up his voice. If perchance your servant, who offers up the list of his lands and men to the Emperor, should find favour and his petition be graciously accepted, what felicity could equal this? He prays that the allwise and illustrious will take his humble request into consideration. Your servant, Sadayasu, in fear and awe, bows the head once and again: fainting and dying, he lifts his voice.

1*st month*, 30*th day* (*March* 12, 1869).

Inclosure 2 in No. 11.

Memorandum by Mr. Mitford.

AN analysis of the annexed List, compiled from the Kioto Government Gazette, shows that, up to the 16th April, the memorials of one hundred and eighteen Daimios, begging to be allowed to restore their fiefs to the Sovereign, had been published. The aggregate revenues, on paper, of these fiefs, amount to 12,034,053 kokus. The koku is at present worth about 2*l.* sterling.

The party that has joined this movement, which was originated by the Princes of Choshiu, Satsuma, Hizen, and Toza, is composed as follows :—

1. Prince Tokugawa Kamenosuke, who succeeded the ex-Tycoon chief of the Tokugawa clan.

2. Of the Gosanke, or three great families, in which the succession to the Tycoonate was vested, two have sent in memorials, namely Owari and Kishiu. The third clan, that of Mito, of which Prince Mimbu Taiyu (brother of the ex-Tycoon) is the chief, has been for many years disturbed by internal feuds and dissensions, and this may account for its tardiness in joining the movement.

3. Of the eighteen Kokushi, or principal nobles of Japan, only five names are missing on the list. These are Sendai, Awa, Satake, Nambu, and Uyesugi. The Prince of Awa, who has been a firm supporter of the Mikado's party, will probably not be slow in sending in his memorial; and the remaining four are northern princes, who, with the exception of Satake, have until recently been rebels.

4. Only two of the Junkokushi, or nobles next in rank to the above, have as yet joined the movement.

5. Of the Fudai, or vassals of the Tycoonate, whose ancestors swore allegiance to Iyeyasu, the founder of the last dynasty before the overthrow of the castle of Osaka, sixty-eight have sent in memorials.

6. Of the Tozama, vassals of the Tycoonate, whose ancestors submitted to Iyeyasu after the overthrow of the castle of Osaka, twenty-five have joined the movement.

7. Eight princes, chiefs of cadet branches of different noble families.

During the recent political troubles the two parties, which foreigners have spoken of as north and south, have been regarded by the Japanese as east and west. It is not surprising to find that a movement, originated by the leading members of the western faction has not as yet been generally followed by the princes of the east. All parties are, however, fairly represented in the accompanying list, which shows an amount of power sufficient to compel the less liberally disposed nobles to join in the measure.

The answer returned to the memorials has been the same as that given to the Princes of Choshiu, Satsuma, Aizen, and Toza, namely, that the question must stand over until it has been considered by the nobles about to assemble in council at Yeddo.

LIST of Daimios whose Memorials offering up their Lands and Possessions to the Emperor have appeared in the Government Gazette, published at Kioto.

	Revenue.	Rank.	Position of Territories.
Mori Saisho Chiujo, Prince of Choshiu	369,000	Kokushi	W.
Shimadzu Shosho, Prince of Satsuma..	780,800	Ditto	W.
Nabeshima Shosho, Prince of Hizen	357,000	Ditto	W.
Yamanouchi Shosho, Prince of Tosa	242,000	Ditto	W.
Ikeda Chiujo, Prince of Inshiu	325,000	Ditto	Midland.
Shimadzu Awaji no Kami	27,070	Cadet of Satsuma ..	W.
Matsudaira Shosho, Prince of Echizen	320,000	Kokushi	N.W.
Hosokawa Chiujo, Prince of Higo	540,000	Ditto	W.
Matsudaira Dewa no Kami, Prince of Unshiu	180,000	Junkokushi ..	W.
Todo Uneme no Sho	100,000	Fudai	N.W.
Tôdô Chiujo	323,950	Junkokushi ..	Midland.
Ii Chiujo	250,000	Fudai	Midland.
Hisamatsu Oki no Kami	150,000	Ditto	W.
Hisamatsu Iki no Kami	30,000	Cadet of the above ..	W.
Oka Echizen no Kami	10,000	Fudai	E.
Arima Chiujo, Prince of Chikugo	210.000	Kokushi	W.
Tokugawa Chiunagon, Prince of Hishiu	619,000	Gosanke	S.W.
Mayeda Saisho Chiujo, Prince of Kaga	1,022,700	Kokushi	W.
Hitotsuyonagi Inaba no Kami	10,000	Tozama	W.

	Revenue.	Rank.	Position of Territories.
Katô noto no Kami	25,000	Fudai	E.
Tokugawa Sammi Chiujo, Prince of Owari	619,000	Gosanke	E.
Doi Awaji no Kami	23,000	Fudai	E.
Honda Shuzen no Sho	60,000	Ditto	E.
Matsudaira Sanuki no Kami	120,000	Ditto	W.
Inaba Jijiu	120,000	Ditto	Midland.
Nagai Hizen no Kami	32,000	Ditto	W.
Yagiu Tajima no Kami	10,000	Ditto	E.
Toda Awaji no Kami	10,000	Ditto	N.W.
Naruse Hayato no Kami	35,000	Dependent of Owari..	E.
Kuroda Shosho, Prince of Chikuzen	520,000	Kokushi	W.
Matsudaira Dzusho no Kami	50,000	Fudai	W.
Honda Mino no Kami	50,000	Ditto	E.
Sakai Uta no Kami	150,000	Ditto	W.
Nagai Hiuga no Kami	36,000	Ditto	Midland.
Kutsuki Omi no Kami	32,000	Ditto	W.
Aoyama Sakiô no Daibu	60,000	Ditto	W.
Honda Higo no Kami	10,000	Ditto	E.
Yanagisawa Kai no Kami	150,000	Ditto	E.
Mayeda Jijiu	100,000	Cadet of Kaga ..	W.
Kiyôgoku Hida no Kami	15,000	Fudai	W.
Asano Shôsho, Prince of Geishiu	426,000	Kokushi	W.
Wakebe Wakasa no Kami	20,000	Tozama	E.
Takenokoshi Iyo no Kami	20,000	Fudai	E.
Ota Idzumo no Kami	20,000	Tozama	W.
Ichihashi Shimosa no Kami..	18,000	Ditto	E.
Honjô Hôki no Kami	70,000	Fudai	W.
Inaba Sakiô no Suke	56,000	Tozama	W.
Sangoku Sanuki no Kami	30,000	Fudai	W.
Ikéda Tajima no Kami	10,500	Tozama	W.
Ogasawara Sayemon no Jo	22,700	Fudai	W.
Hori Teijirô	30,000	Ditto	E.
Kiyôgoku Sado no Kami	51,500	Tozama	W.
Okôchi Giyobu Taiyu	70,000	Fudai	E.
Kinoshita Yamato no Kami..	25,000	Tozama	W.
Honda Tsushima no Kami.	10,500	Fudai	E.
Aoyama Daizen no Suké	48,000	Ditto	E.
Tani Daizen no Suke	10,080	Tozama	W.
Matsudaira Mikawa no Kama, Prince of Sakushiu ..	100,000	Kokushi	W.
Sakai Saki no Shôsho	113,000	Fudai	E.
Sakai Sakiegô no Suke	10,000	Cadet of the above ..	E.
Toda Tamba no Kami	60,000	Fudai	E.
Uyemura Uzen no Kami	25,000	Ditto	E.
Okabe Mino no Kami	53,000	Ditto	E.
Niwa Nagato no Kami	10,000	Ditto	W.
Kuki Osumi no Kami	19,500	Tozama	W.
Sakurai Omi no Kami	40,000	Fudai	E.
Midzuno Dewa no Kami	50,000	Ditto	E.
Honjô Nunai Shôyu	10,000	Ditto	E.
Matsudaira Noto no Kami	30,000	Ditto	W.
Ogasawara Shinano no Kami	10,000	Ditto	W.
Hotta Buzen no Kami	13,000	Ditto	E.
Doi Noto no Kami	40,000	Ditto	W.
Abe Kazoye no Kami	110,000	Ditto	W.
Hori Nagata no Kami	10,053	Ditto	E.
Honda Kawachi no Kami	15,000	Ditto	E.
Watanabe Tango no Kami	13,500	Ditto	E.
Ishikawa Hiuga no Kami	60,000	Ditto	E.
Inagaki Wakasa no Kami	13,000	Ditto	E.
Ikeda Jijiu, Prince of Bizen..	312,200	Kokushi	W.
Ogasawara Toyochiyomaru	150,000	Fuadi	W.
Kurushima Iyo no Kami	12,500	Tozama	W.
Kiyôgoku Shimôsa no Kami	10,000	Fuadi	W.
Arima Totomi no Kami	50,000	Tozama	W.
Matsudaira Sahioye no Kami	80,000	Fuadi	W.
Daikiu Sayemon no Jô	21,200	Ditto	W.
Koide Ise no Kami	26,700	Tozama	W.
Itakura Setsu no Kami	20,000	Fudai	W.
Ikeda Manjirô	25,000	Tozama	W.
Ogasawara Nakatsukasa Taiyu	60,000	Fudia	W.
Ota Setsu no Kami	10,000	Ditto	E.
Makino Buzen no Kami	35,000	Ditto	W.
Misira Gemba no Kami	13,000	Tozama	W.
Magaki Tsushima no Kami	30,000	Fudai	E.
Kinoshita Bicchiu no Kami	25,000	Tozama	W.
Kanô Tôtômi no Kami	51,000	Ditto	W.

	Revenue.	Rank.	Position of Territories.
Wakizaka Awaji no Kami	51,000	Tozama	W.
Kuroda Kai no Kami	50,000	Cadet of Chikuzen ..	W.
Naitô Tamba no Kami	20,000	Fudai	E.
Akidzuki Nagato no Kami	27,000	Tozama	W.
Yamana Inaba no Kami	11,000	Ditto	W.
Môri Ise no Kami..	20,000	Cadet of Choshiu ..	W.
Hitotsuyanagi Tsushima no Kami	10,000	Tozama	W.
Matsudaira Idzumi no Kami	60,000	Fudai	E.
Aski Mimbu Shôyu	10,000	Tozama	W.
Ota Yamato no Kami	10,000	Ditto	E.
Hori Mino no Kami	15,000	Fudai	E.
Itô Harima no Kami	10,300	Tozama	W.
Ogasawara Omi no Kami	10,000	Fudai	W.
Mori Echigo no Kami	20,000	Tozama	W.
Manabe Shimosa no Kami	40,000	Fudai	W.
Nagai Shinano no Kami	10.000	Ditto	E.
Andô Hida no Kami	38,800	Ditto	W.
Yokugawa Shinzammi Chiujo	700,000	Successor to the late Tycoon, as chief of the Tokugawa clan	E.
Matsudaira Sado no Kami	30,000	Fudai	W.
Matsudaira Kadzuye no Kami	10,000	Ditto	W.
Mayeda Shigematsu	100,000	Cadet of Kaga ..	W.
Matsudaira Tajima no Kami	32,000	Fudai	W.
Mori Tsushima no Kami	15,000	Tozama	W.

(Signed) A. B. MITFORD.

No. 12.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 23.)

My Lord, *Yeddo, June* 25, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to forward a translation made by Mr. Mitford, entitled "Imperial Precepts, published to the people by the Government of Kioto." In order to promote its circulation, and to allow of its being freely reprinted by those who wish to do so, the people have been publicly informed, in the inclosed notice, which appeared in the Kioto Gazette, that the laws of copyright are waived in the case of this book.

An interesting instance is thus furnished of the endeavours of the Mikado's Government to educate the mind of the nation on the political questions of the day. The intimate connection of religion with politics in a country in which the Emperor is regarded as the Vicegerent of Heaven upon earth, is, of course, obvious. The pamphlet, therefore, treats of both these subjects as matters which scarcely admit of a division. It shows that the worship of the Emperors should form the most prominent article of faith in the mind of a Japanese, and that the same belief should induce the people to observe with implicit reverence the will of the Emperor, whether manifested in matters of internal administration or in the fulfilment of the arrangements he has seen fit to enter into with foreign powers. While professing to maintain the integrity of old institutions, the pamphlet also inculcates, in unmistakeable language, that the present period is one of progress; that Japan is not the world but one country among others; and that, as a principle of religion, violence to foreigners must be regarded as conduct unworthy of a people who trace their descent from the gods.

I beg to recommend to your Lordship's attention the following striking paragraph in the second part of the Treatise:—

"Now, the spirit of the present differs from the spirit of the past. The countries of the world have joined themselves in a relationship of peace and friendship. Steamers are sent round the world heedless of stormy waves or of foul winds. The communication between lands distant ten thousand miles from one another, is as that between neighbours. Country competes with country in producing rifles and guns and machinery, and each revolves plans for its own advantage and profit. Each vies with the other in devising schemes to obtain the mastery; each exerts itself to keep up the strength of its armies; each and every one strives to invent warlike contrivances. But in spite of all this there is a great principle existing all over the world, which prevents civilized countries from being

lightly and lawlessly attacked. This principle is called International Law. How much the more, then, would our divine country, the institutions of which excel those of all other countries, be turning her back upon the sacred precepts established by the heavenly ancestors of the Emperor, should she be guilty of violent and lawless acts. Such a thing would be the greatest shame and disgrace to the country of the gods. Hence it is that the Emperor has extended a faithful alliance to those foreigners who come here lawfully and rightly, and they are allowed free and uninterrupted access to this country. Following this example set by the Emperor, his subjects, when they receive no insult from the foreigner, should observe the same principle, and refrain from blows and fighting. If by any chance we should be put to shame before the foreigner, it is hard to say what consequences may ensue."

Another object of the pamphlet is to reconcile the extreme conservative party to the departure of the Emperor from Kioto. That city is described as the one of all others that is held sacred by the Emperor, and those who remain in it are told that the privilege of residing there should form an additional incentive to their devotion.

The language of the Treatise, of course, partakes of the strained and, to us, extravagant character of Oriental rhetoric; but it is, nevertheless, suited to the people to whom it is addressed. I look upon the publication as an intelligent and judicious effort on the part of the Government to influence the national mind in favour of a more enlightened and liberal rule, in which the foreign relations of Japan will find a suitable place; and I trust that it may be attended with the good effects which it is calculated to promote.

It remains for me to express my appreciation of Mr. Mitford's industry, in bringing this publication to our knowledge by means of his able translation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 12.

Government Treatise on Politics and Religion, published to the People.

(Translation.)

"Jim Min Koku Yu Dai I."

Introduction to Part I.

THIS Treatise, the "Koku Yu Dai I," is published with the object of making known the institutions of the country of the gods and of declaring the intentions of the Imperial Government, and to this end five copies will be distributed to every Kôri or parochial sub-division of every province throughout the country. The officials, and not only they but all well disposed men, will give their earnest attention to this object, and will exert themselves to instruct all persons down to the women and children in the principles of this Treatise.

The privilege of publishing this Treatise has been granted to the Imperial Library of Kioto kept by Murakami Kambei and all persons may freely purchase it.

The above will be made known throughout all the sub-divisions of the Province of Yamashiro.

(Signed) GOVERNMENT OF KIOTO.

"Koku Yu Dai I."

Man is the sublime essence of all things. Between heaven and earth there is no more honourable thing than man. Our country is specially called the Country of the Gods, and of all the countries in the world there is none the institutions of which excel those of our country. Is it not a disgrace past speaking of, that the privileged being called man, who dwells in the excellent country of the gods should pass his life in heedless vanity. Man differs from the birds and from the beast, in that he can discern the laws of reason, and in that he has a heart capable of gratitude and virtue. Loyalty and filial piety are also the essence of the heart of man. He, who in ever so slight a degree is wanting in this heart, has the face of a man but the soul of a beast, and though he be shaped as a man, yet is he even less than the birds and the beasts.

If then a man wishes to fulfil his duties as a man, and having been born in the country of the gods desires not to turn his back upon the spirits of that country, let him above all things bear in mind the privilege of being born a Japanese, and set his heart upon repaying the debt of gratitude which he owes to his country.

We have said that the institutions of the country of the gods excel those of other countries. The heavenly ancestors of the Emperor of old created this country, and established the duties of men in their mutual relations. Since that time the line of Emperors has never been changed. Generation has succeeded generation in the rule of this country, and the Imperial heart has ever been penetrated by a tender love for the people. In their turn the people have reverenced and served generation after generation of Emperors. In foreign countries the lines of Princes have been frequently changed; the people owe their Sovereign a debt of gratitude which extends over two or three generations; the relations of Sovereign and subject last for a 100 or 200 years; the Prince of yesterday is the foe of to-day; the Minister of yesterday is the rebel of to-morrow. In our country we have no such folly. Since the creation of the world we have remained unmoved; since the creation of the world the Imperial line has been unchanged and the relations of Sovereign and subject have been undisturbed; hence it is that the spirit of gratitude has intensified and grown deeper and deeper. The especial point in which the institutions of our country excel those of the rest of the world, is the creed which has been established by the heavenly ancestors of the Emperor, and which comprises the mutual duties between lord and servant. Even in foreign countries where lords and servants have over and over again changed places, these mutual duties are handed down as a matter of weighty importance. How much the more does it behove us to pay a debt of deep and inexhaustible gratitude which extends over ages.

Is there any man who thinks that he has never received a penny from the Emperor? Is there any man who thinks that he is not beholden to the Emperor for one tittle of help in his need? Is there any man who believes that it is of his own merit that he passes through the world, and who feels not the favours which he has received from his country? If there be such a man great is his mistake. He is like the man in the proverb who is grateful for the light borrowed from his lamp, but is heedless of the thanks which he owes to the moon and to the sun.

The favours which a man receives from his country are so vast as to be without bounds. Reflect carefully upon this. Since it is by the heavenly ancestors of the Emperor that this country was created, there is no single thing existing in the land which is not the Emperor's. At our birth the water in which we are washed is the Emperor's. At our death the ground in which we are buried is the Emperor's. The rice which we eat, the clothes which we wear, the cap which we put on, the staff which supports us, are all the produce of the Emperor's land. Again, the money which enables us to pass through life easily is coined by the will of the Emperor: so that whether we hoard our wealth or give out our coin to meet our daily wants, it is by the help of the Emperor that we are able to transact our business. Further, lest wicked men should hinder us, offices and guard-houses are established in different places. Ruffians and thieves are punished; children may be entrusted to walk abroad with money and no man will rob them; old men and women may be left to watch the house and lawless men will not break in. You plant your fields with rice and your gardens with green things. You set out goods for sale and clothes to dry in your shops and wayside stalls, and no man comes to steal them: this is no small cause of gratitude. If perchance any evil deed should be done, no means are left untried to discover the guilty man, and the Imperial orders are issued to punish him according to his deed.

If there were no such Imperial authority to exercise justice, each man would have to trust to his own strength. The weak would be slain by the strong; the old would be pushed over by the young; rice and money would be seized by force. But since this exercise of justice exists, although a single or double hedge may be easily broken through, there is no need to set guards for there are none to force an entrance, and so we pass our lives in peace and safety.

There are yet further ways in which the generations of Emperors have cared for the sorrows of their people. Remember with reverence that there was once an Emperor who in the cold winter night stripped his clothes that he might know by his own feelings the sufferings of the poor.* When he looked at the rice before him he reflected that the

* This refers to the following anecdote of the Emperor Ichijô (10th century, A.D.), as related in the "Kokushi Riyaku," or abridged History of Japan:—"One cold night the Emperor, his heart full of pity and mercy, stripped off his clothes. The Empress Jôtô, astonished at this, asked the reason. The Emperor answered and said, 'The season is now cold; I think of the poor who are naked. How can I bear that I alone should be covered and warm?' The Emperor Ichijô was distinguished for his knowledge and his love of letters. He excelled in poetry and music."—A. B. M.

grain was planted by the sweat of the farmers, and acknowledged their labours. We must be truly grateful that morning and night the Emperor's prayers have been offered up that his people might be spared from storm and from rain: from famine, plague, and cholera. Nor is it for ourselves alone, nor for our generation only, that our gratitude is due. Since the creation of the world generation after generation of our ancestors have passed their lives under the shadow of their Emperors. How many endless generations of our children's children shall be nurtured under the same gracious protection?

During the last 300 years the land being at peace, the power of the Emperor was gradually relaxed. Although the Emperor existed, it was as though he were no more. The consideration and love of the Emperor for his people did not reach them: it was arrested in its way. Bribery and corruption flourished; even good men fell into evil ways, and bad men prospered. The Emperor was greatly afflicted: he neither ate nor rested in peace. Still, however great might be the afflictions which he had to undergo himself, they were as nothing to those which he suffered on account of his people's grief. Now at last the Imperial Government has been restored to its ancient form; the affairs of the country are placed upon a brilliant basis; the hearts of great and small are united; the desires of all men have been accomplished, and men may more than ever pass their lives in peaceful tranquillity. Preserving those institutions in which the Emperor's country excels all other countries, we will illustrate the power of our Emperor to the world. Reverently receiving the Emperor's will, we will humbly obey his commands; we will set our hearts upon serving him for his sake. Bent upon requiting every particle or hair's breadth of favour received during generations after generations, we will not turn our backs upon our duty as the people of the country of the gods.

1st year of Meichi (1868).

[Printed officially by the Imperial Printers. Published at Kioto by Murakami Kambei and Inauye Jihei; at Yedo, by Mohei at the Suwaraya; and Ichihei, at the Idzumiya.]

Introduction to Part II.

On a former occasion in the first part of this Treatise we set forth the institutions of the country of the gods, and made known the will of the Imperial Government; in continuation of this we now publish a second part in which we shall treat of the form and power of the countries of the world, and shall show how the best interests of our divine country may be served. Officials and all well-disposed men will give their earnest attention to this object, and will exert themselves to instruct all persons down to the women and children in the principles of this Treatise.

The privilege of publishing this Treatise has been granted to the Imperial library at Kioto, kept by Murakami Kambei, and all persons may freely purchase it.

Part II.

On the occasion of the Imperial journey to Yedo last year His Majesty took upon himself the direction of the machinery of the State. Up to that time the precepts of the Emperor had not reached the Eastern Provinces of the country. While the accumulated masses of business were only half accomplished, the days and nights had sped swiftly, and the period for the celebration of rites on the third anniversary of the death of the late Emperor had come round. His Majesty accordingly in the first place returned to Kioto, and having concluded the funeral rites and his own marriage ceremony he gave orders for his second visit to Yeddo. Thus does he again subject his sacred person to fatigue, and although it may be said that this is owing to the spirit of the times, yet it is in truth a matter to be grateful for, and the people perceiving the Emperor's intentions should deeply and carefully lay them to heart.

Now the spirit of the present differs from the spirit of the past. The countries of the world have joined themselves in a relationship of peace and friendship. Steamers are sent round the world heedless of stormy waves or of foul winds. The communication between lands distant 10,000 miles from one another is as that between neighbours: country competes with country in producing rifles and guns and machinery, and each revolves plans for its own advantage and profit. Each vies with the other in devising schemes to obtain the mastery, each exerts itself to keep up the strength of its armies, each and everyone strives to invent warlike contrivances. But in spite of all this there is a great principle existing over all the world which prevents civilized countries from being

lightly and lawlessly attacked. This principle is called international law. How much the more then would our divine country, the institutions of which excel those of all other countries, be turning her back upon the sacred precepts established by the heavenly ancestors of the Emperor should she be guilty of violent and lawless acts. Such a thing would be the greatest shame and disgrace to the country of the Gods. Hence it is that the Emperor has extended a faithful alliance to those foreigners who come here lawfully and rightly, and they are allowed free and uninterrupted access to this country. Following this example set by the Emperor, his subjects when they receive no insult from the foreigner should observe the same principle and refrain from blows and fighting. If by any chance we should be put to shame before the foreigner it is hard to say what consequences may ensue.

It is our especial duty to publish to the world beyond the seas the ancient spirit of the country of the Gods and the excellent institutions established by the heavenly ancestors of the Emperor, that the countries of the world may admire and envy the power of our Sovereign. To this end it is above all things needful that the whole of Japan should be penetrated by the Imperial precepts, and that the strength of the country should be united in one whole. Without this it will be hard for the spirit of the country to stand, without this, on the contrary, we shall have to endure the scorn of foreign nations.

Should so much as a hair's end of shame attach to the country of the gods, what excuse can we offer to the long line of Emperors who succeeded their heavenly ancestors. To be the cause of grief to the Emperor is worse than irreverence.

The country districts of the Eastern Provinces are far removed from the capital, and there are persons who, not awed by the will of the Emperor, subject the people, as it were, to torture by fire and torture by water. Terrible as the conduct of such men is, the great mercy and pity of the Emperor's heart acknowledges that their fault is to be laid to the fact that his precepts have not reached them; we see with reverent gratitude that he takes their sins upon himself and that his generous rule spares them. Further, that by the spreading of his precepts all ignorance may cease, he undertakes a long journey, braving the heat and the cold, and exposing his precious person to fatigue.

As far as the extreme limits of the islands of Yezo and of Liukiu the Emperor treats all men who are born on Japanese soil as his own children. He makes no distinctions between men—caressing the one and repelling the other. He looks upon all alike, his mercy extends to all. His compassionate love for his people knows no rest by day or by night. After a while he will be pleased to visit all his dominions. The present capital, Kiôto, has been the Imperial residence for more than a thousand years, and in its sacred ground are buried the ancestors of the Emperor. It follows that of all places that is the place which the Emperor reveres the most. You whose special privilege it is to dwell near this spot, bathed in the dew of the Emperor's deep mercy, reverently acknowledge his will; and penetrated by the sense of this feeling in all matters, humbly obey his commands. Loyalty and filial piety arouse you to observe our upright and excellent institutions. Let each man zealously perform his special duties, that he may relieve the mind of the Emperor of its troubles, and let each man, so far as in him lies, set his heart upon the sacred cause of our divine country.

2nd year of Meichi (1869).

[Printed officially by the Imperial Printers, Yeddo. Published by Mohei at the Swoaraya, in the first ward of the Nihonbashi street, and by Ichibei at the Idzumiya in the Mishima at Shiba.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 12.

Extract from the Government "Gazette" of March 15, 1869.

(Translation.)

THE book called "Kiôto Fu Koku Yu Dai I" (or Imperial Precepts published to the people by the Government of Kioto) will be circulated throughout the cities, clans, and districts for the instruction of the people in matters of politics and religion. Although the publication of pirated editions of other books is strictly forbidden, an exception is made in favour of this book.

No. 13.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received August* 23.)

My Lord, *Yedo, June* 26, 1869.

MR. VON SIEBOLD has furnished me with the inclosed translation of a pamphlet attacking Christianity and defending Buddhism, which first appeared in 1867, and seems to have been recently republished at Osaka.

I need not point out the interest which attaches to such a translation, as it is evident that native writings must always furnish the best guide to a correct estimate of native opinion. Buddhism, which the writer defends, is not the religion of the State, although freely tolerated, and even allowed a place on certain occasions in state ceremonial. But in order to give intensity to his subject, he endeavours to show that Buddhism has always been a main support of the Emperors, and that the Throne is endangered when that religion is assailed.

The existence of such feelings points to the discretion which should be observed at this stage of our relations with Japan by missionary bodies, and also by foreign Governments in the treatment of any questions that may arise regarding the persecution of native Christians. At the same time there are grounds to hope that in Japan as elsewhere liberality in politics will be followed by liberality in religion; and the bitterness observable in the pamphlet which I now forward may perhaps be attributed to the conviction of the writer that he is advocating a sinking cause. The present Government have shown no disposition to favour Buddhism, but in their character of conservatives and as upholders of the Shin Tô or State religion have directed some of their measures against the temporalities of the former sect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 13.

(Translation.)

"Kau shiu Rok;" or, "My silent Grief:" Memoir by a Naval Officer of Tosa on the Promulgation of the Christian Faith in Japan.

MOTTO.—"The law of Buddha is as durable as metal, and as unapproachable as boiling water."—SÔSAN.

5th month (April), 1867.

The Western doctrines of the religion of Jesus have of late been promulgated at the three open ports to an alarming extent. Foreign priests have erected churches and led away our ignorant people from the right path. This practice has been particularly successful at Nagasaki; the peasants of the neighbouring villages of Urakami and Ora are competing with each other to enter into the foreign creed. Common people, as well as the Yeta,* are now professing the religion of Jesus to the number of 3,000.

The foreign religion teaches that all those who believe and follow it will be happy; that those who are poor will become rich; that those who are ignorant will be made clever; that low people will be raised, and the sick will recover health; and, accordingly, that every man's happiness and change to a better condition depend upon his own will and faith. No wonder that people who have once set their hearts on this religion, and believe it firmly, care not for life or death. Their whole mind is concentrated upon one thing, they adore it incessantly with prayers and thanksgiving. In addition, the foreign priests residing at those places have employed gold, silver, and presents, as means of persuasion. They have by these means seduced our poor people, who only followed their evil passions, and have converted them into instruments for deluding other victims. Does the consideration of these facts facts not give rise to serious apprehensions?

They preach that Jesus was crucified of his own free will, and died for the atonement of the sins of all men. His followers are, therefore, naturally indifferent to life, and look upon dying for their faith as glory to themselves. The more particularly fanatical among them have been known to come forward and offer themselves to die on the cross.

If we examine the fundamental principles of the religion of Jesus we are struck by discovering that it is entirely based upon deceit, immorality, and imposition. In some respects

* "Yeta" is the class of unfortunates excluded from all human society, and performing only the most menial professions, as tanners, executioners, &c. They are extremely numerous near Nagasaki.

its precepts resemble our Buddhistic doctrines. Thus, they contain a doctrine of Retribution in this world and in a future one, a divine guide to happiness, together with threats of hell and damnation for the wicked. It is a religion, however, which works more on the evil passions of mankind [than their moral feelings]. It seduces the common ignorant crowd with a cunning like that of foxes; and it is, therefore, almost impossible to prevent its progress by laws or punishments. In the year Genki Tensho [1570] all those who professed this religion were arrested and severely punished. At that time there were, according to the best accounts, some 300,000 Christians in Japan. Notwithstanding the severity of the punishment inflicted upon them, it was impossible to root out the evil altogether. Eight or nine years ago the Laws as to the practice of Sefumi [the practice of trampling on sacred Christian images] were amended, and now as soon as commerce begins to flourish at the open ports, the old flame of religious fanaticism breaks out again with such power, that its extinction is almost to be despaired of. This is now the case at Nagasaki, and as the opening of Hiogo has been conceded lately, it is evident that the foreign priests will at once rush there, and seize hold of the minds of our ignorant people. The poisoned religion will soon find its way from there to Osaka, and the day when it will have overrun Kioto can be foretold. The evils arising from this are innumerable, and the prevention should not be left to Government alone. Many, many years ago there lived men like Kukai Taishi [a famous priest who propagated the Buddhist religion in Japan], who preached that Shakka [Buddha] himself had set foot on Japanese soil to propagate his creed; and men like Hônen Shonin, who taught us that every one who believed in Buddha was to be saved, and after resurrection go to heaven. Well, indeed, if we had now such wise and far-sighted men, they would soon discover some remedy to the evil applicable to the present spirit of the age; they would expound some irrefutable doctrine of Buddha, by which the new religion would be soon destroyed.

Unfortunately, however, we know, from personal experience, although we are only laymen, that our clergy have nearly all become pleasure-seekers, idle and useless beings addicted to chess-playing, reading poetry, tea-drinking, making bouquets, and given to the vices of wine and women. It is possible that there may be found among them one or two exceptions who follow the precepts of Buddha; but such exceptions would be rare, and would prove to be men who have given up the world, and who have no eye to its government or to the religious education of the people. The tendency of Buddha's religion is to protect all existing domestic and political institutions, but this very fundamental doctrine is but little known. And those who know it and wish to apply it are prevented by Government Laws, which bind them hand and foot. This is a painful fact. The philosophy of Confucius and Mencius is only understood by a few superior minds, some officers, and high functionaries; but the teachings of Buddha are intelligible to every one, even to birds, animals, and plants [alluding to some miracles of Buddha]. Why should human beings not understand it? It is capable of a far more general application than the philosophy of Confucius and Mencius. More than two thousand years have elapsed since its introduction into this country. It has, during all these years, been the main support of the Mikado's Government; it is still so at the present day. See here the great merit of Buddhism. Let us not look upon it as a foreign religion, because it has come to us from India; it is the religion of this country! When, therefore, foreign religion is allowed to increase, as the religion of Jesus is now doing, Buddhism is thrown into great danger. It is still, however, within the power of man to save it. Let the people be warned. Let the followers of Buddha impress the four principles of Buddha upon all men. Let them, without love for life, without desire for wealth or ease, come together and consult the state of the country, examine the public feelings, assemble all sects and tenets, and use, unitedly, every effort to support the Law of the Mikado, which is the Law of Buddha. It is within every man's compass to effect this. Every one who opposes Buddha, and assists the religion of Jesus, is the enemy of Buddha,—that is, the enemy of his country. Let him not dwell under the canopy of heaven, let him be exterminated.

Help must come soon, for the fall of Buddha is very near. The fall of the Buddhist religion is the fall of the Mikado! Alas! whose fault is this? Who has caused this misfortune?

Having given vent to the grief which afflicted us, we must now stop and wait for some wise and virtuous man to appear, by whose brilliant genius alone we can hope to be saved. May some one soon be found to have mercy on our people!

Written at Tdsusaki in Tosa by one of the civil officers of the naval forces.

3rd year of Kei-ô (1867), 7th month.

Postscript [by a friend of the author].—The retainer of Tosa, Nagaska Genkichi, is an officer who has deeply taken to heart the events of the times. Years ago he was my pupil

and studied under me. His straightforward mind loved intensely application to letters. I lost sight of him for thirteen years; when we met again his knowledge had much increased, and his mind had become settled and his opinions decided, and I found him to be an officer whose advice could be depended upon.

He states that Government and the religion of a country are closely united; that Buddhism is the best guarantee for the maintenance of the Mikado's laws. That it is, therefore, wrong to call it a foreign religion. The law of the Mikado and the religion were in ancient days called the "wings of a bird," or the "wheels of a cart." This old saying is very correct.

My friend says that he has now been living in the western provinces, and has witnessed the second rise of Christianity in Japan. He fears that the poison will spread to the Mikado's capital; he would, therefore, be glad to see it crushed in time. He has consulted with his friends and written the results of their deliberations, and called it his "Silent Grief." It is dedicated to all those that are believers of Buddha. It is impossible to alter the feelings of my friend regarding the events which have happened.

Let those who should happen to read this book be convinced by its evident truths, and with faith in Buddha, and without jealousy of the person used as the instrument, persevere together for the fall of the religion of Jesus. Buddha's creed will repel the foreign religion in the end. We must not look upon this as a benefit to Buddhism alone; it is a question which deeply concerns our home and country. It is our support, as necessary as heaven and earth.

This is my postscriptum.

(Signed) SINJITSU T., *Doctor in Bizen.*

Keiwo U, 7th month (1867).

No. 14.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received August* 23.)

(Extract.) *Yedo, June* 26, 1869.

MR. MITFORD has furnished me with the inclosed Memorandum on the new Parliament, taken from a journal which purports to record the proceeding of the House. I need not observe that time must elapse before these proceedings can assume a definitive shape, or the functions of the assembly be clearly defined. At the present date, and probably for some time to come, it can be regarded as little more than a tentative measure—as the mere germ of an institution which can only be developed by experience, and the ultimate scope of which the earlier promoters of it can scarcely be expected to foresee. Still it already has its use as a vent for discussion. It gives excitable and uninformed men opportunities of expressing their opinions, which sometimes cease to be dangerous as soon as uttered, either because they may be met by other reasoning, or because the mere act of declamation brings with it a degree of relief sufficient to disarm the agitator. Better this than that men should associate as conspirators or brood over grievances, whether real or imaginary.

A singular instance of the advantage which may be derived from the institution, even in its present crude state, is shown by the inclosed paper, translated by Mr. Mitford, and called "Seventeen subjects of inquiry as to the means of washing away the shame of our country in regard to foreign relations." This paper was sent to the House by the Foreign Office, and is to be interpreted, I presume, as an instruction from that Department of the Government of Foreign Affairs. It plainly puts before the House the dangers of hostility to foreigners, and inquires how the consequences of such a fatal policy are to be met if they elect to indulge in it.

Prior to the receipt of this paper the feeling of the House was reported to be unfriendly to foreigners. It was known to comprise among its members many men of the Chinese school of opinion, who had been returned because their knowledge of the Chinese classics gave them claims to a scholastic reputation. The learning acquired in that school as it exists in Japan is unfortunately characterized by pedantry, narrowmindedness, and intense illiberality towards foreigners. The receipt of these questions, however, from the Foreign Office seems to have dismayed the members, as I understand that they tabled the paper and have not made it the subject of debate. They simply find that the questions are unanswerable.

The message of the Government, if it can be so termed, alludes to other important

points. It claims for the administration that degree of authority which is essential to the performance of its functions, namely, supreme judicial powers over life and property, and the right of appointment to or dismissal from office. It also includes in the category of questions an allusion to the Shin Tô or indigenous religion of the State in terms which would seem to indicate that extreme measures in matters of religion are scarcely less unadvisable than the adoption of violence and hostility in the treatment of foreigners.

The Foreign Office has also placed before the House four more important questions relating to the currency, which have been translated by Mr. O'Driscoll. In these the difficult task is suggested to the members of considering the ways and means by which the indebtedness of the country is to be met, and the recent debasement of its coin corrected. The conclusion at which the Government probably wish the House to arrive is that the State must be provided with regular revenues, and that the prerogative of coining must be scrupulously reserved to the Crown.

The subject of the currency, as it affects foreigners, is a very important and intricate one.

In regard, however, to the working of the House, the above instances will show that, although very imperfectly organized, it promises already to prove an useful instrument in promoting the establishment of united and regular Government in this country.

Inclosure 1 in No. 14.

Memorandum by Mr. Mitford on the Proceedings of the Japanese Parliament.

A NEW paper has recently been published at Yeddo, bearing the title "Kôgishô Nisshi" or Journal of the Parliament. Eight numbers have appeared and are on sale. They contain an account of the proceedings of the House of Representatives from its opening to the 12th day of the fourth month (23rd of May).

The subjects which have occupied the attention of the House may be briefly stated as follows :—

1. The confiscated estates of cadet branches of noble houses attainted of treason, shall they be forfeit to the Crown, or shall they be given to the elder branch?

2. In cases of urgent necessity it has hitherto been the custom to extort large levies of money from the farmers and rich merchants. One, Ono Seigoro,* proposes that a national debt on the European model should be substituted for this method of raising money, which he stigmatizes as little better than robbery; that the Government should borrow money from the people on the security of bonds bearing interest at the rate of 3 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The voting upon this measure was as follows :—

Ayes	123
Noes	30
For the abolishment of levies, but against the national debt	32
Against the abolishment of levies, but in favour of the national debt	2
Total number of votes	187

A majority of ten over and above three-fifths of the members voting being in favour of the Bill, it was carried.

3. In reckoning distances the lands occupied by temples and by the villages of the Eta, or pariah class, have hitherto not been taken into consideration, because these have not been required to furnish coolie labour to the Government. The consequence has been that the "ri," or Japanese mile (equal to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ English miles), often consisted of fifty "cho" instead of thirty-six, whereby the coolies and letters out of horses for hire suffered; it is now proposed that the above lands be taken into reckoning so that the "ri" throughout Japan may uniformly consist of thirty-six "cho."

VOTING:

Ayes	172
Noes	7
Indifferent	13
Total	192

* Ono Seigoro is not a member of the House. He was formerly employed as a writer at the British Legation, where he acquired some knowledge of foreign politics.

4. It is proposed to abolish the practice of bearing familiar names. Also that titles be abolished, and that great and small be known only by their proper personal names. Question not decided.

[*Note.*—Every Japanese in addition to his family name and personal name, which corresponds to our Christian names, bears a third name by which he is familiarly known.]

5. A motion for introducing competitive examinations upon the Chinese principle into the public service.

Several other questions are before the House but have not yet been debated.

(Signed) A. B. MITFORD.

Yedo, June 7, 1869.

Inclosure 2 in No. 14.

Memorandum on the Foreign Relations of Japan, drawn up by the Foreign Office.

Seventeen Subjects of Inquiry as to the means of washing away the Shame of our Country in regard to Foreign Relations.

(Translation.

1. FROM ancient times till the present day the question of opening or closing the country has been a frequent theme of debate. Are the barbarians birds or beasts with whom we ought not to associate? or, seeing that our country is not really rich and strong should we take of their surplus to supply our deficiencies and then sweep them away? or, shall we change our teaching altogether to the Western fashion, opening schools for the acquisition of Western accomplishments, and mastering the arts of gunnery and of ship-building, and when we have done this drive them utterly from the country? or, shall we cut the barbarians down? All sorts of schemes of this nature have been debated down to the present day. If Japan is to be opened shall we keep up our foreign relations as they at present exist, or shall we place them upon a new and different footing?

2. If, it be determined that Japan should be closed ought the foreigners to be expelled with decision, or shall we cut down and slay the foreigners who are living here? and when they come to fight us (in revenge for this), what will be the proper way for us to meet them?

3. If when the foreigners come with their armies to invade us and we have no soldiers ready to oppose them, our people and the Emperor's house fall together to rise no more, what then?

4. If when the time comes for us to struggle with the foreigners, there should be persons to raise the extraordinary argument that we ought not to pit our soldiers and our strength against them, how shall we be able to hold such language?

5. If it be decided to close the ports, when the time comes for us to fight, in what province shall we place our illustrious Imperial house in safety; and how shall we protect it? What will be the result of our precautions?

6. If at the present time there are men who violently murder innocent foreigners, or who coin base money, or who borrow excessive sums of money, yearly and monthly piling up iniquity upon iniquity; when the foreigners shall have taken counsel together, and set their forces in motion to attack our Government, and demand reparation, they will appropriate the open ports, stop our shipping upon the seas, and take possession of our islands, and then how shall we ward them off: what device shall we invent to suppress them?

7. It appears that at the present moment the party in favour of opening the ports are the advocates of Western civilization, while the party in favour of closing the ports advocate the Japanese and Chinese civilization. If one or the other policy is to be adopted once for all, which of these two will it be fitting that we should determine and fix upon?

8. At a juncture like the present how will it answer in the end to make our Shinto religion the religion practised in truth and in fact by the whole people of Japan?

9. When the policy to be pursued is adopted, will that of opening or that of closing the country be best adapted to the spirit of the times, and on which side will the advantage or disadvantage, the gain or loss, show themselves in the end?

10. The object of the Treaties between Japan and other countries was to promote friendship and commerce between our people and foreigners. For the last few years foreign countries have vied with one another in sending their fleets and soldiers to reside in Japan for the protection of their people, should any trouble arise they will send out their troops in a moment to protect the different places at which they reside. At the

present moment there are some 3,000 British troops here. The next in numbers to these are the French. The Americans and other countries have only their fleets. As yet our illustrious and divine country has not been brought into contempt before the foreigner; the present danger is lest we should call upon ourselves that contempt. What is the proper line of conduct for us at present to adopt in order to clear away that danger?

11. Reflecting upon this introduction of troops in accordance with the principles of international law, it is unheard of that soldiers should be stationed in any other places than colonies of the mother-country. During the last few years several tens of foreign merchants have been murdered, and for every man so murdered the foreign Governments have increased their forces until they have reached their present large numbers. As these murders increase they will in the same proportion add to their troops and fortify themselves more and more. What measures shall we adopt to put a stop to this?

12. If as the years and months roll on foreigners continue to be murdered, and in this way foreign forces are augmented until all the ports are filled by them, this will be the greatest pollution and disgrace that could befal our divine country. As it is we bear an evil name before the nations of the world. Animated by the patriotic spirit of samurais of Japan, how shall we wipe out the blot of these misdeeds in sight of the world?

13. The presence of these foreign troops points to the impotence of our Government to preserve peace and to protect native and foreigner. It is proclaimed that, until the power of life and death, of giving and of taking away, belongs to the Government, the troops cannot be sent back to their respective countries. This power of life and death, of giving and of taking away, is the prerogative of the Government. The preservation of peace and the protection of native and foreigner is the very essence of that which is right and proper. The principle of mutual relief and assistance is that upon which Treaties of amity should be observed. At the present moment we have come to such a point that we are tutored by foreign countries as to our own internal policy. What good scheme shall we adopt to blot out this shame?

14. In the days of the Shôgun's Government the power of life and of death, the power of dismissal from, and nomination to, office, was in the hands of low persons.* This caused the restoration of the Government to the Emperor. How shall we guide our chariot clear of the rut in which that which preceded us was overturned?

15. The Representatives of foreign Powers when they go through the streets or in the country are preceded and followed by soldiers; what means shall we adopt to put an end to this irregularity? or shall we take no steps to put a stop to it?

16. It has happened that when the officers or soldiers of the cities, clans and district towns, fall in with foreigners on the high road, disturbances have occurred; what means shall be adopted to punish such offences? or, indeed, has the Government the power to punish them? When foreigners ask these questions how can we give them a true and faithful answer?

17. If it be desired to decide clearly between peace and war, an earnest and determined effort is necessary in either case. If our energies are relaxed for one single step we shall suddenly be precipitated into the misfortunes consequent upon our want of decision, and the power of the Government will fall into the hands of unprincipled persons. Therefore, is it not desirable that the question of peace or war should be decided once for all?

The above questions are of all importance at the present moment. They must be treated with honesty and sincerity, and we earnestly beg you to settle these subjects, conducting your deliberations in accordance with the spirit of the times.

(Signed) FOREIGN OFFICE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 14.

Financial Statement drawn up by the Foreign Office.

(Translation.)

Four Questions concerning our Relations with Foreigners, which have been submitted to the House for its consideration.

THE establishment of the Mikado's Government is only of recent date. From the time of the Tokugawa Government, however, down to the present moment, the debts which

* This is an obscurely worded allusion to the want of control exercised by the former Government over rônins and lawless persons, who secured for themselves an influence by terrorism. The 14th question points to the Emperor's body-guard and their party.—A. B. M.

have been contracted with foreigners have accumulated to the amount it is estimated of about 6,000,000 dollars (the dollar may be reckoned at a little more than 3½ bus of our currency). Pressing demands have now been made for the payment of this money, but our expenditure, both domestic and foreign, is at present so excessively heavy that we are quite at a loss how to meet these liabilities.

For the affairs of Shimonosiki in Choshiu, 3,000,000 dollars were to be paid as an indemnity to England, France, America, and Holland. Of this sum 1,500,000 dollars are yet unpaid.

From the Oriental Bank in Yokohama, 500,000 dollars have been borrowed.

From an English merchant named Alt, upwards of 1,000,000 dollars have been borrowed for the Mint.

Several Daimios contracted debts with foreigners, for some of which the Government has now become responsible to the amount of 230,000 or 240,000 dollars.

If to these be added the amount obtained on the security of the Nagasaki iron-works, and also the various sums due to foreigners on account of the iron-works at Yokoska, the Lighthouse Department, the Mint, the Mining Department, and the Naval Board, the grand total may be estimated in round numbers at about 6,000,000 dollars.

2. In the course of trade, a debased currency, both of gold and silver, has got into circulation throughout Japan. It is calculated that about 30,000,000 riôs of this depreciated coinage have fallen into the hands of foreigners. The holders thereof have made complaints to their Ministers, and have brought money to the Foreign Office demanding either to have it exchanged for money of standard value, or to receive remuneration for their loss. This is estimated at about 6,000,000 riôs. How is this difficulty to be met?

In the 3rd Article of the Revised Treaty Regulations it is stipulated that:—

"The silver ichibu shall weigh 2 momme 3 fun (*i.e.*, not less than 134 grains troy weight) of Japanese standard silver, which shall consist of not less than nine parts of pure silver to not more than one part alloy."

The above is an extract from the Treaty. This standard coin is a Japanese production, but, nevertheless, it must not be looked at from an exclusively Japanese point of view, that is to say, it must be borne in mind that it forms a medium of exchange in commercial transactions between Japanese and foreigners. In just the same way, for instance, a Japanese when he enters into the service of a foreigner cannot act entirely in accordance with Japanese customs and prejudices. The old Government, therefore, observed the stipulations of the Treaty, and did not exceed the proportion of one part alloy in ten. For some time past, however, the debased coinage has been passed into circulation. The silver ichibus lately issued in Osaka were of notoriously low standard, and the golden nibus were subjected to a still greater admixture of alloy. To these causes the losses incurred by foreigners is entirely due. The officers of the Mint were of opinion that coin issued by Government, no matter of what standard, would naturally become current throughout the country. They held somewhat similar opinions with regard to paper money. This is one of the exploded errors of antiquity.

3. The foreign Ministers may put some such query as the following:—They may say it is a well-known fact that a debased coinage has been issued by the Government, but has not counterfeit money been issued by others also? How can a satisfactory reply be given to this question?

This is in consequence of a current report to the effect that others beside Government are secretly engaged in the issue of golden nibus of a very low standard. If we consider the fact that 30,000,000 riôs have fallen into the hands of foreigners, we are driven to the conclusion that not only has a debased coinage been issued by the old and new Governments, but that large quantities of counterfeit money has been secretly from other places.

4. The issue of gold and silver coin of a low standard by the Japanese Government is contrary to the stipulations of the Treaty. Japanese themselves as well as foreigners are utterly bewildered as to what course they should pursue, and Japan has acquired a bad reputation throughout the world. How then is this disgrace to be wiped away?

The above questions are of the most vital importance to Japan. One Department cannot by exercising its whole strength accomplish the task before us. We wish, therefore, that this entire subject should receive your most careful consideration at an early date.

(Signed) FOREIGN OFFICE.

Whoever has any opinion to offer on the above subject let him declare it immediately.

No. 15.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 25, 1869.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatches of the 25th and 26th June; and I have to instruct you to express to Mr. Mitford, Mr. Von Siebold, and Mr. O'Driscoll my approval of the diligence shown by them in furnishing the translations of the interesting and remarkable papers therein inclosed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 16.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 7.)

My Lord, *Yedo, July* 12, 1869.

A CURIOUS debate has taken place in the Japanese Parliament on two peculiar questions relative to the manner in which foreign trade should be conducted. Firstly, whether Japanese merchants should be allowed to enter into partnership with foreigners; and secondly, whether in the event of such partnerships being allowed, the Government should be responsible for any losses that might be incurred by such mixed associations.

I have no information as to the origin of these singular propositions, further than that the motion was brought forward by private Members, and is to be regarded, therefore, as an instance of independent discussion on their part. Viewed as an illustration of the capacity of the Members and of the tone of the House on the question of foreign commerce, the debate appears to me to possess considerable interest. In judging of it, we have to bear in mind the limited experience of the speakers on commercial matters, and on business generally; and although some of the opinions are crude and absurd, others again are marked by common sense and liberality. The result of the debate is at least creditable to the discernment of the Assembly, for on finding that they were dealing with an inopportune and unpractical question, the Members negatived the motion by a large majority.

I have to thank Mr. Mitford for the translation of this interesting document.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 16.

Report of Parliamentary Debate on Partnerships with Foreigners.

(Translation.) *4th month.*

"Kogisho Nishi," No. 11.

THE sixth motion before the House consisted of two proposals relating to the conduct of foreign trade:—

1. It is proposed that Japanese merchants be allowed to enter into partnership with foreigners.

2. Such partnership being lawful, in the event of a firm so established incurring losses, the Government should not be responsible for those losses.

How would it answer to enact a law or laws to the above effect?

Report of the Debate.

Yoda Uyemonjiro.—There would be five evils attending partnerships with foreigners:—

1. They are rich and we are poor, and as they are cunning and we are dull, the gain would all go to them, the loss would all fall upon us.

2. When there is any delay in fulfilling a contract the foreigners reproach our people, and even, it is said, go so far as to beat them. This causes wrangling and disputes.

3. Merchants are unenlightened as to the principles of right and wrong. If our people enter into partnerships with foreigners, they will devise means of bringing trouble upon all merchants outside of their own firm.

4. Should any Japanese member of the firm be guilty of absconding, or the like, the

foreigner would certainly look to the Government to find the guilty man, so that the clause absolving the Government from responsibility would be a dead letter.

5. Our intercourse with foreigners not yet being upon a sure footing, we should beware how we enact bad laws upon such subjects as the one before us.

Hadano Jiyemon, Kitamura Keizô, Ozeki Yoyemon, Arai Kingo, Ora Seigo, Toda Tamotsu, Nasu Kinyemon, Shôda Heikaku, concur in the above opinion.

Takagi Dainoshin.—I am of opinion that it will be time enough for us to discuss this subject when the questions as to opening or closing the country—as to peace or war—which were proposed to us on a former occasion shall have been decided.

Kato Umon, Itobe Kangorô, Yabuki Unoji, Matsuura Kakuji, Kumagai Leizô, Uda Setsanoske, Shiôten Hiyôske, Nishigni Shirodaiyu, Hisamatsu Shuri, Nonomura Kinyemon, Nakazatô Kôzô, Tanabe Katashi, Matsuzaki Motoyemon, Hachiya Arata, Kondô Monzô, held much the same language as the last speaker.

Hattori Seizaburo.—I think that if, after the permission has been granted in the firs place to merchants, it be found to answer, it should be extended to the Daimios and petty nobles. But I think it should be deferred until the question of opening or shutting the country has been thoroughly discussed.

Uchida Rihei, Senzoku Sôbei, and Arima Shuntaro held much the same language as the last speaker.

Mita Shohei.—I am of opinion that discussion as to such partnerships should be deferred until after the revision of the Treaties.

Sawara Junkichi, Shingû Sadayu, Hirai Tôma, Koidzumi Jiûbei, Kondô Hiyakusuke, Nakagawa Hisô, and Amenomori Renzaburô agreed with the last speaker.

Sakada.—I think that the subject should be reserved until the rules upon which intercourse with foreigners should be conducted shall have been settled.

Sugenomori Rokurobei, Iwata Sezayemon, Taketa Heinosuke, Yashino Tsukasa, and Mitsuhashi Hajime agreed with the last speaker.

Okada.—I am of opinion that the permission for Japanese to enter into partnership with foreigners might be granted after the foundations of our Government shall have been surely established.

Tomatsu Naniyemon, Mochidzuki Tahei, Kodama Geki, Okada Kanyemon, Aoki Sadato, Iwamoto Hanji, Iwamatsu Denzô, Kasama Yenoshin, Shiraishi Mokuyemon, Satô Sakai, Okubo Kingen, and Horiye Kakuyemon agreed.

Akami Tameyemon.—I am of opinion that the question of partnerships with foreigners should be postponed until the foundations of our country are established. But I think an experiment might be made of partnerships among Japanese only.

Koshiba Isao.—Our attention should not be taken up by such trifles as partnership in trade and the like, while the very roots from which the tree of our Constitution is to grow are as yet unsettled.

Kasya Gombei.—I am entirely opposed to partnerships in trade. It is proposed that the Government should be irresponsible in matters relating to trade; but if our country people should be disgraced by the foreigners, could our Government turn its head aside and pretend not to see?

Shimotsu Gonnai.—I am in favour of partnerships in trade, but I think that stringent rules should first be drawn up in order to ensure the punishment of fraudulent persons. Further, as I am aware that in cases of loss it will be very difficult to absolve the Government from responsibility, it will be our first duty to contrive some good plan to that effect.

Sakaguchi Otodo.—If we decide that in cases of loss the Government is to be held irresponsible, the authority in commercial matters will be transferred to the common people, and the result will be that our gold and silver will pass into the hands of foreigners.

Nakano Shingeaki.—If we say that the Government is to be irresponsible in cases of loss, I fear that foreigners will scarcely be eager to enter into such partnerships; accordingly, I think that in cases of loss the Government ought to confer with the foreign Plenipotentiaries. Further, as our people are not yet used to trade, we ought to draw up a minute and particular Treaty in relation to partnerships. Still, as the conclusion of partnerships is but an association of persons of low degree on either side, perhaps so weighty a measure as the conclusion of a special Treaty is unnecessary, and if the terms of the motion are agreed to I shall have nothing further to say.

Masuda Sôtarô.—If our people enter into partnerships with the foreign barbarians, the lust of amassing gain will breed hatred and quarrels. In the event of any loss occurring it is certain that the Government ought not to be responsible.

Osawara Takashi.—If the motion before us should be agreed to, special rules must be

drawn up. The principle of the irresponsibility of the Government is a bad one. And great losses on the part of a firm should immediately be reported to the Government.

Ohara Hiyóbu.—It is all very well to talk of the irresponsibility of the Government in cases of losses. But such losses will give rise to quarrels and disputes, and the Government cannot but interfere. We shall have to lay down stringent and particular rules in the matter.

Matsushita Kayemon.—I think that the motion before us is certainly a good one; but inasmuch as corrupt merchants are greedy of gain, their covetousness will give rise to disputes and then the Government will of necessity have to interfere.

Kaju Kansuké.—Let us wait until the country is unanimous and until the principles upon which our relations with abroad are to be conducted are developed. Then let us legislate in this matter. In drawing up the rules for mixed partnerships we cannot absolve the Government from responsibility.

Fukui Taisuke.—Although I am not opposed to the measure, I see that if it should be a source of loss to our people, it will breed violation of the laws and will brew shame for our country. The Government must be responsible in such matters. I shall be ready to agree to the motion so soon as rules shall have been drawn up to protect our people from loss.

Asami Tatsuzeyemon agreed with the last speaker.

Tachibana Jirozayemon.—This is a matter which should be delayed for some years. If foreigners were to report to the Government that by reason of having entered into such mixed partnerships they had incurred great losses, the Government would find itself forced to interfere. I am of opinion, therefore, that these partnerships should not be allowed.

Tsurui Hikozayemon agreed with the last speaker.

Kobayashi Gizayemon.—Such laws as these may be very good for foreigners, but they will not do for Japan.

Shóda Kozen.—There are in this country knavish traders whose custom it is to lie. These men would heap losses on their foreign partners, and in such cases the Government could not hold itself irresponsible. The most important matter in foreign relations is the establishment of truth and loyalty. Diplomacy does not busy itself about such trivial matters as these.

Takizawa Seigo.—If our merchants are behind the covenanted time in making payments and the like, the foreigners will certainly apply to the Government for compensation, and how can the Government say that it will not interfere? I am of opinion, however, that we should wait to pass this law until we shall have the power of legislating in such a manner as to insure the perfect prosperity of our country.

Higuchi Jiuroemon.—At a moment when the multitude of affairs, both domestic and foreign, is pressing upon us, it is necessary that we should economize our labours. On this account I am opposed to the passing of the measure for introducing partnerships in trade.

Kawanishi Rokuzó.—If Japanese traders should cheat their foreign partners, the latter will certainly persecute us, and the Government will be obliged to interfere. I am of opinion that the matter of partnerships should be put to a practical test among our own merchants, and afterwards we can give official permission for mixed partnerships with foreigners.

Sonoda Tamotsu.—The whole of the imports which come from abroad should be bought up by the Government and sold by auction to the trade. All toys and profitless contrivances should be put on board ship again and be forbidden to enter the country. Secret trafficking on private account should be severely punished. Our exports should be balanced against the imports, and the quantity limited. If we export the produce of our country in excessive quantities we shall suffer from high prices at home.

Takahashi Wataru and Hayakawa Yoichiro agreed with the last speaker.

Narita Sakuyemon.—I am in favour of the Bill; only the heads of houses must draw up their rules strictly in accordance with international law. It will be impossible to prevent firms from collecting money with a view to purchasing the produce of the ensuing year. But they should not be allowed to accumulate more money than will suffice to purchase the produce which they have in view. Should firms become bankrupt, it is the universal law that Governments should indemnify those firms. In such cases the Government must be responsible.

Okamoto Naoki agrees with the last speaker.

Murata Chiunajó.—Our merchants race after gain, and when they come into collusion with foreigners it is impossible to foresee what unthought-of frauds may arise. The most stringent rules must be published. Mixed partnerships must be under the control of the Foreign Department.

Tominaga Shime and Akimoto Keinojô agreed with the last speaker.

Tsukamoto Kuichiro.—I have nothing special to add to the motion. Mixed partnerships should be allowed so soon as a special department shall have been formed for their control, based upon the principles which have hitherto been observed at the open port of Nagasaki.

Nagasaki Yenshichiro agreed with the last speaker.

Karube Shigiya.—When our merchants shall have gone abroad and obtained a practical insight into trade, it will be time enough for us to settle this question.

Anitake Yemon.—I am of opinion that the principle of partnerships ought to be encouraged by the Government amongst our own wholesale houses, and more especially in the case of post offices. Afterwards we can allow mixed partnerships with foreigners.

Sugiura Makoto.—The present juncture is perfectly favourable for the scheme before us. But there are two omissions in the motion which we should supply as follows:—

1. Our merchants should, upon application, be freely permitted to purchase ships and men of war, to open mercantile establishments at the ports of all foreign countries, and to go and reside there.

2. Although the Government should not be responsible for losses incurred in trade, officers should be stationed at the foreign ports according to international custom, to control our merchants, and to these officers should be entrusted all matters relating to trade.

Okada Yujino.—This is a measure which should be passed. If the Government exerts itself to frame commercial laws, great profit will accrue to the country, and we need be under no apprehension lest the whole commercial power should fall into the hands of the foreigner.

Nakagane Shôhei.—I am of opinion that all classes from the Princes down to the four classes (namely, the military class, the farmers, the artizans, and the merchants) and the priesthood should be allowed to make agreements, and form guilds as quickly as possible. The funds necessary for each company having been determined, great firms should be established at Yedo and at Osaka. After this, when the time comes for establishing small firms, foreigners might be allowed to enter these latter as partners. Certainly, in the first instance, the large firms should be composed of Japanese only. In the beginning it will be necessary that the Government should exercise control over these firms, and officers for the purpose should be selected from among the Hanji and those below them in rank. Laws must be framed absolving the Government from responsibility in matters of loss and gain.

Sakura-Niwa Tajima.—Up to the present time foreign trade has been forbidden at places other than the open ports. All exports and imports have been reported to the Government. The Government must decide as to the exact proportion of useful articles and articles of luxury to be imported. Further, if mixed partnerships should be permitted, it is incontestable that the Government is not responsible in cases of loss; still, unless the rights and wrongs of commercial law be defined, the Government must inevitably fall into trouble. We must conclude stringent and minute Treaties on this subject.

Hamuro Raisuke.—This is a matter of pressing importance. We ought at once to establish Japanese firms in foreign countries and open a flourishing commerce. This is the foundation of a wealthy country. With regard to the second clause of the motion I have nothing to say.

Takayanagi Yasuzayemon agreed with the last speaker.

Fukui Kenzô.—Since it has been decided to throw open certain ports, it will also be well to allow this measure. In connection with a permission for our merchants to cross the seas and enter into commercial negotiations, we shall have to permit the framing of measures for regulating contracts for ships, cargo, sailors, and the like. With regard to losses incurred in trade, it is out of the question that the Government should be held responsible.

Menju Shôgen.—Persons wishing to enter into mixed partnerships should draw up a document explanatory of the objects and rules of the association, to be presented in the form of a petition to their respective Governments, and if the covenant upon careful investigation be found to be binding and formal, the partnership should be permitted. The rules of the firm must not be in contravention of the Treaties. The Government should not be responsible for the losses incurred in trade.

Kuki Motome.—This measure should be passed. However, although the Government is certainly not responsible for losses incurred in the way of business, still in the case of foreigners incurring losses by the private corruption of their Japanese partners, I am of opinion that it is the duty of the Government to interfere in their behalf.

Usuda Tsukane.—If our relations with foreign countries are on a really friendly footing, mixed partnerships should be allowed. However, although the principle is right that the Government is not responsible in cases of loss, still in the case of heavy losses the foreigners would apply to the Government if they saw anything to lead them to suppose that their Japanese partners intended to abscond, and therefore, before permission is granted for such partnerships, fixed and immutable rules should in the first place be communicated to both foreign and native merchants.

Nagano Jurobei.—At the present moment we have in various ways been almost put to shame by foreigners. If we allow these mixed partnerships, and they lead to great losses for which no means of indemnity are provided, I do not see how the losses so incurred will be able to stop with the merchants.

Shiga Rissaburō.—I believe that a measure permitting our merchants to go abroad and enter into mixed partnerships with foreigners would be a means of restoring the broken fortunes of our country. If the harmony of a firm should be disturbed by quarrels, this will lead in the end to great losses. Although the Government may not be responsible in cases of loss in the way of business, still the failure of our merchants would impoverish our country, and merchants, both foreign and native, should be forbidden to look lightly upon their losses.

Inatsu Wataru.—If merchants do not in very truth observe the provisions of the two clauses of the motion, the Imperial Government will suffer. The reason of this is, that inasmuch as the Government wields the supreme power in commercial matters, petitions and addresses will be sent in to it, and how can it be irresponsible? The time hardly seems to be propitious for passing such a measure.

Akimoto Yosuke.—If this measure be passed, fraudulent merchants will swindle and brew trouble.

Nada Rihei.—All the countries of the West think only of gain. Very stringent rules would have to be drawn up. If the harmony of our foreign relations would be endangered by the rejection of this measure for establishing mixed partnerships, we must needs pass it; but if there be no such fear I am in favour of postponing it.

Sasaki Tetsuyemon.—If our people enter into partnership and contract friendships with foreigners, if they are allowed free commerce until the exports and imports are doubled and re-doubled, cunning merchants will avail themselves of the opportunity to practise frauds and deceits. Even supposing that such partnerships should be for the good of the country, they must decidedly not be permitted.

Nakazawa Kensaku.—We ought to send Consuls and Envoys to foreign countries. Unless our people know by heart the nature of foreign articles of produce—which are plentiful, which are rare; which are good and which bad; which are cheap and which are dear, the establishment of partnerships would only lead to the multiplication of losses, and these losses would end by affecting the wealth and strength of the country.

Heiwa Teizō.—Before allowing these mixed partnerships, I should prefer to see Japan, like an educated and intelligent country, establish laws to regulate trade; it is a matter of the highest importance that the power of fixing the price of merchandize should not be left to the lower classes.

Kiyōsō Hikosuke.—The supreme power in commercial matters rests with the Government and does not descend to the lower classes. If mixed partnerships would not operate to the prejudice of the country, I am in favour of them. Still there is an order and a precedence in all things, and this question of mixed partnerships is not one of immediate importance. I am in favour of the second clause.

Heki Kumajiro.—The framing of commercial laws is a matter of mutual advantage. The supreme power in matters which affect the profits of the country is ever wielded by the Government. This power must not for a single day be transferred to the lower grades of officials or merchants. How much the more should the delegating of such power be avoided at a crisis like the present?

Hirayama Kotarō.—I have nothing to add to the original motion. However, there are merchants in our country who are adepts at knavish tricks. Hence in the matter of mixed partnerships, unless we render any infringement of rights impossible, our country will be put to shame, and the advantage of partnerships will be lost. We must take care that this be from the outset impressed upon our merchants.

Naritomi Shimbei.—I am all in favour of partnerships entered into among Japanese, provided that foreigners be excluded from them. The conclusion of partnerships between Japanese and foreigners would be prejudicial to the country.

Nishimura Sutezō.—This is a matter which should be delayed until we shall have a coinage which shall pass current all over the world. As the strength of foreign countries and of Japan are not equal, in the end we should be injured by the foreigners and this measure would become a source of weakness.

Kuroishi Hotoré.—It is quite right that the Government should not be responsible in cases of mercantile losses. As soon as the Constitution of our country shall have been established, we should extend to our people laws for the regulation of partnerships. Further, if we do not enter into similar agreements with foreign countries, it will be an inevitable source of trouble to us.

Ayabe Seichiro.—If rules have been already drawn up and have passed into law regulating partnerships, we must agree to the measure. But if this is merely a primary measure for permitting mixed partnerships with foreigners of all nations, I am opposed to it as unreasonable. The second clause, which absolves the Government from responsibility in cases of loss, is quite just.

Senno Riyônosuke.—Agreed with the last speaker.

Moriyasu Shichiyemon.—If once there were to arise any mistake as to an agreement it would be a source of great trouble to the country. It is impossible to absolve the Government from responsibility. As soon as we have established the foundations of our foreign relations and seen how they answer we can allow this measure.

Suzuki Gonsaku.—Unless we draw up stringent rules we shall be as middlemen inviting a bad bride for our country. We must wait awhile before allowing mixed partnerships.

Okamoto Jihei.—As our merchants do not go abroad and establish themselves in the various foreign ports, the profit and the power would fall into the hands of the foreign partners of mixed firms, and this would give rise to disputes.

Tsugawa Yakara.—I am opposed to the motion for mixed partnerships. They would in the end force upon the Government the necessity of interfering.

Result of the Division.

For the motion	39
Against it	142
Indifferent	7

No. 17.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 26.)

My Lord, *Yedo, July 26, 1869.*

HAVING mentioned to the Japanese Ministers that His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh might shortly be expected to visit Japan in the course of his tour, I have now received the accompanying despatch, informing me that this announcement had occasioned the Emperor much satisfaction, and that it was the wish of His Majesty to place his seaside palace at the disposal of His Royal Highness during his stay in Yedo.

About two months have intervened since I first spoke of the Prince's visit, and the date of the present communication, but in the meantime no small amount of discussion has taken place among the Japanese Ministers and nobles as to the manner in which this visit should be noticed by the Mikado. The progressive party maintained that the reception by His Majesty should conform, as far as the circumstances of Japan would permit, to the usages of other nations; while their opponents were as ready to denounce as injurious to the Mikado's dignity any advance on His Majesty's part that could be regarded as an admission of equal rank between a foreign Prince of the Blood Royal and the Imperial and heaven-descended family of Japan.

Being of opinion that their resolution whenever taken should not be deprived of the value attaching to a spontaneous offer of courtesy or hospitality, I have carefully refrained from asking for any particular mode of reception, but have simply observed that, while one of a public character would doubtless be regarded by the Queen and people of England as a proof of good-feeling on the part of the Mikado and Japan, I must reserve to His Royal Highness the liberty of making his visit to Japan in a private form if he saw reason to do so, and to myself the right of advising His Royal Highness to decline any proposals in regard to ceremonial that might appear to me to be derogatory to the Prince's rank.

The details of the reception still remain to be considered, but looking to the innovations which such an event involves in some of the most deeply cherished ideas of this singularly constituted Court and people, I have much reason to be satisfied with the friendly attention which has been given to the subject, and the liberality of sentiment which has apparently guided the decision. At an entertainment given me by the Hosho or Prime Minister, on the 24th instant, he assured me that it was the wish of the Mikado

and his Government to make such arrangements as should mark their own good-feeling towards England and also promote friendship between the two countries.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 17.

Date Chiunagon and Terashima Shi-i to Sir H. Parkes.

(Translation.)

Sir, *July* 15, 1869.

HIS Majesty the Emperor having been apprised that your honourable country's Prince, on his tour to the many countries of the East, also intends visiting Japan, has been delighted beyond measure; and although our country can offer but poor hospitality, His Majesty would be intensely pleased if your Prince would consent to take up his abode in the gardens of Hama-go-ten, the seaside palace of His Majesty.

Will your Excellency be so good as to report this [to His Royal Highness] on arrival?

(Signed) DATE CHIUNAGON, *Principal Minister for Foreign Affairs.*
TERASHIMA SHI-I, *Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

No. 18.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 21, 1869.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch of the 26th July, respecting the intended visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to Japan, and reporting that it is the intention of the Mikado to place one of His Majesty's palaces at the disposal of the Prince during His Royal Highness's stay at Yedo.

I have to instruct you to convey to the Mikado, through His Majesty's Foreign Minister, the acknowledgments of the Queen and the cordial thanks of Her Majesty's Government for His Majesty's friendly and hospitable intentions towards the Duke of Edinburgh.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 19.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 3.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, August* 9, 1869.

HAVING observed that the Parliament assembled at Yedo had extended their discussions to questions concerning foreign interests, I recently joined my colleagues, the foreign Representatives, in forwarding to the Government the inclosed *note identique* which was written with the view of gaining some authentic information as to the constitution of this assembly and as to the value that should be attached to their proceedings.

We have now received the inclosed reply informing us, as I understand its tenor, that the object of the institution is to enable the Government to sound public opinion on the various topics of the day, and to obtain the assistance of the country in the work of legislation, by ascertaining whether the projects of the Government are likely to be favourably received. Legislative functions do not appear to have been conferred upon the assembly, and the Government reserve to themselves the right of considering all the opinions sent up to them by the members, whether given singly or collectively, and of determining how far these should be carried into effect.

The mode in which the members of the present assembly were elected was probably more or less arbitrary, as it is understood that they are the nominees of the clique which in most cases governs the territory of each Daimio, while the Daimio himself merely rules in name. The whole character of the institution is necessarily for the time experimental, and it is only by experience of the subject that the Japanese can be expected to learn how improvements may be introduced into its constitution, how elections may best be made, and what degree of power may safely be exercised by such an assembly. Regarded, how-

ever, as a first attempt I think it may be allowed that the institution, even as at present conducted, is not discreditable to the projectors of the scheme.

I lately took an opportunity of pointing out to the Prime Minister, that I had noticed that the members made occasional use in their debates of the offensive word "barbarian" in allusion to foreigners, and I requested that this discourtesy might be discountenanced by the Government. The Prime Minister assured me without hesitation that he had not noticed this practice until I had mentioned it, and that he would take prompt measures to insure its discontinuance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 19.

Sir H. Parkes to Date Chiunagon.

Yokohama, July 17, 1869.

IT has come to the knowledge of the Undersigned that an assembly called Kôgi, composed of members elected in the territories of the Daimios, has recently assembled at Yedo by command of His Majesty the Tennô,* and has deliberated and voted on various questions relating both to internal and foreign affairs.

It would have been unnecessary for the Undersigned to have made any reference to the proceedings of this assembly if these had been confined to matters relating solely to the internal administration of Japan, but as the Undersigned has observed that questions affecting the Treaties concluded between foreign Powers and Japan have been brought before the assembly for debate, sometimes by the Government and sometimes by the members themselves, that the assembly has voted upon these questions, and that their debates are published with the sanction or knowledge of the Government, it becomes incumbent on the Undersigned acting in conjunction with his colleagues, the Representatives of the other Treaty Powers, to ask his Excellency for information on the following points :—

1. Is the journal of the assembly published under the authority of the Government of His Majesty the Tennô ?

2. Is a motion submitted to the assembly by a Department of the Government or by an officer of the Government, to be understood as an expression of the opinion of the Government ?

3. Is the Government of the Tennô bound to carry out a decision of the assembly when arrived at by a vote of a majority of the members ?

The Undersigned feels that it would be superfluous to point out to his Excellency that no vote or proceeding of the assembly, whether approved or not by the Government of the Tennô, can be allowed to modify the Treaties already concluded with foreign powers, except with the full consent of the various Governments concerned.

In view of the high importance attaching to this subject, the Undersigned has to urge his Excellency to be so good as to reply to the above questions with as little delay as possible.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 19.

Sawa Yemon Gonnoske to Sir H. Parkes.

(Translation.)

Sir, *August* 4, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 18th June, in which you enter into several questions connected with the late establishment in this country of a House of Parliament (Kôgisho).

The object for which this House of Parliament has been newly established is to frame enactments in all matters connected with legislation, and determine for or against their adoption. However, when measures of domestic and foreign policy are referred to it, the views of each member are discussed and debated, and the decision which is arrived at is referred to the Kôseikwan (Government) for their consideration.

It is true that, even questions affecting our Treaties with foreign powers may be brought forward for discussion, but it is unnecessary for me to explain, that in all such cases it is only after negotiation between the two nations that any measure can be carried into execution.

* "Tennô," literally King of Heaven, a title of the Mikado.

In reply to your three questions I have to state:—

1. The journal of the debates is published under the authority of this Government, and is not printed privately.

2. The subjects of debate are in some instances proposed by members of the House, and in others, founded on petitions from private individuals. In such cases, this Government has no concern with them, but it sometimes happens that subjects are started tentatively, and merely in order to ascertain whether the feelings of the nation are favourable or not; and it is necessary to distinguish these cases from the preceding.

3. Even measures which have received the final approval of the House must be submitted to His Majesty the Emperor for his decision before they can be carried into execution.

(Signed) SAWA YEMON GONNOSKE,
Chiji of Foreign Affairs.

P.S.—Owing to the retirement from office of Date Chiunagon, the above reply to your despatch has been made by me.

No. 20.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received October* 18.)

My Lord, *Yedo, August* 23, 1869.

I REPORTED in my previous despatches of the 13th and 29th April and of the 13th May that a large proportion of the Daimios had offered to place their lands at the disposal of the Mikado. The question was referred by His Majesty to the consideration of the Council then about to assemble at Yeddo, and after protracted discussion the following result has been arrived at:—

His Majesty has seen fit to accept the offer, and has made known the decision in the inclosed Decree. He has at the same time conferred on all the Daimios the title of Chihanji, which may be translated "Prefect of the Clan," and they will in future govern their respective territories in the name of the Mikado. Many details remain to be arranged as to the employment of their revenues and the degree of authority with which they will continue to be invested. As a preliminary measure a new assessment of all their lands has been called for, the returns of which are expected to be sent in by the close of the year.

There can be little doubt that if this measure be carried out it will have the effect, as stated in the Decree, of consolidating the authority of the Government. Every Daimiate or prefecture, instead of having a separate autonomy of its own, will, in future, form a section of one great whole, and one general system of law and administration, working from an acknowledged centre, will be introduced.

This voluntary subordination of this authority to that of the Mikado was supported by 241 Daimios, and dissented from by only 17, who represented about one fourteenth of the value of the fiefs. The Government having satisfied themselves that the measure was generally desired, directed these 17 to conform their proceedings to those of the other Daimios, and the order appears to have been uniformly obeyed.

Another important decree has appeared abolishing the distinction between the order of nobles known as Kugé, who composed the hierarchical court of the Mikado prior to the reconstruction of the Government, and the Daimios, or, as they have hitherto been termed, territorial nobles. Both classes have now been blended into one order, to be termed "Kazoku," or nobles, and in future the title of "Daimio," which has become familiar to foreigners, will cease to be used by Japanese.

By a third Decree the Government have reserved to themselves the approval of all appointments or offices held under the Chihanji (late Daimios), which is another obvious step towards the subordination of all the local administrations to that of the central Government.

These measures having been determined on, the Chihanji's are commencing to leave Yedo, in order to give effect to them in their several territories or prefectures. They left these territories as semi-independent Princes, and they now return to govern them as functionaries deputed by the general Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No 20.

Imperial Decrees.

(Translations.)

Decree No. 1.

IN regard to the proposal which has been made for the restoration of revenues and subjects to His Majesty the Emperor, the latter, fully appreciating the tendencies of the present age, and having submitted the matter freely to public discussion, has granted this petition, as such a course is calculated to consolidate the authority of the Government.

(Signed) KO-SEI-KWAN.

6th month (*July* 8 *to August* 7, 1869).

Decree No. 2.

His Majesty the Emperor, from a desire to assimilate the civil and military classe (Kugés and Daimios), and to place them on a footing of equality, has decreed that the titles "Kugé" and "Shoko" (Daimio) shall be abolished, and that of "Kazoku" (noble) substituted.

Official ranks will remain undisturbed.

6th month.

Decree No. 3.

A Notification was lately issued to the effect that when His Majesty appointed a Daimio's officer to be a Government official, the Daimio would be previously consulted as to what kind of office he would be adapted for; it is hereby made known that in future appointments will depend on the Imperial pleasure, and the terms "Choshi" and "Yoshi" (hired officers) done away with.

(Signed) KO-SEI-KWAN.

6th month.

No. 21.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 18.)

My Lord, *Yedo, August* 23, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 26th ultimo, reporting that His Majesty the Mikado had communicated to me his wish to receive His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh on the occasion of his visit to Japan, I may now add that His Majesty's Government continue to take a deep interest in this subject, and appear disposed to spare no pains to render the Prince's stay at the capital agreeable to him. Two high Commissioners have been appointed to proceed to Yokohama as soon as the Prince's arrival is reported, in order to invite His Royal Highness to Yedo in the name of the Mikado. The seaside palace has been handsomely fitted up for his reception, and furniture and all the necessary appointments have been procured at considerable expense from Hong Kong.

At the reception by the Mikado it has been arranged that, after the formal part of the ceremony is concluded, His Majesty shall invite the Prince to a second meeting in one of the summer pavilions, when the Mikado will sit and converse with His Royal Highness with less reserve.

A series of national entertainments will be provided; and the princes of the blood and the principal nobles will pay their respects to His Royal Highness.

In a conversation which I had yesterday with the ex-Prime Minister Iwakura, he observed that the reception of the Prince had caused the Government much anxious consideration; for when the subject was first mooted, opinion was by means uniform as to the course to be pursued. An intelligent majority of the advisers of the Mikado had, however, seen that the occasion was one which should be profited by to mark their friendly feeling towards foreign Powers, and their readiness to promote more intimate relations with them, although at a sacrifice of old ideas and usages. In order, therefore, to receive the Prince in a manner that would be acceptable to England, the Mikado would have to adopt a new etiquette; but it afforded them gratification to feel that these compliments would be paid in the first instance to an English Prince, and would form, therefore, some acknowledgment of the various proofs they had received of the good-will of England and Her Majesty's Government.

I, of course, expressed my high appreciation of these sentiments, and pointed out that liberality in this as in other matters was conducive to the reputation of Japan, and to its position among the nations of the world.

I append a translation of a Proclamation in which the expected arrival of the Prince has been announced to the people of Yedo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 21.

Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Yedo.

(Translation.)

A ROYAL Prince of England is coming to this country, and the Imperial Government will receive him according to the custom observed between friendly countries.

Let every one, from the highest to the lowest, bear this in mind, and be careful not to act in an offensive manner.

No. 22.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 1.)

My Lord, *Yedo, September 2, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to report that His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh hoisted his standard on board Her Majesty's ship "Galatea" at Yokohama at 8 A.M. on the morning of the 31st ultimo.

Immediately on the standard being unfurled, Royal salutes were fired by all the British and foreign ships-of-war in harbour, and also by the Japanese fort at Kanagawa. The flag of His Majesty the Mikado was then saluted with twenty-one guns by Her Majesty's ship "Galatea."

At 11 A.M. His Royal Highness landed under salutes from all the ships-of-war, and was received at the landing-place by myself and Colonel Norman, C.B., commanding Her Majesty's troops in China and Japan. British, French, and Japanese guards of honour were in attendance, and the route from the landing-place to Her Britannic Majesty's Legation was lined by British and Japanese guards.

On arriving at the Legation His Royal Highness held a levée, which was attended by the whole of the Corps Diplomatique and many other foreign officers. A deputation of twelve of the British community waited on His Royal Highness and presented an address which had received the signatures of upwards of 250 British residents.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of this address and of the reply which was returned to the deputation by His Royal Highness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 22.

Address to His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh.

Introductory Speech by Mr. Aspinall.

May it please your Royal Highness,

HER Majesty's subjects resident in Yokohama gladly avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by your Royal Highness' visit to Japan to offer expression of their loyalty and dutiful affection to their Sovereign and her Royal house.

On their behalf I am deputed to act as the Representative of the Committee in giving expression to their wishes, and to present your Royal Highness with an address of welcome.

They trust that your Royal Highness' visit to this country will bear with it many pleasant reminiscences, and that you may be spared for many years and enjoy much prosperity.

With your Royal Highness' permission I will now read the address which has been signed by upwards of 250 of Her Majesty's subjects.

The Address.

To Captain, His Royal Highness Alfred Ernest Albert, the Duke of Edinburgh, R.N., K.G., K.T.

May it please your Royal Highness,

We, the undersigned British subjects, resident at Yokohama, beg to approach your Royal Highness, in order to testify our loyalty and devotion to the Throne and family of our most Gracious Queen.

We feel it our happiness on the occasion of the visit of your Royal Highness to Japan, to be allowed to tender you a most hearty welcome; and we beg to assure Her Majesty and your Royal Highness, that although we are a small community, settled among men of every race in a settlement so far from our native shores, we ever cherish the deepest affection towards our beloved Queen and her Royal family.

We hail the arrival of the "Galatea" in these waters, and we heartily trust that prosperity may attend the ship and her Royal Captain throughout.

We own with gratitude the watchful providence which has ever guarded the life and prospered the reign of our Most Gracious Queen, and we fervently pray that God will long vouchsafe his blessings to Her Majesty and her Royal line.

Subscribed at Yokohama, August 1869.

The Reply.

Gentlemen,

I thank you sincerely for the address which you have presented to me.

In the Queen's name I acknowledge the expressions of your loyalty to her Throne and person; and for myself I am gratified for the kind wishes which you express for my future welfare.

I attach the more weight to your address because it comes from a body of gentlemen who form the principal link between the Empires of Japan and Great Britain; the increased favourable relations between these two countries must add very materially to the prosperity of both; and it rests, to a very great extent with you, by the energetic prosecution of peaceful industry, to improve still more the intimacy and good fellowship between the people of this country and of our own land. That your efforts in so good a cause may be crowned with success, is my earnest wish—a wish that is all the more sincere because I feel that your prosperity in this country must add to the well-being of both Empires.

(Signed) ALFRED.

No. 23.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 1.)

My Lord, *Yedo, September 4, 1869.*

HIS Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh proceeded to Yedo by land on the 1st instant, travelling in a carriage provided by His Majesty the Mikado. Every mark of respect was shown His Highness by the functionaries appointed to conduct him, as well as by the people who thronged the road and streets to obtain a sight of the son of the Sovereign of Great Britain. Any one acquainted with the past state of affairs in this country could scarcely fail to observe the remarkable improvement in our intercourse which these circumstances denote. Three or four years ago the foreigner entering Yeddo, watched, with well-grounded distrust, the movements and forbidding aspect of every armed Japanese; but on this occasion the feeling animating all classes appeared perfectly friendly and unrestrained. They acted as if they felt that they were receiving foreign friends instead of traditional opponents.

At the halt at Kawasaki His Royal Highness was accommodated in the Mikado's rest-house; and immediately on his arrival at Yedo, he was visited by Ninwaji no Miya, a Prince of the Blood, who delivered to His Royal Highness a cordial welcome in the name of His Majesty.

The visit of His Royal Highness to the Mikado takes place to-day. The ceremonial which will be adopted, is described in the inclosed programme, which was drawn up prior to the Prince's arrival by the Japanese Ministers, and has since been approved of by His Royal Highness. It seems to me to mark the determination of His Majesty and his Government to receive His Royal Highness with every suitable acknowledgment of his

rank, although at the cost to them of many old pretensions. Fortunately, however, by reference to a higher antiquity than that which has furnished for centuries past the rules of Japanese State etiquette, they have found that the ceremonial to be observed on the occasion of the reception of the Prince may be supported by very early historical precedents, and may be regarded therefore rather as a revival of old customs than as a concession to the foreign relations of the day.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 23.

Programme of the Preparations for the Reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh.

(Translation.)

1. PREVIOUS to His Royal Highness' arrival in Japan, prayers will be offered up to Kan-jin for his prosperous voyage.

Note.—Kan-jin, literally the God of China. This is the revival of an extremely ancient ceremonial which dates from a time when there was no intercourse with abroad, excepting with China through Corea. Kan-jin is, therefore, the patron saint of foreigners, who are all united under his protection with the generic name of Tôjin, or "men of the Tang Dynasty of China."

2. So soon as intelligence of His Royal Highness' arrival shall be received, the Commissioner appointed to receive His Royal Highness, will proceed to Yokohama, to present his respects, and the compliments of His Majesty the Mikado.

3. On his Royal Highness' landing at Yokohama, a salute of twenty-one guns will be fired. A guard of honour will present arms.

4. On the day before His Royal Highness' departure for his residence at Yedo, the roads will be cleaned and repaired; and prayers for his safe journey will be offered up to the god of roads.

5. On the day on which His Royal Highness may be expected to arrive in Yedo, religious ceremonies will take place at Shinagawa, to exorcise all evil spirits. On His Royal Highness' arrival, a Prince of the Blood will visit him, to inquire after his health.

6. The Royal Standards of England and Japan will be unfurled, side by side, at the Prince's residence.

7. On the occasion of His Royal Highness going to Court, he will be conducted by the Commissioners appointed for his reception. The hour will be 1 P.M.

8. When His Royal Highness is about to enter the gate of the Castle, the ceremony called "Nusa," will take place.

Note.—"Nusa" is the sweeping away of evil influences with a sort of flapper with a hempen tassel.

9. At the third gate, or gate immediately before the porch of the palace, His Royal Highness will alight from his carriage, a cry will be uttered by the heralds, to call attention and enjoin silence.

10. The High Ministers of State will advance, and conduct His Royal Highness to the apartment called Bingi no Ma, where His Royal Highness will rest for a while, and tea and refreshments will be offered.

11. The Prime Minister will present his respects.

12. After a short time the Court band will play, and the Mikado will take his place in the reception-room, whither the Commissioners will conduct His Royal Highness.

13. Compliments will be exchanged.

14. The Mikado will retire.

15. His Royal Highness will return to the room where he rested.

16. His Royal Highness will be accompanied by the Ministers of State and the Commissioners.

17. The Commissioners will then conduct His Royal Highness to the garden, where he will rest in the maple tea-house.

18. The Mikado will proceed to the waterfall pavilion.

19. The Commissioners will conduct His Royal Highness from the maple tea-house to the waterfall pavilion, where the Prime Minister will await His Royal Highness in the verandah.

20. After the exchange of compliments, His Majesty and His Royal Highness will sit down. Tea and sweetmeats will be served.

21. When the interview is at an end the Mikado will rise, and after the exchange of

compliments, the Prime Minister will accompany His Royal Highness to the verandah. His Royal Highness will then return to the maple tea-house.

22. The Minister of Foreign Affairs will accompany His Royal Highness as far as the gate of the garden, and the Commissioners will accompany His Royal Highness back to his residence.

23. On His Royal Highness's return, a Prince of the Blood will visit him to thank him for his visit to the Mikado.

24. During His Royal Highness's stay, the Officers of State and Daimios will frequently call to make inquiries.

No. 24.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received November* 1.)

My Lord, *Yeddo, September* 4, 1869.

IN continuation of my previous despatch of this date, I am able to report, on returning from the palace, that the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to His Majesty the Mikado has taken place.

In accordance with the programme inclosed in the above-mentioned despatch, the Mikado received His Royal Highness both at a formal and at a private interview. It will be my duty to forward to your Lordship by the next mail particulars of the proceedings, and to report the friendly assurances that were interchanged between the Mikado and the Prince. I have only time at present to observe that the interviews have been conducted in a manner which cannot fail to leave friendly impressions on the minds of both the high personages concerned.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 25.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received November* 22.)

My Lord, *Yedo, September* 30, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 4th instant, I have now the honour to forward a detailed memorandum of the ceremonies which were observed on the occasion of the reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh by the Mikado, and of the conversations which were held between His Majesty and His Royal Highness at the formal and private interviews.

His Royal Highness expressed himself as entirely satisfied with the cordial feeling which was shown towards him. He was received by the Mikado on a footing of entire equality, and His Majesty profited by the occasion to make favourable allusions to the friendly relations existing between Japan and Great Britain.

It is satisfactory to think that the good results which may be anticipated from this reception are not likely to be confined to the personal compliments which were paid to His Royal Highness. The event probably derives no small degree of importance from the additional and conspicuous proof which it affords of perseverance on the part of the new Government in the abandonment of a long-cherished system of isolation, and of their willingness to conduct their foreign intercourse according to the rules which obtain among Western Powers. His Majesty has been brought, on this occasion, into direct and personal communication with a member of one of the leading Royal families of Europe, and the knowledge of this fact and of the character of the reception of His Royal Highness can scarcely fail to exercise a favourable effect on the position of foreigners generally in this country, or to weaken those prejudices which are the result of centuries of rigid exclusion. Viewed, therefore, in this light and in regard to the divisions which exist among the Japanese upon questions of foreign policy, the visit of His Royal Highness may be considered as having occurred at an opportune season, and as an event which is likely to promote the growth of international good-will.

The stay of the Duke in Yedo was extended to a week. Particular entertainments, such as theatrical performances, feats of arms or equestrianism, wrestling, and other games were provided for each day. On the occasion of the visit to the Mikado a particular compliment was spontaneously paid to His Royal Highness. The upper windows of the

houses in the streets were closed in order that the people might not look down upon the Duke as he passed. As this rule has been only observed in this country towards the Mikado, or formerly towards the Tycoon, no clearer recognition could have been offered of the illustrious rank of the Mikado's guest.

It was satisfactory also to observe that several of the leading Daimios took part in the courtesies paid to His Royal Highness. Among these I should notice that an elder brother of Mimbu Taiyu, now Prince of Mito, was deputed, in the absence of that Daimio, to express to His Royal Highness the thanks of the Japanese Government and of his own family for the gracious reception accorded to him in England in 1867.

On the morning of the Duke's departure from Yedo, the Prime Minister visited His Royal Highness by command of His Majesty, to deliver a parting message and bearing His Majesty's autograph, which His Royal Highness had expressed a wish to possess. Your Lordship will appreciate the significance of this gift when I mention that hitherto the autographs of the Mikados of Japan have been laid up as precious relics in temples.

The ex-Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other dignitaries also attended to take leave.

It had been arranged that His Royal Highness should return to Yokohama by sea, and Her Majesty's ships "Galatea," "Ocean," and "Pearl" had accordingly assembled at Yedo. Hiyôbukiyô no Miya, Prince of the Blood, accompanied the Duke on board the "Galatea," and was received with Royal salutes and other compliments from all the ships. After this visit had been paid, the squadron proceeded to Yokohama, the two Commissioners, Daté Chiunagon and Ohara, accompanying His Royal Highness to that place.

I may note, as another friendly act on the part of Hiyôbukiyô no Miya, that His Imperial Highness subsequently came down from Yedo for the purpose of attending, in company with the two Commissioners, an official dinner and ball which I gave at Yokohama in honour of His Royal Highness.

The Duke of Edinburgh did not hoist his standard on returning to Yokohama. He remained there until the 16th instant, when he left for Osaka and Nagasaki in company with Admiral Sir Henry Keppel and Her Majesty's ships "Ocean," "Adventure," and "Salamis."

I have thought it due to the Japanese Government to acknowledge, in the inclosed despatch to the Foreign Minister, my appreciation of the welcome with which they received His Royal Highness. I should add, that in carrying out their hospitable intentions they were materially aided by Mr. Mitford, to whom they confided the direction of most of their arrangements. I attached Mr. Mitford to His Royal Highness during his stay in Yedo and Yokohama, and I should not omit to bring to your Lordship's notice his able and diligent services on this occasion, the value of which was particularly felt at the interviews with the Mikado when he acted as Interpreter to His Royal Highness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 25.

Memorandum by Mr. Mitford.

ON the 4th September His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh had an audience of the Mikado.

His Royal Highness was accompanied to the castle by Admiral the Honourable Sir Henry Keppel, the Honourable Eliot Yorke, and Lieutenant Haig, Equerries to His Royal Highness; Commander Adeane, Dr. Watson, Lieutenants Romilly, Ramsay, and Poore, of Her Majesty's ship "Galatea;" and Mr. Chevalier. Sir Harry Parkes, with Messrs. Adams, Mitford, and Von Siebold, also attended His Royal Highness.

Ohara, one of the Commissioners appointed to receive the Duke of Edinburgh, was ordered by the Mikado to escort His Royal Highness to the Castle.

The procession was formed according to the annexed plan.

On arriving at the castle His Royal Highness' carriage was driven through the third or innermost gate. All the other officers dismounted outside this gate, and the English mounted escort and guard of Marines, under the command of Captain Brydges, of Her Majesty's ship "Ocean," drew up at the same spot.

On alighting from his carriage, His Royal Highness was received by Date Chiunagon,

the Senior Commissioner appointed to conduct his entertainment; Sawa, the Minister for Foreign Affairs; and Tokudaiji Dainagon, who conducted him to a waiting-room.

Here the Prime Minister, the ex-Prime Minister, and Hiyôbukiyô no Miya, a Prince of the Blood, paid their respects to His Royal Highness.

After a short interval His Royal Highness was conducted by Date Chiunagon to the Audience Chamber, where the Mikado stood on a raised dais, with two of his personal attendants and the Prime Minister. Hiyôbukiyô no Miya, together with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and several other grandees of the Court, stood at the foot of the dais, at about six or eight feet from His Majesty.

His Royal Highness, accompanied by his Interpreter, Mr. Mitford, took his place upon the dais opposite to the Mikado; Her Majesty's Minister, with Admiral Sir Henry Keppel and the other officers accompanying His Royal Highness, stood at the foot of the dais, opposite to the dignitaries of the Japanese Court.

His Majesty having spoken a few words of welcome, to which His Royal Highness returned a suitable reply, invited the Duke of Edinburgh to meet him again in a more private manner in the garden.

The Duke then retired to the waiting-room.

After another short delay, during which the grandees of the Court waited upon His Royal Highness to congratulate him upon his arrival at the capital, and upon his reception by their Sovereign, Date Chiunagon conducted the Duke to the maple tea-house in the castle gardens, where refreshments were served.

As soon as the Mikado was reported to have arrived at the Waterfall Pavilion, His Royal Highness proceeded there, accompanied to the entrance of the pavilion by all the officers of his suite. Sir Harry Parkes, Sir Henry Keppel, and Mr. Mitford entered the pavilion with His Royal Highness. At the verandah His Royal Highness was met by the Prime Minister, who ushered him into the presence. As His Royal Highness entered the room the Mikado, who was attended by five or six of his nobles only, besides the Prime Minister, rose and bowed courteously, begging His Royal Highness to be seated. Sweetmeats were laid before the Mikado and before the Duke of Edinburgh. The suites on both sides remained standing.

The Mikado then said that it gave him the greatest pleasure to receive a Prince who had come from so distant a country, and begged that His Royal Highness would remain sufficiently long to repay himself for the fatigues of the journey.

The Duke of Edinburgh expressed the high satisfaction which he felt at the cordial reception with which he had been met, and the pleasure which the intelligence of this visit would cause to Her Majesty the Queen.

The Mikado assured His Royal Highness that it was a source of happiness to him to think that this auspicious visit would have the best effect in cementing the friendly relations existing between the two countries. He felt that there would of necessity be many shortcomings in His Royal Highness' reception, but begged that the Duke would freely express any wish that might occur to him, in order that, if possible, he might have the pleasure of gratifying it.

His Royal Highness said, that so far from being dissatisfied with his reception, it had exceeded his expectations. It had long been his desire to visit a country of which he had heard so much, and in the realization of this wish he had certainly not been disappointed. It was an additional pleasure to him to have this opportunity of congratulating the Mikado upon the personal resumption of the power which he had inherited from his ancestors. It would be highly gratifying to Her Majesty the Queen to learn that the troubles of last year had been succeeded by the restoration of peace.

The Mikado stated that, during the disturbed period through which the country had passed, his Government had received the greatest assistance from the advice and counsels of Sir Harry Parkes, and he was glad to take so important an occasion of acknowledging this debt of gratitude, in order that the expression of his thanks might be conveyed to Her Majesty the Queen. He begged His Royal Highness to deliver this message to Her Majesty.

The Duke of Edinburgh said that he should have much satisfaction in doing so.

The Mikado having said a few words of welcome to Sir Harry Parkes and to Sir Henry Keppel, the Duke of Edinburgh rose and offered the Mikado a diamond-mounted snuff-box as a remembrance of his visit. The present having been gracefully accepted and acknowledged, the Duke of Edinburgh after a few more complimentary speeches took his leave.

His Royal Highness was escorted to the castle gate by the same nobles who had met him on his arrival, and the Commissioner Ohara attended him to his residence.

Later in the day the Prince of the Blood, Hiyôbu Kiyô no Miya, waited upon His

Royal Highness to thank him for having visited the Mikado and to congratulate him upon the auspicious occasion. Date Chiunagon was also specially sent by the Mikado again to thank His Royal Highness for the handsome present which he had received.

Inclosure 2 in No. 25.

ORDER of Procession.

A Policeman with iron staff. | A Policeman with iron staff.

Morigama, an Officer of the Foreign Office, on horseback in full Court dress, who will clear the road.

Soldiers of the Awa clan.

Officer of the same on horseback.

Fukuchi, an officer of the Foreign Office, in Court dress. | Pachi, an officer of the Foreign Office, in Court dress.

Mgamaito, a Chief Employé of the Foreign Office, in Court dress, on horseback.

Guard of Marines.

Ten Swordsmen of the Awa clan. | Ten Swordsmen of the Awa clan.

Inspector of the British Legation escort.

Fifteen Mounted Guards of ths Bettégumi Corps. — Officer of above. } Royal Marine Artillery. } His Royal Highness THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH And Suite. { Royal Marine Artillery. { Fifteen Mounted Guards of the Bettégumi Corps. — Officer of above.

British Legation Mounted Escort.

Sudzuki Kohei, Commandant of the Corps of Bettégumi.

Ten Swordsmen of the Awa clan. | Ten Swordsmen of the Awa clan.

Saibo, an Officer of the Foreign Office; Eendo, an Officer of the Foreign Office.

The Duke of Edinburgh's horse (led). | Another led horse for His Royal Highness.

Troops of the Tayasu clan.

Officer of Ditto on horseback.

Inclosure 3 in No. 25.

Sir H. Parkes to Sawa Totska Kio.

Sir, *Yedo, September* 25, 1869.

ON the departure of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh from Japan, the Undersigned feels that he should express to his Excellency the high satisfaction afforded him by the friendly and liberal spirit in which every arrangement connected with the reception of His Royal Highness by the Japanese Government was carried out.

The Undersigned is satisfied that Her Majesty the Queen will hear with gratification of this proof of friendship on the part of His Majesty the Emperor, and will earnestly unite in the wish expressed by His Majesty that this visit of the Prince, her son, may have the effect of promoting a cordial and beneficial intimacy between Great Britain and Japan.

In the meantime, however, it devolves upon the Undersigned to bear testimony to the felicitous manner in which all the high functionaries who were charged on this occasion with the wishes of the Emperor, fulfilled the important trust confided to them. The Undersigned feels that his thanks are specially due to His Imperial Highness Hiohu Kio no Miya, to their Excellencies Sanjô Udaijin, the Prime Minister, and Iwakura Dainagon, and to their Excellencies Date Nii and Ohara Shosho, on whom, as Commissioners, the labour of superintending all the arrangements naturally fell. All these high functionaries, together with other nobles and officers, were unremitting in their attentions to the guest of their Sovereign. The Undersigned feels confident that the regard and good-will which was so plainly manifested on both sides during the stay of His Royal Highness in Japan will long be remembered by all those who took part in these proceedings, and he trusts that the good example thus offered by the Emperor's Government will have the effect of infusing a similar feeling among all classes of the people.

The Undersigned also takes this opportunity of acknowledging the efforts of his

Excellency on this occasion, and of thanking him for having so materially contributed to the success of His Royal Highness' visit.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 26.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received November* 22.)

My Lord, *Yedo, October* 1, 1869.

THE Japanese Government have notified to the Foreign Ministers in the inclosed note the adoption of those material modifications in regard to the powers and position of the territorial nobility of this country which I reported in my despatch of the 23rd August last. It is stated in this note that the title of Shoko or Daimio has been abolished, and that the former holders of it have been appointed Chiji or Chi Hanji, that is, Prefect of their respective hans or clans.

I have not heard that this great fundamental change in the Constitution has yet encountered opposition in the country districts. The Daimios are stated to have given in their adhesion to it before they quitted Yedo, and if the vested interests of their Karos or Ministers and other followers be duly consulted in the redistribution of the public income of the different Daimiates (to be hereafter called Prefectures), the subordinates of each clan may prove as willing to conform to the new arrangements as their Chiefs. Very much, however, remains to be done before so extensive a scheme for the reorganization of the offices, functions, and revenues of Government can be brought into effective operation.

The consideration of the change was submitted by the Emperor not only to the Daimios but also to the popular assembly, and Mr. Hall, Student Interpreter, has prepared the accompanying translation of the interesting debate which was held in the Lower House. Unfortunately, the report from which the translation is made does not appear to be complete, and no summary is given of the result. Neither have we been able to obtain copies of the written opinions sent in by the Daimios. Sufficient particulars, however, are furnished in the inclosed translation to show that the Japanese can bring no insignificant power of thought and argument to bear upon the discussion of this important public subject. To judge from the speeches of the members of the lower House, considerable difference of opinion existed as to the extent to which innovation and reform should be permitted; but the Emperor, in his closing message, speaks of the unanimity which prevails as to the necessity of the work of Government being conducted by our organization, in place of many, and the measure of making the Daimios provincial governors or prefects is adopted with that view.

A reforming Government of course must have its enemies, and the present one is assailed for its offence against conservatism, both in its home and foreign policy. These rumours take the shape of the inclosed report, and while such a state of feeling continues to exist, and until the Government are strong enough to disarm the unruly swordsmen, who form so large a proportion of the population, it is to be feared that insecurity will necessarily prevail, and that foreigners may occasionally be subject to violence on the part of individuals, such as that which was lately offered to myself, and which I reported in my despatch of the 28th ultimo. It is satisfactory, however, to notice that the Mikado does not appear to be deterred by this malevolent feeling from openly declaring that he will faithfully act up to his obligations to foreign powers, and I beg to bring to your Lordship's notice the inclosed translation of a speech which has accidently come into my possession in which His Majesty lately announced to his nobles that these sentiments would strictly guide him in his foreign relations.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 26.

Sawa Jusammi and Tereshima Jushii to Sir H. Parkes.

(Translation.)

Sir, *September* 23, 1869.

THIS country was governed since the middle ages according to the feudal system, but in view of the changes effected in every department since the revolution of last year, this system has proved inconsistent with the unrestricted exercise of the authority of the Government on a uniform principle.

For this reason a proclamation has been issued abolishing the title Shoko (Daimio). The holders of it have been appointed Chiji of their respective provinces, and are henceforth to be styled, great and small without distinction, Kazoku (nobles).

As these changes are of the highest importance to this country we communicate them to you for your information.

We have, &c.

(Signed) SAWA JUSAMMI KIJOWARA NORIJOSHI, *Minister of Foreign Affairs.*
TERASHIMA JUSHII FUJIWARA MUMENORO, *Taifu of Foreign Affairs.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 26.

Report of a Debate in the Japanese Parliament on the Constitution.

(Parliamentary Journal No. 10.)

(Translation.)

ON the 23rd of the 4th month (June 3rd), at the usual hour, the Vice-President for the time being, Kanda Kohei, 158 members, and several lords who came to listen, took their seats. The result of the debate on the questions proposed by the Foreign Office having been read out, at 1 o'clock P.M., Mori-kin-no-Jô, Commissioner for the Codification of the Law, read from his accustomed seat the following message from the Emperor, of which he was the bearer. The House reverently listened to it, and then with one accord made a profound obeisance.

The Emperor's Message.

Having, on a former occasion, in concert with you, our many officers and innumerable vassals, vowed to execute five resolves,* we straightway sought Heaven and earth and the national gods, and swore, by extending the authority of the laws throughout the realm, to give the millions and tens of millions of the people happiness and peace. War, however, suddenly intervened, and the victory of our arms is not yet complete. Wherefore we, being night and day incessantly in fear before our superiors, the national gods, and ashamed before our inferiors, the millions and tens of millions of the people, have in our own person drawn nigh and summoned to our presence you, our many officers and innumerable vassals to seek at your hands a well-ordered scheme for the formation of an administrative system for the country at large. Thereon hangs this day the arbitrament of security or peril for the country of the gods. We therefore earnestly desire you to manifest the devoted loyalty of your hearts and to reveal the inmost thoughts of your souls in recommending to us what is good, and rejecting what is bad; while we, for our part, are confident that through our earnest and assiduous efforts a constitution for the empire will be achieved.

You, our many officers and innumerable vassals, will give diligent heed hereto.

The Prime Minister's Speech on the same subject to the Assembly of Daimios.

The object for which we have at this juncture assembled is to discuss how the great foundations of the national welfare shall be most firmly laid. You will, therefore, in fulfilment of the Emperor's command now communicated, commit your opinions on this subject to writing, and send them in on or before the 4th of next month (the 13th of June). You are further requested to bear in mind that, hereafter, from time to time, specific inquiries on matters of detail will be issued by His Majesty.

Furthermore, all who have any specially important ideas to propose should proceed to the palace and communicate them.

The Debate on the above Message from the Throne was opened in the Parliament on

* The five vows here referred are known generally as the Mikado's oath. They are:—

1. The practice of discussion and debate shall be universally adopted, and all measures shall be decided by public argument.
2. High and low shall be of one mind, and social order shall thereby be perfectly maintained.
3. The civil and military powers shall of necessity be concentrated in a single whole; the rights of all classes be assured, and the national mind be completely satisfied.
4. The uncivilized customs of antiquity shall be broken through, and the impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of nature be adopted as a basis of action.
5. Intellect and learning shall be sought for throughout the world, in order to establish the foundations of the Empire.

the 4th of the 5th month (13th June) by the reading out of the following four questions proposed by Mori-kin-no-Jô, Commissioner for Codification of the Law:—

1. At present the constitution of our country appears to be a mixture, half of government by feudal lords and half of government by the Emperor. If we allow it to remain in this condition what will be the consequence to the common weal?

2. If we decide to reform it by adhering to our system exclusively, what are the respective arguments, in the abstract, from right and wrong, and from the balance of ultimate advantages and disadvantages for the adoption of the feudal system on the one hand, or the monarchical system on the other.

3. If we adopt the feudal system throughout, by what scheme of administration shall we satisfy public opinion and suit the tendency of the age?

4. If we adopt the monarchical system throughout, by what scheme of administration shall we satisfy public opinion and suit the tendency of the age?

Consequent on the foregoing questions an animated and exhaustive debate took place. The House was well filled, and on the conclusion of the debate the members divided and recorded their votes, as given below, on the seven following schemes which had been discussed.

Scheme A.—*Of a Reform of the Constitution, and of an Administrative System for the Country.*

1. It is of indispensable necessity that, from one end of the country to the other all private interests in land should be reappropriated by the State, and all Government orders issue from one centre.

2. In each of the large provinces one city (Fu) should be founded, and the smaller provinces included within the jurisdiction of the nearest city. For each city one City Prefect should be appointed.

3. In every district of land yielding about 100,000 kokus (of rice) one town (Ken) should be founded, to be governed by one Town Prefect, and subordinated to the city of that province.

4. The relatives of the Emperor should be styled the Royal Family; the Court dignitaries (Kuge), and the feudal lords (Shokô) should be styled the nobility, and should always reside at Court.

Vassals of income of 10,000 kokus and upwards should likewise rank as nobility.

5. All ranks between that of knight of the middle grade and ordinary vassal should be fused into the two ranks of higher gentry and lower gentry (Samurai).

6. Prefects of cities and towns should, but only for the present, be chosen from amongst those who have hitherto been feudal lords as vassals of the two highest ranks.

7. Sub-Prefects of cities and towns should be chosen solely with regard to their abilities.

8. The assumption of personal vassals should be forbidden to all classes below the Royal Family; and servitors should be assigned by Government in numbers proportionate to rank.

9. Persons who, though of the rank of gentry, are unfit to sustain that position, should receive as a capital, a sum in proportion to their income, and be allowed to turn farmers, artizans, or merchants.

10. The Sovereign should have a fixed yearly income.

11. Members of the Royal Family should have a fixed yearly income of the same amount for all.

12. To the three ranks of the nobility, the higher, and the lower gentry, a fixed income of five gradations in each rank should be assigned.

13. The income of all ranks below the Royal Family should be paid in rice from the Government granaries.

14. Official salaries should be paid separately in money.

15. The lands attached to Buddhist and Shintô temples should be secularized, and a suitable allowance granted to the incumbents in money and rice.

16. It should be the function of the higher and lower gentry to furnish the guard of both capitals, and the garrisons of the cities and towns.

17. A naval depôt should be established at each of the principal ports.

18. Military and naval commanders should be chosen solely with regard to their abilities.

19. Educational and military schools should be established in each city and town.

20. In every city and town a deliberative assembly should be established.

By these assemblies a mode of obtaining a wide selection of men of ability should be devised.

21. Commissioners should be sent on circuit every year to inspect the working of the administration.

The following members voted for this scheme:—

Kashiu.
Kishiu.
Geishu.
Himeji.
Takamatsu.
Mayebashi.
Agaki.
Koriyama.
Daisboji.
Moriyama.
Okayama (cadet).
Zeze.
Karatsu.
Hirosluma (cadet).
Amizo.
Takaska.
Shiiya.
Mineyama.
Yagin.
Takatomi.
Okabe.
Takatoui.
Shimodate.
Sonobe.
Yamazaki.
Yoshii.
Nishiôji.
Ichinomiya.
Ogaki (cadet).
Matsuoka.
Inuyama.
Mikawa.
Korigami.
Kameyama.
Shohei (University of).
Kigobo.
Akko.
Shimodzuma.
Yûki.
Yamagami.
Kagoshima.

Scheme B.—*Of a Monarchical Administrative System*

1. The large fiefs should be converted into cities; the middle sized and small fiefs, into towns.

2. The feudal lords should immediately be appointed prefects thereof.

3. The feudal vassals should become vassals of the Emperor, and be appointed to all offices from the sub-prefect down.

It should, however, be competent for the prefects to borrow, even for their own personal business, the services of the Imperial vassals.

4. The old fiefs should be distributed in trust in the same manner as formerly, and the revenues reserved for the incomes and salaries of the prefects, officers, and troops, and for military and miscellaneous expenses.

5. These prefectures should, except for causes of serious importance, be hereditary.

6. The lands held by knights of the middle and lowest grade, and by the higher gentry, should be exchanged for incomes in rice from the Government granaries, and these classes made to reside in the eastern and western capitals.

7. Lands attached to Shintô and Buddhist temples, and all gifts of land to private persons, should be exchanged for incomes in rice.

The following members voted for this scheme:

Shunshiu.
Echizen.
Unshiu.
Hikone.
Akashi.
Takata.
Fukuyama.
Sakura.
Yodo.
Nayeji.
Ashimori.
Karasuyama.
Ayabu.
Omigawa.
Kokura (cadet).
Osu.
Boni
Sasayama.
Itoigawa.
Tanokuchi.
Ono.
Shibamura.
Narubane.
Hakata.
Tawara.
Kurogawa.
Nobeoka.
Uyeda.
Annaka.
Takatô.
Sabaye.
Hayashida.
Chonan.
Toyaöka.
Okayama (cadet).
Tsuwano.
Nüya.
Nishibata.

Niwase.
Kambe.
Asao.
Jino.
Katsuyama.
Hirose.
Toba.
Nümi.
Odawara.
Yamanaka.
Mineyama.
Takasu.
Marugame.
Shingu.
Uwajima.
Minakuchi.
Yashima.
Sano.
Fukuye.
Anshi.
Shimabara.
Yoshida.
Kameyama.

Scheme C.—*For the better Working of the Feudal System.*

Although at present the constitution of our country contains an admixture of the element known as cities and towns (*i.e.*, direct government by the Sovereign), still it is in the main the feudal system; and if we now decide to change it violently all at once and reduce it to a single element, not only shall we clash with public opinion and brew commotion, but, in violating the fair custom of modesty, we shall beget the odious evil of effrontery, and in the end enfeeble the pulse of the nation. If we run counter to public opinion and the spirit of the age, shall we not frustrate the intention of our wise Sovereign's communication. If the Emperor will, on his part, settle the Constitution on a valid foundation, and by refusing to transfer to another the executive, wield it firmly in conjunction with the legislative power, even if we follow the old path, a great catastrophe can never again occur. By way of experiment for the present, we propose the following scheme of administration:—

1. The title-deeds of the fiefs, large and small, should at once receive the Imperial seal.

It is, however, of primary importance that the lands should be re-surveyed, and their actual dimensions be brought, by the rectification of deficiencies and excesses, into correspondence with their assessed values. This measure should be carried out gradually.

2. The laws should be embodied in one code, and their administration emanate from the Emperor on a uniform system.

At the close of every year a written statement of the judgments, both of reward and punishment, delivered throughout the year should be sent in to the Government; and in all cases of capital or heavier punishment, the sentence of the Emperor should be respectfully requested.

3. Regulations for attendance at Court, whether for the purpose of paying homage or attending councils, should be made with regard to the nearness or distance of the fiefs; and punctuality in furnishing the levies should be enforced.

Moreover, the incidents of aids for public works, escuage, and purveyance for the army, should certainly not be neglected.

4. Intimate friendly relations should be established with the neighbouring cities and towns, and mutual assistance rendered, both during peace and in cases of emergency.

5. The boundaries of each fief should be clearly defined, so as to preclude encroachments, and friendly intercourse maintained in a spirit of mutual consideration and deference.

6. The Court dignitaries and functionaries of the Emperor should be styled Crown lords (literally, lords within the Crown domain); they should receive no lands, but only a yearly income.

Such of them, however, as have hitherto held estates should be allowed to retain them.

7. Occasionally Commissioners should be sent on circuit to inspect the working of the administration.

8. The cities, fiefs, and towns should be gradually consolidated, by grouping together the scattered patches of their respective territories.

Supplementary Clauses.

Proposed by Obi:—

1. Both an eastern and western capital should be constituted, and the right of Crown demesne observed; thus—

To the western capital should be assigned the five demesne provinces; to the eastern,

the eight provinces of Kwantô. Lords at present holding within these Crown domains should receive estates in the other outlying districts of domanial territory; and two-thirds of the expense involved by the removal should be allowed by Government, to be repaid in yearly instalments. Officers of high attainments in learning and war should be furnished from the fiefs in proportion to revenue. These should become vassals of the Emperor, be made to reside within the Crown domains and be incorporated as the Imperial body-guard. The middle and inferior knights and the higher gentry should in like manner be made to reside within the Crown domain.

2. The territories of the lords should be limited to 300,000 kokus; and the lands in excess of this limit apportioned to their younger sons or brothers as distinct and separate fiefs.

In cases, however, where no younger sons or brothers exist, the Government should hold in trust the lands in question until younger sons or brothers are born, and then allow them to be constituted into distinct fiefs. During the time that these lands are thus held in trust, however, the Government should receive the revenues, but allow the management of them to be retained by their present holders. The same course should be followed in regard to newly-reclaimed lands and surplus revenues.

The separate fiefs of younger sons and brothers should be limited to 100,000 kokus.

After the measures proposed in the two preceding clauses have been carried out, persons who have rendered great service to the State should, if their estates already reach the limit of 300,000, be rewarded by a liberal grant of manufactures, money, and rice; if, however, their estates are less than that amount, there is no objection to their being raised to 300,000 kokus.

Proposed by Toyama:

1. With the confiscated lands of Oshiu and Dewa, vassals of merit should be made lords.

2. The fiefs should be assessed in groups, and a ship of war levied from each group.

Proposed by Tatsuno:

The estates of the lords should be resurveyed, and all land in excess of the assessed amount forfeited. With the land and people thus forfeited, military stations should be formed all through the country, to which troops should be supplied to hold the fiefs and towns in check. Court nobles (Kuge) should be appointed to these commands.

Proposed by Tateyama:

Seeing that if the above-mentioned Crown demesne be not set apart, the Emperor will be in straitened circumstances, the fiefs should be made to contribute, in proportion to revenue, and offering of territory to meet the military and naval expenditure.

Proposed by Yanagawa:

To the army each fief should be required to furnish, for every 10,000 kokus of revenue a quota of 50 men, who should be called the Government forces. These should be held in readiness in each fief to be placed at the absolute disposal of the Emperor. The military expenditure should be furnished by the fiefs to the Government, and paid by the Government to the troops; who should garrison both capitals and places of importance throughout the country.

Proposed by Fukumoto:

The lords, in relays of twenty at a time, should bring up troops in proportion to their revenues, and furnish the garrison of both capitals year by year in succession.

Proposed by Kishinowada:

Vassals of 10,000 kokus of income and upwards should be made lords.

Vassals of 1,000 kokus of income and upwards should be styled middle and inferior knights, and should hold the same position as the former feudatories of the Shogun (*i.e.*, the Hatamoto).

As a matter of course, on becoming vassals of the Emperor, they will retain the lands holden of their former lords, while those whose incomes were paid in rice will receive lands in exchange.

Vassals will be persons of 900 kokus of income and under. All the feudatories should certainly reside on their estates.

The following members voted for this scheme:—

Miyatsu.	Komono.
Tsurumaki.	Oka.
Tsuruda.	Amagazaki.
Yoshida (Mikawa).	Kishinowada.
Otawara.	Yanagawa.
Matsuyama.	Udo.
Obi.	Namukaichi.

Hachinobe.	Isesaki.
Toyama,	Kururi.
Tayasu.	Kitsurengawa.
Katsuyama.	Iwatsuki.
Higo.	Yamaga.
Tateyama.	Sakurai.
Ono.	Takasaki.
Iwamura.	Muraska.
Horiye.	Fukumoto.
Maruoka.	Saijo.
Miharu.	Komoro.
Taka.	Koga.
Yanagimato.	Mikusa.
Asô.	Kobama.
Takatsuki.	Tatsuno.

Scheme D.—*For a Feudal Constitution.*

1. As it was by reason of its loyalty that this our country, the land of the gods, was raised to be a nation, so likewise has the succession of the Imperial line continued unbroken from of old. Suppose that even as large a ruler as Shun or U were to arise, the Sovereignty could not be transferred to him. Now, when we trace this principle of loyalty to the Sovereign of the country to its source, it will be found to be identical with the principle of fealty to the lord of the seigniory, and that the hereditary feudal relation cannot be hastily dissolved. This relation is exactly suited to the peculiarities of the national character, and could not, in the circumstances of the present day, be changed.

2. Although at present the country seems to be about equally divided between the Feudal and the Monarchical system, the constitution is in the main Feudal. The semblance of the Monarchical element arises simply from the fact, that the Emperor's public lands—what were anciently known as the 1,000 ri of Crown domain—are scattered in all directions. Now, although under present circumstances, there is no objection to this land being scattered in all directions, still it would be well to wait for a day of quiet and security, and revert in this matter to the ancient usage. We should, for instance, ascertain the revenues of the five Crown Provinces, and of Omi, Tamba, Harima, and Kishiu, and make them the Crown domain. To lords holding within those limits public land in distant provinces, should be assigned equivalent to their former estates. Or would it answer to add to the five Crown Provinces, Iga, Omi, Tamba, and Wakasa, and constitute nine Crown Provinces

3. In the fiefs, lord and vassal, by a compact that subsists from generation to generation, contract the tie of friendship between superior and inferior, to strive together as comrades, if need be, even unto death, in defence of the shrines of the gods of the household and of the soil, and to stand as bulwarks of the Imperial house. In cities and towns (*i.e.*, under a pure Monarchy), on the contrary, the relation of the people to their Governors is like that of travellers to the host of an inn. Between the two systems there is a wide dissimilarity.

4. Our country is girt on all sides by the vast ocean, so that no spot or quarter is left for the foreign robber to march in. We entreat that the lords be chosen to keep strict watch and guard, and to ward off invasion. If their protection be now discarded in favour of monarchical rule the land will be left without its usual lords, the people without their wonted rulers; and though there may be soldiers in the camps, and troops within the garrisons, they will prove inadequate to the task of defending the country.

5. Although at present the lords have begged to restore their fiefs, if the latter be allowed to remain as heretofore, and entirely new title-deeds granted, the basis of the Constitution will be set right, old abuses will be rooted out, and the entire system of Government administration reformed; the will of the Emperor will be supreme, and the honourable duty of supporting the Imperial house fulfilled. Every year Commissioners of Inspection should be sent on circuit to examine into the administration of the fiefs, and suggest beneficial measures for the people.

6. The country is exhausted by the calamities of war continued from year to year; the foreign barbarians are casting longing eyes upon it; and the minds of the people are excited and alarmed. At such a crisis, to make a change in the Constitution of the country, would assuredly bring no good.

7. Although the Court nobles have rank, they have no lands nor people; and, in consequence, their authority, even when they hold such offices as Prime Minister or

Generalissimo, is inconsiderable. If the outlying portions of the Emperor's domain scattered through the distant provinces, were allotted as benefices to meritorious nobles of the Court, the latter would be put on a level with the lords, and the distinction of favour and estrangement (with which the two orders are respectively regarded by the Emperor), would eventually disappear.

8. In the eastern capital the office of President Generalissimo (Chinshô), should be created to control the eastern and northern lords.

9. In Oshiu, and also in the Western Provinces, the post of President (Chin), should be created, to be held only by a Prince of the Blood, or by a Court noble, who should dispense the beneficent rule of the Emperor, and govern and cherish the people.

To form the military forces of these three Presidencies, all the gentry of the country who have lost their incomes (viz., by the fall of the Shôgun), should be enlisted and stationed in the vicinage of the seat of Government, receiving grants of land instead of pay. If by thus turning them into cultivators, they can be made to support themselves, they will, with the disposition natural to soldiers who have settled into farmers be attached to their superiors, and have a strong regard for their own families, insomuch that when urged on to danger and death, they will not mutiny.

10. If the neighbouring lords carefully select one or two men each, and send them as deputies to the President's Court to represent the opinion of their several provinces; and if, further, these men be allowed to take part in the government of the Presidencies, a harmonious system of administration will be established within the circuit of the four seas.

The following members voted for this scheme:—

Nakamura.	Hasuike.
Mito.	Oimi.
Tanabe (Kishiu).	Kojiro.
Asada.	Shishido.
Mibu.	Numata.
Mikkaichi.	Fukiage.
Ota, Bitchiu no Kami.	Okazaki.
Nishio, Oki no Kami.	Tadotsu.
Chikugo.	Hinode.
Szuzaka.	Kurioshi
Usuki.	

Scheme E.—*Summary of an Argument for the Constitution.*

If we examine the existing condition of the empire it is found to be feudal throughout two-thirds of its extent, while one-third is under the jurisdiction of the Emperor. That is to say, the Emperor's domain, though its standard is 1,000 square ri, is, in comparison with that of the ancient imperial house in China, more than ten times as large in proportion. Furthermore, the practice of not investing lords with the important localities (the important localities being Osaka, Hiogo, Nara, Sakai, Neegata, Hakodate, and such like) is precisely the [ancient Chinese] principle of not enfeoffing the principal mountains and rivers, and is by no means an afterthought of legislation. Seeing that the government or non-government of a country, the efficiency or inefficiency of an administration, is simply a question of the existence or non-existence of men of the requisite capacity how can it in any degree be a question of forms of constitution? It was said in antiquity, "though we have men called governors, they have no guiding principles by which to govern." And what is the present position of the country? The war on the Eastern border not yet over, the foreign barbarians spying and reconnoitering preparatory to commencing at any moment their disastrous irruption; men's minds filled with alarm and dread, feeling as if they were gazing into an abyss or standing on a film or ice. If things be left in the present state, even though the Government may for a time be carried on, it is to be feared that there will be again commotion and strife; how much more certainly will this eventually occur if we now create a chaotic jumble by revolutionizing the fundamental law? It is for these reasons that we, worthless vassals, consider adherence to the old system to be the proper course. It is understood, of course, that the abuses of the old Shôgunate should be abolished, and the custom of summoning the lords to the capital and enforcing residence there should be reformed; but we are not at present prepared to say what rule should be enacted on that subject.

As the Emperor has at present a multitude of matters on hand, and as this opinion offered up by us, his worthless vassals, is somewhat lengthy, we are afraid that he will possibly not have time to peruse it all. We have therefore epitomized it, as above, and

present only the leading ideas. We pray with profound obeisance that its suggestions may be favourably entertained.

The following members voted for this scheme:—

Imaharu.	Odaki.
Ussunomiya.	Mochigi.
Tannami.	Omura.
Nakatsu.	Nagashima.
Tsuchiura.	Nagas.
Hisai.	Okada.
Tsu.	Kushira.
Kamakata.	Shinjo.
Fukuchigama.	Oshi.
Idzushi.	Takase.
Usuki.	Takashima.
Kururi.	Nagashino.
Shibata.	Honjo.
Hirato.	Udo.
Akidzuki.	Mikkadzuki.
Akita (cadet).	Mori.
Bishiu.	Jida.
Kawagal.	Ashiu.

Scheme F.—*Argument for the Constitution.*

The Constitution is now, as it has been hitherto, a compromise between feudalism and monarchy. In consideration, no doubt, of this fact, the lords have, in emulation of each other, gone so far as to offer up the restoration of their title deeds. This looks as if a movement had set in towards the reform of the feudal system and the establishment of pure monarchy. The truth of this matter is, however, that a Monarchical Government would be exceedingly hard to establish. The lords amount, in round numbers, to above 270 houses, all rich in lands and people. If they were to give up these to the State, and were, in addition, to allow their retainers to become vassals of the Emperor after the close bond of kindness and fidelity had subsided between them as lord and vassal for several hundred years' public opinion would be thrown into an ebullition of sorrow. Consequently their title-deeds should be rectified, and the lords invested anew with their former lands.

The Court nobles, again, who are certainly not less than 150 houses, have only empty titles of rank; for it has never been an established custom to grant them lands for their support. Thus there has been an inevitable separation between the military order and the Court nobles, and the sentiments of the people have been divided between them. Consequently, the members of the Royal Family and the Court nobles should, by receiving beneficiary lands, be placed on the same footing as the lords, be subject to the same military assessments, and bound to personal service (in the field) in the Emperor's cause. Then the old abuses could be reformed; all Government laws and regulations from the administration of a province to the fashion of a weapon made uniform for the whole empire; and all within the four seas would become like a single household. Then the duty of the national defence should be committed to the feudataries, great and small; and if any fault or blunder be committed, the offender should be severely dealt with. In this way the monarchical spirit would be infused into our feudal system, and we should become increasingly strong at home and powerful abroad.

The following members voted for this scheme:—

Chikuzen.	Hirosaki.
Obata.	Miike.
Kashiwabara.	Kasama.

Scheme G.—*Reply to the Four Questions touching the Constitution.*

1. The Constitution, which has subsisted during 10,000 ages, should not be disturbed.

Ever since the Heavenly Ancestors laid the Great Foundation, all the land within the four seas has formed an united whole, and the imperial line has never become extinct Although during that interval turbulent vassals occasionally usurped the executive power, yet not one ever dared to attempt accession to the Throne. The tie of lord and vassal has been originally respected, and has continued intact to the present day. Now the tie of lord and vassal is the mainstay of the great mutual relations established among men, and

whenever this tie is binding, the vassal, even in a trivial cause, regardless of life or death, discharges to the utmost the vassal's part. This is what is known as the Yamato (Japanese) Spirit; this it is that constitutes the distinctive pre-eminence of our Constitution over that of every country under Heaven. When the Constitution was first established, and the scale of duties once laid down, the discipline of Government was straightway dispensed, and the minds of the people never forsook the right path. In such a country even as China there have been instances of men of ignoble origin becoming Emperor; while, again, if we come to the barbarous savages of the West, they choose a clever man from among the populace and make him their ruler; and, if he be a man of extraordinary merit, hoist him into the Sovereignty of the country. To perceive the utter dissimilarity between such Constitutions and ours, requires, surely, no philosopher's aid. The ugly barbarians are now encroaching on us from day to day; barbarian fashions are becoming prevalent from month to month; our native bandits are not yet quelled; every man is setting up a code of manners for himself; every family following only the observances that please itself. While men's hearts are thus bewildered and led astray uniformity or consistency is nowhere to be found. Now, in laying this day the great foundation, if, without pondering the Constitution well, we be intent only on the systems of Government of the barbarians, will the result be in accordance with the injunctions left us by the Heavenly ancestors? In short, will the countless households of the people have cause to rejoice? On the issue of to-day's debate hangs feudalism or monarchy. For which alternative, then, should the verdict of instant preferment, or that of distant deferment, be pronounced?

2. That which all the people of the country concur in thinking beneficial is called the common weal. What, then, are those things which all the people of the country alike consider beneficial? That the Constitution be respected, that allegiance to the Emperor be sincere, that the duties of each station be strictly fulfilled, that the discipline of Government be operative throughout the whole empire, that the baneful barbarian mania be rooted out of people's hearts—these are the things which as they together make up the common weal, constitute a force efficient to unite the sentiments of the nation. Now, after the common weal has been placed on a firm foundation, and, by consequence, public feeling united, it will then be well to go further and introduce the ingenious inventions of machinery and employ the conveniency of ships-of-war. But so long as the common weal is unsettled even to a slight extent, and, by consequence, public feeling disunited, it will be impossible to engage properly even in friendly intercourse. And how much less in war? And so long as public feeling is conflicting, even in a minor degree, it will be impossible to maintain public order even by the established feudal system. And how much less by a transition to monarchy? If some two or three men at present in the high places of power, obtruding their own personal predilections and glazing these under the title of the common weal, persist in silencing by the offer of high rewards and the infliction of oppressive penalties the opinions of the millions and tens of millions that chime not in with theirs, will the consequences to the empire, pray, be truly entitled to the designation of the common weal?

3. It was a maxim of the ancients that the founder of any great work should make the ordering aright of the people's hearts, his corner-stone. Accordingly, if those in the position of superiors make the right disposal of the people's hearts, the basis of their governing system while those in the position of inferiors make a dutiful obedience to superiors the normal attitude of their minds, the sentiments of the whole nation will be poised in stable unanimity, duties will be perfectly discharged, and genuine, eager fidelity spontaneously engendered. When this consummation shall have been realized, will there be any national enterprise which the country cannot accomplish, much less the reformation of its laws? To maintain a dutiful harmony of sentiment between superior and inferior, and to uphold the Emperor as the basis of our policy—is not this that great foundation of Government whereon the common weal shall stand throughout ten thousand generations.

4. While the monarchical reform is not yet universally accepted; while the foreign barbarians are perpetually on the prowl; while our intestine troubles are still unassuaged; and while throughout the empire people cannot call their lives their own—to change the feudal constitution is, under existing conditions, an utter impracticability. As we have argued in the preceding section, as soon as that great foundation of the realm of the Tenno, which shall subsist immoveable in the lapse of ages, shall have been firmly established, then, afterwards, with a clear insight into first principles, and an enlightened perception of the general movement of the age, to discuss this question slowly and calmly—is not this the course that ought to be pursued?

The following members voted for this scheme:—

Hitoyoshi.	Tsuruga.
Matsumoto.	Kurobane.
Hitotsubashi.	Matsushiro.
Akita.	

This is a general summary of the debate, all beyond the leading ideas being omitted in the report.

The decision of His Majesty on the subject of the above debate was delivered in the Castle, on the 6th of July, in the following

Speech from the Throne.

The matter of the restoration of lands and vassals has been very widely discussed, and the tenor of the decisions which have from time to time been reported to me has been, with perfect unanimity, to the effect that the Government of the empire should be administered through one consistent organization. In furtherance of this object, it is my desire, by establishing the three Governmental Departments of Cities, Fiefs, and Towns (Fu, Han, Ken), to consolidate all the territory within the four seas. Consequently, I intend, according to a new arrangement, to appoint you (the Daimios), Prefects of your respective fiefs (Chi-han-ji); and you are commanded to express your opinions as to the merits of this scheme without reserve.

Inclosure 3 in No. 26.

Reports privately circulated during the 8th month (since September 6).

(Translation.)

IT is said that those clans of the middle and western provinces who have all along advocated the expulsion of the barbarians (Inaba, Bizen, &c.) are secretly murmuring. They complain that the cause why the Emperor's purpose of driving out the barbarians had not communicated itself to the whole people lay in the remissness of the Bakufu. The reason why the united clans engaged vigorously after the Fushimi affair in the task of suppressing the eastern rebels was not that they hated the Bakufu (*i.e.*, the Tycoon's Government), but that they hated foreigners. It was with the expectation of seeing the Emperor's purpose of expelling the barbarians carried into execution, that they put down the rebels of the north and east, after which they reckoned confidently on the barbarians being driven out. What has been their disappointment to find, after the reduction of the north and east, that a more intimate friendship with foreigners than even under the old Government has sprung up, and their stupefaction has been increased by this new decree for the appointment of Chihanji. Things, they say, can never be allowed to go on in this way.

These are mere rumours, but it is a fact that they have been disappointed in their expectations, and it is reported that a feeling of sympathy and pity for Aidzu and the others has lately sprung up, though till last year they were opprobriously styled robbers.

Inclosure 4 in No. 26.

Speech of the Emperor of Japan to the Nobles.

(Translation.)

ALTHOUGH amongst the countries of the world there exists the distinction of native and foreign, of friendly and strange, yet does any reason exist why they should not hold mutual intercourse? Indeed, intercourse has already been long since established, and furthermore, the faith of the Treaties must be strictly kept. I purpose, therefore, to maintain foreign relations, and, while seeking faithfully and sincerely to carry out engagements, it will be my first object to uphold in its integrity the constitutional independence of the country and the Throne. Meanwhile your opinions (as to the best mode of carrying out this policy) should be fearlessly expressed.

No. 27.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 24.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, October* 8, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have heard through Her Majesty's Consuls for Osaka and Hiogo and Nagasaki of the arrival of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh at Hiogo on the 18th instant, at Osaka on the 19th, and at Nagasaki on the 24th. It was the intention of His Royal Highness to proceed from Nagasaki to Peking.

Her Majesty's Consuls report that the Japanese authorities at the above-mentioned places had greatly exerted themselves to receive His Royal Highness with becoming honours, and with all the attention in their power.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 28.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 30.)

My Lord, *Yedo, October* 8, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to forward translations by Mr. Aston of two debates in the Japanese Parliament on the national custom of suicide by disembowelling, commonly known as harakiri, or seppuku, and on the practice of wearing two swords by the privileged and numerous class called Samurai.

These two debates furnish an instructive insight into the national thought and feeling on these two particular customs of Japan; both motions were introduced by private members, with a view to the abolition of the practices in question, but were met on each case with decided rejection, 200 members in a House of 209 voting against the suppression of seppuku, and the whole House expressing itself opposed to any modification of the rules which at present obtain as to the wearing of two swords.

One of the members describes seppuku as "the very shrine of the Japanese national spirit, and the embodiment in practice of devotion to principle," and most of them viewed the proposal to abolish it as calculated to weaken the military spirit, to remove a marked social distinction between the two-sworded class and the common people, and to destroy an important class privilege which allows the two-sworded man who has committed a public offence to carry out his own punishment, and thus spare himself the disgrace, and the law the inconvenience, of a public execution.

It was because I was aware that this mode of punishment was allowed to Samurai, to use the words of one of the speakers in the debate "as a means of avoiding the pain of disgrace," that I insisted, when at Kioto in March 1868, upon the publication of a Decree making known that this honourable mode of execution should not in future be permitted in the case of a Samurai taking the life of a foreigner, and also that all attacks upon foreigners should be treated as ignominious offences, entailing the forfeiture of any privilege as to punishment which rank or class might confer upon the offender.

The tone of these debates afford some indications of the conservative character which the present House is reputed to possess. The reference made by the mover of the debate on seppuku to foreign usages, naturally provoked the rejoinder from several of the members, that Japan was not to be expected to mould her customs upon those of foreign nations. There may be some justice also in the observations of several of the members that the discussion of such questions is not well-timed, at a moment when the country is engaged in the more serious and primary work of organizing a new Constitution. On the other hand it is possible that the Government may perceive that that work would be accelerated if they had an unarmed instead of a two-sworded population to control, and the last speaker on the debate relative to wearing two swords may have supposed that this idea was entertained in some quarters when he observed that "these measures for the support of the Imperial Power should be brought forward somewhat later."

Such discussions, however, can scarcely fail to serve as a stimulus to political thought, which is the first condition of natural improvement. And although much of the matter of these debates may appear to the foreigner to be trivial or inconclusive, it will be seen that the arguments of some of the members are distinguished by boldness and good sense, which it may be hoped will carry with them the weight to which they are entitled. Thus, in the

debate on seppuku, Sakakibara Senzô remarks, "Samurai, actuated by a strong sense of shame, are not to be deterred from committing suicide by a prohibitory law. It is sad when men put an end to their own lives in remorse for crimes which they have committed, but the disposition of such men is independent of the existence or non-existence of laws. When the Empire has been placed on a solid basis, and the national morals established, the seppuku will of itself cease without any positive prohibitions." And in the debate on wearing two swords, Sonoda Tomotsu observes—"If it is a good maxim for the soldier in peaceful times never to forget war, what shall we say of a measure that asks us, even in the midst of civil disorder, to forget the existence of civil disorder. What, I ask, is the character of the times in which we live? The object of the soldier caste wearing two swords, is that they may suppress war by war; but as the chief glory of the sword consists in its resting quietly in its sheath, it follows that a national stimulus is given to letters, and this being the case, how is it possible to abolish this practice, were even more swords worn than there are? If civilization and enlightenment become widely diffused, what fear is there of ruffianly violence? if on the other hand they should not become widely diffused, there will be ruffians, though even pocket knives should not be carried."

In justice to the members it should be observed, that their speeches are given in writing, and only a condensed summary of these is published in the proceedings of the House. The translations now forwarded are made from the *précis* thus prepared.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 28.

Debate in the Japanese Parliament on the question of prohibiting the "Seppuku" ("Harakiri," Disembowelling).

(Translation.)

THE following proposal was made by Oro Seigoro, Clerk of the House:—

In Japan we have a kind of punishment for two-sworded men called the seppuku. Besides, it often happens that men whose guilt is not evident commit seppuku of their own accord while still unconvicted, thus expiating their crimes, and such conduct is clamorously applauded by our two-sworded class. I hear, however, that this custom of seppuku is quite unknown throughout the different countries of Europe.

I have no fault to find with those who commit seppuku in obedience to orders, but the conduct of those who do so without awaiting orders ought to be looked upon as highly immoral. Why is this? The reason is, that if the man is after all guiltless, a searching investigation will show his innocence. What need is there for him to commit seppuku? If, on the other hand, he is guilty, we have our national criminal laws. He should bear his guilt with resignation, and await the Imperial decision. What need has he to commit seppuku? To do so is to treat with contempt the criminal statutes of our country, and instead of expiating crime to add one crime to another.

It should be remarked that most two-sworded men who commit seppuku are men of parts and with a strong sense of shame. It is needless to say that if such men repented, and, urged by an indignant sense of their errors, employed their talents industriously, they would do their country good service, but in my opinion death for a fault or two of doubtful character at the same time blocks up the way of self-examination to the individual, and is at variance with the Imperial plans for the national prosperity. I think advantage ought to be taken of the present reform of the Government to prohibit this practice.

Précis of the Debate on this Question.

Amenomori Kenzaburo.—To commit seppuku without awaiting orders may seem a rash act, but such a resolve proceeds from an elevated sense of duty, and is not found in those who know neither modesty nor shame. If the prohibition of the seppuku is persisted in, men of desperate resolve and fearless of death will certainly disregard it, while effeminate persons will probably make a pretence for clinging to life. There is no leisure for stirring up and raising the spirit of the two-sworded class from its present degradation, but how shall we consent merely to add earth to earth?

The seppuku should decidedly not be prohibited.

Seven others agreed generally with the last speaker.

Matsu Wataru.—The practice of commanding a Samurai to commit seppuku is applicable to cases where a feeling of compassion prevents the employment of capital

punishment, while the maintenance of law requires that no other punishment than death shall suffice. It amounts to treating the offender with forbearance, and sparing him shame, by placing the decision of his guilt in his own hands. Such a practice should not be termed immoral.

Of those who commit seppuku without awaiting legal punishment, there are two classes,—those who are conscious of having committed a great crime, and who pay the penalty of their guilt by a self-inflicted punishment, and those who are conscious that right principle demands their death, and that they could not at any rate escape.

This form of punishment should certainly not be abolished.

Two others agreed generally with the last speaker.

Okamoto Jihei.—This proposal, as well as that prohibiting the wearing of two swords, is pernicious to our national constitution, which is unique in the whole world, and is destructive of our unequalled national morality, both public and domestic.

Sasaki Tetsuyemon.—The punishment of seppuku was intended to give importance to the Samurai, and to mark the low rank of the common people. It is unnecessary to argue against its prohibition.

It may seem plausible to interdict it in cases where it expiates the guilt of reckless crime, and is not done on behalf of lord or parent, but even then it proceeds from a consciousness of guilt, and from contrition of heart. It is an institution well suited to the temper of the Japanese Samurai, and we cannot venture to treat it with contempt.

Sonoda Tamoten.—The sage, Confucius, forbids the punishment of the high officer by death. In putting an officer to death, good faith requires that insult shall not be added to punishment. Officers of all rank resolve on death when circumstances require it. How can this practice be prevented by a stringent law?

Japan is becoming more and more degraded, and modesty and purity are becoming extinguished. Nothing but the names of officer and minister are left; in their hearts they are traders. If the public morals are neglected and are not raised up from their low condition, in the course of time, when the order to commit seppuku is given, no one will obey. So far, therefore, from prohibiting the seppuku, it is a great blessing to our country that men who commit it still remain in it.

Kaji Matazayemon.—It may seem, at first sight, an immoral act to die without awaiting the judge's sentence, but this does not proceed from a contempt for authority. The commission of the seppuku is owing to a natural sense of shame being deeply rooted in the heart. It is a national custom founded on what is due to the national sense of justice and to Japan as a nation.

It may be proper to prohibit the seppuku in cases where no legal sentence has been pronounced, but if the law constituting it a punishment for two-sworded men be not maintained, the distinction between them and the common people will be obliterated.

Watanabe Seijemon.—The prohibition of the seppuku seems plausible as according with a regard for human life. The seppuku is, however, a means of fostering a sense of shame, and the law should be allowed to remain unchanged, but officers of all ranks should be prohibited from attacking human life by shameless debauchery.

Horiye Gakuyemon.—The seppuku affords our two-sworded class an opportunity of satisfying their resolve by suicide in cases where there is no other alternative.

The fact that European religions forbid suicide has nothing to do with the present discussion. To prohibit the seppuku is to prevent two-sworded men from satisfying their resolve, and is highly inadvisable.

Fukui Daiske.—The Seppuku is a gratification to the two-sworded class, and is a very suitable form of punishment. It is impossible to prevent it in cases where the culprit is self-condemned. In neither case should it be prohibited.

Hara Motonoske.—Even though this rule should be established it is certain that the two-sworded class will break it. Some too will privately (*i.e.*, uncondemned) commit suicide by cutting their throats, and in other ways. To prohibit the seppuku alone would only tend to destroy the morals of the two-sworded class.

Mikki Nuinoske.—It is much to be regretted that men whose guilt is not evident should commit seppuku, and I have no objection to its being prohibited in such cases. There should be a special rule for the punishment of criminals who petition for the Imperial decision. If they should appear deserving of death it is indifferent whether they die by their own hand or that of another. If the seppuku is indiscriminately prohibited I do not know what other suitable punishment can be devised.

Aritake Yutaka.—It is unnecessary to prove that it is wrong to commit seppuku without awaiting orders. Cases of this kind are mostly due to insanity. What then can be done to prevent such a law from being broken? There is no better plan than to remove the cause of the disease by solid instruction.

The punishment of the seppuku is a means of marking the distinction in rank between the two-sworded class and the common people, and should not be prohibited.

Kokubuji Gembei.—I do not think it possible to carry into effect a prohibition of the seppuku. Our country has always placed the soldier class in the first rank, and attached great importance to principle. Therefore it is that some commit suicide from a fear of the disgrace of wrongful imprisonment, whilst others who, from a high sense of honour have devoted themselves to death, are compelled by principle to commit suicide when they fall into the hands of the enemy.

The prohibition of the seppuku would be the destruction of the soldier class and an incentive to immorality.

Saito Konoshiu agreed generally with the last speaker.

Ikuda Hinobu.—The custom of seppuku is a great ornament to the empire. Why should it be abolished? It seems proper to prohibit it stringently in cases where a judicial sentence has not been pronounced, but still if it were indiscriminately forbidden morality would suffer. If there was any means of preventing this evil result I should be in favour of a prohibitory measure.

Nonomura Rinyemon.—The soldier ranks above the farmer, the artizan, and the merchant, and it is repugnant to his feelings to suffer the same punishment as they. We should not imitate the customs of foreign countries, and the punishment of seppuku should not be abolished. I do not refer to those who disobey the orders of their military superiors. The practice of committing seppuku on one's own responsibility, and without awaiting judicial sentence, should be stringently prohibited.

Nakane Shohei.—It may be true that the seppuku is not practised in any of the countries of Europe, but we should not conclude that this state of things must be the best.

I am of the same opinion as the proposer of this question, viz., that the seppuku as a legal punishment should be abolished. To prohibit it, however, in cases where a Samurai commits suicide from a sense of shame, would be injurious to the interests of morality. There is no immorality in committing seppuku without awaiting a judicial sentence.

On ordinary occasions duty requires that the Imperial sentence should be awaited, but there are exceptional cases where duty makes it necessary to commit suicide.

Yasujima Kaizo.—Nothing is more difficult than to sacrifice life for principle. A Samurai without principle does not deserve the name of Samurai.

The best plan to encourage ability is to foster high principle; therefore the seppuku should not be abolished.

Nakazato Kozo agreed generally with the last speaker.

Midsuno Tatsusaburo.—The seppuku is not a recognized punishment of our criminal code. It ought to be looked upon as a privilege compassionately granted to the samurai by the authorities under certain circumstances. I am of opinion that those who of themselves commit seppuku do so from a sudden impulse on finding that their statements are not credited by their superiors. It is fruitless to prohibit this practice, and such a measure could not be carried into execution.

Tominaga Shume.—The custom of seppuku is founded on high principle, courage, and integrity, and is worthy of the highest praise. To prohibit it would be to remove one of the pillars of the Constitution.

Kawanishi Rokuzo.—In order to put a stop to the seppuku in cases where the guilt of the accused is doubtful, the rule of self-judgment should be established, and the seppuku restored to its former position as a punishment in the case of faithful Ministers and loyal retainers to whom integrity is dear.

Akimoto Yoske. —What reason can there be given for the abolition of the seppuku? The countries of the Western seas have each their own laws, but they do not concern our great Empire of the East.

In the original question proposed for discussion these words occur: "The conduct of those who do so," &c. This looks like ignorance of the duty of self-sentence on the part of those conscious of guilt.

The original proposal states, further, "If on the other hand he is guilty," &c. This opens the way to hopes of a possible reprieve on the pretence of refraining from committing suicide while awaiting the Imperial decision.

The sentence commencing, "But in my opinion death," &c., was doubtless dictated by humane feelings; but if principle is not to gain the victory over compassion, the morals of the soldier class cannot be maintained.

Takizawa Saigo —The seppuku is not a punishment for villainous crimes, or those which have their origin in low vice or immoderate greed.

It is a punishment that accords well with human passions, and also tends to encourage the practice of virtue.

Laws differ according to the character of the country and its inhabitants. I am opposed to establishing foreign customs and abolishing a punishment of our national criminal code.

Nam Kinyemon.—It may seem plausible to prohibit the seppuku, but we should remember that our customs and religion are different from those of foreign countries. The seppuku should not be prohibited, as to do so would have a strong tendency to effeminate the mind of the Samurai.

Sazuki Zoshitaro.—When inferiors are treated by superiors with courtesy there are no cases of insolence and insubordination followed by self-judgment without awaiting a judicial sentence; if the doctrines of the sages are clearly apprehended there will be no cases of committing seppuku consequent on recklessly offending against the laws of the land. For this reason schools should be erected and teachers appointed. If in this way nourishment is furnished to the roots (of the nation), the practice of seppuku will cease without being prohibited.

Tachibana Jirozayemon.—Of course there is nothing improper in committing seppuku when ordered to do so. It is also proper to applaud those who expiate their crimes by committing seppuku from remorse.

It may seem immoral to commit seppuku without awaiting orders; but is there no shame in publicly exposing a disgraced countenance while awaiting judicial sentence, when the culprit guilty of a capital crime and stung by remorse has already condemned himself.

What can be done in the case of those who commit seppuku when of unsound mind.

If in spite of these considerations the prohibition of seppuku is persisted in, it will be impossible to carry out the measure without at the same time abolishing the practice of wearing two swords, now universal in this Empire.

What use is there in introducing a measure which can never be executed?

Fujita Katonnoske.—I propose to cancel that part of the original proposal from the words "In Japan, &c." down to "the different countries of Europe."

From ancient times there have been in our country many cases of right principle having been vindicated by the seppuku. Further, seppuku invariably proceeds from a sense of shame, which ought to be encouraged by its remaining unprohibited. This will be a step towards creating a valiant soldier caste.

Karube Itsinja.—A speedy death by seppuku resulting from remorse for crime is a means of avoiding the pain of disgrace; how can it be said to be a contempt of the criminal law? how on the other hand can it be styled an expiation of guilt. By death the criminal barely restores himself to his position as a human being. If he lives he is a scoundrel, but if he dies he for the first time manifests a sense of shame. To prohibit the seppuku would be to close the public path of honour and throw open the private path of scoundrelism.

Hirayama Shiyemon.—I should be inclined to think the prohibition of the seppuku an advisable measure were it not that the severe morals of our soldier caste have no parallel in any European country. If we wish to prohibit the seppuku we must gradually change our common and statute law and reform it on an European model. If this be not done I suspect it will not be easy to carry out the single measure of prohibiting the seppuku.

Yoshida Gonzo.—The infliction of capital punishment for offences against the criminal laws cannot be avoided, but it is at the same time necessary to distinguish the two-sworded man from the lower class of retainers. The seppuku does so because it rests upon his sense of duty and shame.

It is highly immoral to commit seppuku before the criminal has been condemned for his offence. We have our criminal laws which ought to insure his punishment. It is desirable even after the death of the offender that his crimes should be inquired into and suitable steps taken.

Kashiwagi Hiogei.—Our most urgent business at the present time is to establish the first principles of government. Such questions as the seppuku may very well rest until this has been accomplished.

Nakano Chomei.—There is a custom for the Samurai of this divine country to commit seppuku when guilty of crimes. Whether this practice be prohibited or not, how will it be possible to prevent it as those who commit seppuku are regardless of future consequences. This is the true Japanese spirit. Rather than abolish a punishment on theoretical grounds, we ought to maintain a custom which fosters a sense of shame in the members of the military caste, and in the existence of which doubtless consists the superiority of Japan over other countries.

Kashu Kansuki agreed generally with the last speaker.

Imai Kimpei.—The praise accorded to the seppuku is a tribute to high principle and a sense of shame. Amongst those who expiate their guilt by committing seppuku without awaiting sentence is it likely that there are any who do so without due consideration. To prohibit the seppuku now would lead the way to effeminacy of manners in future time.

Two other members agreed generally with the last speaker.

Kato Shuzo.—I am in favour of retaining the punishment of the suppuku. It is impossible to carry out a prohibition of the seppuku in cases where it is performed without awaiting orders.

The seppuku should be retained and by this means a sense of shame fostered in our two-sworded men of all classes.

Kondo Koji.—Our country naturally differs from foreign countries in the method of maintaining a military class. The seppuku is specially intended for the encouragement of high principle; if it were abolished the soldier-spirit would deteriorate and such a course would be contrary to the Imperial resolve of encouraging ability throughout this Empire.

Four other members agreed generally with the last speaker.

Kurijama Saiichira.—To place this immortal Empire on a solid basis, nothing is more urgently needed than to establish the national constitution and to define clearly the words "opening" and "closing" (Japan to foreign intercourse). I am of opinion that, if this be not done, whilst we are engaged in the discussion of legislative measures, difficult questions will not improbably arise regarding the opening or closing of Japan to foreign intercourse, and contradictory opinions become rife.

In the proposal under discussion these words occur: "I hear, however, that this custom is quite unknown throughout the different countries of Europe." This is perhaps to be attributed to the different doctrines professed by them.

The gist of the whole proposal seems to be the prohibition of suicide. But when suicide proceeds from a consciousness of guilt, what is there wrong in it? Much less should it be condemned when committed in pursuance of orders. If references to the constitutions of foreign countries are introduced into a discussion like the present which affects our national constitution, we shall be drawn into stormy debates on the question of opening or closing Japan to foreign intercourse.

Takeida Heinoske.—The custom of seppuku is an ornament to our country and is one reason of its superiority over the countries beyond the seas. An honourable sense of shame should be encouraged and the spirit of the soldier caste stirred up, whereas the proposed prohibition would weaken the natural vigour of the nation and steal away the high spirit which has for ages animated it.

I am decidedly opposed to this prohibition.

Forty-seven of the members agreed generally with the last speaker.

Katama Sei.—It is proper that there should be a law for punishing Samurai by the seppuku.

Those who, while under suspicion of guilt, anticipate the Imperial decision, may be deemed to have committed an immoral act, but there is no general principle applicable to such cases.

A sense of shame leaves some no other alternative, and in their case a prohibition would be ineffectual.

Four other members agreed generally with the speaker.

Ikeda Sekiichino.—The practice of committing seppuku proceeds from the brave and virtuous feelings which animate the soldier-class of this country. This being so, the way to nourish the soldier-spirit is to tolerate or even to enjoin the practice of suicide.

Except in cases where the heinous nature of his guilt requires that the criminal shall be crucified or have his head publicly exposed, Samurai guilty of capital crimes should be condemned to commit suicide by seppuku.

Tsurui Hikozayemon agreed generally with the last speaker.

Isobei Kangoro.—The punishment of death by seppuku is an article of the criminal code. Will the prohibition of it cause no embarrassment in the working of our constitution?

Cases of suicide in anticipation of a judicial order, whether committed for the sake of lord or parent, or compelled by a sense of duty, ought to be looked on with indulgence, and all the circumstances fully considered.

Such persons should be deemed to have died a natural death, and their maintaining their integrity to the last should have our sympathy.

Why should this custom be prohibited in imitation of the effeminacy of foreign nations?

Kioso Hikoske.—The proposal to abolish the seppuku as a punishment for two-sworded men is highly objectionable. It will not be easy by a prohibitory law to prevent Samurai of high principle, and endued with a strong sense of shame from committing seppuku of their own accord, whilst the proof of their guilt is still uncertain.

Yoshino Fukasa agreed generally with the last speaker.

Fuouye Shazo.—The seppuku is a valuable institution among the two-sworded class of this country, and is the means of inspiring a sense of shame. It should certainly not be prohibited. The practice of committing seppuku in anticipation of a judicial order might very properly be interdicted, but such a measure could not be executed.

Sato Hachiyemon.—The maintenance of morality among the soldier class depends upon the seppuku, and it is also consonant with the principle that punishment should not reach the high official. I cannot see in what it is objectionable. Those who commit seppuku without awaiting orders are of two classes: some do so after (ineffectual) remonstrances with their chiefs, or in consequence of civil disorders. In all such cases the motives are sincerity and compassionate feelings, and a prohibition will have no effect in putting a stop to the practice.

Hirayama Kotaro agreed generally with the last speaker.

Ogui Gonyemon.—The punishment of the seppuku resting as it does on the distinction between the member of the military caste and the peasant, artizan, and merchant, is intended to whet the soldier spirit.

Those whose commit seppuku without awaiting orders ought rather to be praised for resolution and magnanimity.

It may be true that this custom does not exist in foreign countries, but the manners of this empire are different.

The seppuku is a valuable institution, tending to the honour of the nobles and based in a compassionate feeling towards the official caste.

No one should be allowed to commit seppuku in consequence of a single outburst of passion on the part of his chief.

Ishiwara Shichino agreed generally with the last speaker.

Honda Kadzuma.—The reason why the seppuku is practised in this empire and not in foreign countries, is because this empire is an empire. There are several classes of those who pass sentence on themselves without awaiting orders. Some have remonstrated with their lord or parent, and on their remonstrances being disregarded have given weight to them by committing suicide. Others have died to restore peace to their country. Why should we interdict the seppuku in cases where it is performed while the guilt of the accused remain uncertain? How can a man who is conscious of guilt endure to look his fellows in the face? Self-condemnation is a sign of a nature uncorrupted and conscious of shame.

Two other members agreed with the last speaker.

Kato Isawo.—The seppuku is an old established and valuable institution of this country, and should not be abolished. Only the desperate and insane commit seppuku in anticipation of orders, and whilst their own guilt is still unproved. In such cases the practice may be prohibited, but no harm will be done by not prohibiting it.

Date Goro.—The blunt swords of the Western conntries are unfit instruments for committing seppuku. It is an act displaying courage and a cheerful alacrity, and is therefore deserving of praise, but as it generally proceeds from over-scrupulousness, it should be ascribed to a sense of shame carried to an unhealthy extreme. In other cases of suicide the causes are obscure. For these reasons no national advantage is gained by it, and all kinds of suicide as well as the seppuku should be prohibited as illegal acts.

Nakazawa Senso.—The punishment of the Samurai of our country, by means of the seppuku, is a truly noble institution. Those who commit seppuku do so from a sense of guilt, and from remorse. The seppuku deserves praise as an evidence of the Japanese national temper, and ought not to be prohibited.

Iwasaki Fozodayu.—The seppuku is a pillar of religion and a spur to virtue. If it were abolished, modesty would become more rare.

Men of magnanimous sentiments should be encouraged while yet their crimes are unproved, to expiate them by penitence and zealous service.

Sugimori Rokurobei.—Not only will it be impossible to carry into execution a prohibition of the suppuku, but the practice, although prohibited will not cease, and will be the cause of incriminating innocent relations.

Self-condemnation is a noble custom which dignifies the Samurai's sense of duty towards his country. Of such customs we cannot have too many; why should it be abolished?

Kozeki Yoyemon.—A prohibition of the practice of self-punishment by the seppuku

might be carried into execution in a country where propriety, principle, and a sense of shame are unknown.

In this country of the gods, and under our present reformed Government, is it necessary to discuss such a law?

Wakabayashi kambei.—A brave and heroic spirit is not yet entirely extinguished in this country, for there are men who commit suicide by the seppuku.

It is unnecessary to discuss the question of whether it is practised in foreign countries or not. It is consonant to the feelings of this nation that the seppuku should be the privilege of all, from the Samurai upwards, and the custom should be maintained as hitherto.

No advantage will be gained by prohibiting it in the other cases referred to.

Minata Chunojo.—The seppuku is one of those points where this empire excels all other countries. It is impossible to carry into execution a prohibition of this practice. Whether it becomes obsolete or not depends upon whether European learning is generally diffused or otherwise. The suppuku may be stringently prohibited, but the virtue inherent in this empire cannot be suddenly restrained.

Something should be done to put a stop to the practice of prisoners poisoning themselves before their guilt has been investigated.

Akagishi Hiozo.—If the seppuku is stringently prohibited, and the principle established that the guilt of a criminal must be thoroughly investigated, all sense of shame will be forgotten, death will be dreaded, principle will be despised, and men will try to justify themselves at the expense of their lords or parents.

The base customs of Western nations should not be imitated.

Shingu Sadayu.—The abolition of the seppuku would constitute an obstacle to the maintenance of a sense of shame amongst our soldier caste.

The old custom should be allowed to remain for a time. To enter upon the reform of such subordinate matters whilst the very foundations of our country remain unsettled, would be to reverse the natural order of things.

Tomi Matsu Kayemon.—I am in favour of prohibiting the seppuku as an expiation of guilt. But there are degrees in guilt. In the case of minor offences, if the criminal repents of his crimes, reforms, and acquits himself of his duties with zeal and diligence, he may do his country good service.

The morality of the official caste accounts it a disgrace for those guilty of grave offences to confess their guilt, and submit resignedly to the punishment awarded by the law. Hence, according to the praiseworthy practice of our military caste, they expiate their crimes by committing seppuku before their guilt has been investigated. What justification is there for an indiscriminate prohibition of the seppuku, in trivial and grave cases alike, in imitation of the practice of the Western nations?

Akimoto Keinojó.—I can see no distinction between committing seppuku in compliance with orders and in anticipation of orders. When the criminal commits seppuku of his own accord, he does so in order to expiate his guilt and in honour to the national sense of justice. Why should we institute comparisons with foreign countries? I am opposed to the prohibition of the seppuku.

Okada Matakitchutaro.—The seppuku is a custom founded in the sense of shame implanted in the breasts of the Samurai of this empire. If this law is passed, propriety, principle, and a sense of shame will be forgotten. It cannot be carried into execution until we borrow the customs of the outer barbarians and adopt their costume. Instead of prohibiting the seppuku we had better attend to the reform of our criminal law, the diffusion of education, and the inculcation of a sense of duty in the official class of this empire.

If this be done we shall not hear of suicide being committed for frivolous reasons.

Nagasaka Tetsunoske.—The punishment of the seppuku is a custom which adds to the dignity of the Samurai, and is calculated to cherish in him a sense of shame.

Of those who commit seppuku without orders, some do so for the sake of the lives of their lords or parents. Is not this a noble act? I trust that this custom may be maintained, and that while the spirit of the soldier is nourished a good Government may render the seppuku unnecessary.

Sakada Hakusa.—The seppuku has its origin in the sacred vital energy of this divine country, and is the shrine of the Japanese national spirit (Yamato-spirit). Unquestionably it should not be prohibited. Its practice should be extended, and by this means a sense of shame fostered, and the seppuku should be made famous throughout the world as an example of devotion to principle. It ought to be introduced into our criminal code as the form of capital punishment for those above the rank of Samurai.

Iwamoto Hanji.—The seppuku is an incentive to virtue, and is one means of fostering

ability. Do not good Government and enlightenment call for its maintenance? If the seppuku be abolished what punishment is proposed as a substitute? Subjects like the present ought not to be started for discussion.

Nishikiori Shiritayu.—The common Samurai and the high officers of this country, when guilty of crimes, are either ordered to die or commit seppuku from a sense that duty requires them to do so.

Such generosity and exalted virtue is rare, and is unknown in any other country. Is it not a mistake to assimilate Japan with foreign countries by prohibiting the exercise of these rare virtues?

Three other members agreed generally with the last speaker.

Kumagaye Teizo.—The virtuous character of the Japanese Samurai is to honour propriety, high principle, and a sense of shame; and even if the seppuku is prohibited is it likely that he will obey, when the time has arrived when he ought to die?

The seppuku should be maintained and not abolished.

Eight other members agreed generally with this speaker.

Sakakibara Senzo.—In punishing Samurai there is a custom called the seppuku. This, however, is not properly called a punishment.

I highly approve of the opinions of the proposer of this resolution. Where he says, "the conduct of those who do so without awaiting orders, &c.," he lays down a principle which applies to other forms of suicide as well as the seppuku. Again he says, "If the man is, after all, guiltless, a searching investigation will show his innocence, &c." Here I cannot agree with him. Those who in such cases commit seppuku are the very men of parts, and with a strong sense of shame of whom he speaks. Samurai of this stamp are not to be deterred from committing suicide by a prohibitory law. It is said when men put an end to their own lives in remorsefor crimes which they have committed, that the disposition of such men is independent of the existence or non-existence of laws.

When the empire has been placed on a solid basis, and the national morals established, the seppuku will of itself cease without any positive prohibition.

Hoashi Riokichi.—It is necessary to put even the Samurai to death when guilty of a capital offence. If we abolish the punishment of the seppuku what shall we substitute for it? It is better to retain this practice than to substitute simple execution. The Samurai who commits suicide in anticipation of orders does so because he feels that he cannot escape capital punishment.

We ought not to deem noble those brazen-faced fellows who think no shame of self-accusation. The seppuku should be left to each man's own judgment, and should not be suppressed by law. If a law is passed that cannot be carried out the prestige of the Government will be injured and the spirit of the Samurai broken. I have no objection to the seppuku being prohibited in cases where an individual commits it while his offence is doubtful, and no judicial decision has been given.

Kaseya Gombei.—I have no objections to the seppuku being prohibited in cases where no crime has yet been brought home to the person who commits it. I am, however, opposed to its indiscriminate prohibition, for it is one of those things which exalt our empire above foreign countries.

Eight other members agreed with the last speaker.

Sato Sakai.—It is my opinion that, when the Samurai commits a capital offence he should not be bound, nor exposed in the public streets, but should be allowed, as provided by our ancient laws, to commit suicide in his own house, and the mode of punishment in his case distinguished from the punishment of men of the lower class.

It may be said that it is immoral to commit seppuku without awaiting orders, but a resolve to die proceeds from a consciousness that escape from death is impossible. It is impossible to lay down a general rule for these cases.

Six other members agreed with the last speaker.

Tonida Sanzo.—I can find no flaw in the argument for the abolition of the seppuku. There were, however, reasons which made this form of punishment necessary.

If we had a disinterested and illustrious Government it would be possible to frame a criminal code which could be executed humanely and in such a way as not to shock public feelings.

I am in favour of this form of punishment being abolished.

Usuda Tsukane.—The seppuku is a stimulus to the resolute temper which has characterized the citizens of this empire from ancient times, and not only so, but it makes a distinction between the Samurai and the common people.

It adds dignity to the Samurai and encourages in him a sense of shame.

I am desirous that great offences connected with the position of Samurai should be punished by the seppuku, and those of a different character by simple execution.

The voting on this question was as follows:—

Ayes, 3.
Noes, 200.
No vote, 6.

It was consequently resolved that the seppuku should not be abolished.

Inclosure 2 in No. 28.

Debate in the Japanese Parliament on the question of making it Optional to wear Two Swords.

(Translation.)

THE twelfth subject for debate comprised two clauses:—

1. It should be made optional for every one, except Government officials and soldiers, to wear swords or not, as he pleases.

2. It should be made optional for Government officials and soldiers to dispense with the short sword or not as they please.

Mori Kinnojo opened the debate.

In my humble opinion, the custom of wearing two swords originated in the necessity for repelling attacks from without, and for the protection of the person. When the Empire is in a state of civil disorder this is a very necessary precaution, but the world makes gradual progress in civilization and enlightenment, and the minds of men spontaneously come to a knowledge of the value of justice and uprightness. Outrage and murder cease of themselves, and such articles as swords become mere superfluous ornaments.

The fortunes of the empire are daily flourishing more and more, the integrity of our internal Government has been secured by good laws, whilst our army protects us from foreign invasion. This happy state of things is calculated to give a stimulus to the practice of propriety and virtue; outrage and murder will give place to a general and spontaneous observance of the laws of morality and justice. It follows that, henceforward, it should be optional for all, except Government officials and soldiers, to dispense with wearing swords, and even Government officials should be allowed to dispense with the short sword if they think proper.

Such a measure gives literature no undue pre-eminence over the arts of war. Of course letters and the arts of war are parts of the same substance though distinguished by different names, and the existence of a Government depends on every one devoting his attention to them both, and exerting himself to promote their progress. My sole object in proposing these two measures has been to correct abuses and to assist, in however small a degree, the firm establishment of the Imperial power. I humbly submit them for the high consideration of this wise assembly.

Précis of Debate on this Question.

Amenomori Kensaburo.—The custom of wearing two swords is the natural offspring of the national disposition to do honour to the soldier caste, and deserves our warmest admiration. If this custom be now abolished, the first step will be taken towards curbing the high spirit of the Samurai.

"A law should not be changed unless in the prospect of a hundred advantages." What advantages are expected from abolishing the custom of wearing swords? Even if it be made optional by law to do so, what Samurai is there with a spark of the Yamata spirit in him who will throw away his sword? Such a proposal cannot be entertained in these days of reform.

One hundred and fifty members agreed generally with the last speaker.

Wakabayashi Kambei.—From the Emperor down to the common soldier every man should wear a sword. There should be no objection to soldiers armed with the rifle dispensing with the use of the short sword for convenience' sake.

Iwamoto Hanji.—The custom of wearing swords should not be abolished. Common soldiers and Samurai out of office should wear only one. Merchants and townspeople should be prohibited from wearing any.

Okubo Kingo.—I have heard that the ancient law of our country was that all weapons should be laid up in the arsenals in time of peace and that no one was allowed to carry them at his own pleasure.

There is therefore an air of plausibility about this proposal just at present, when the

whole organization of our Government is being reformed upon the ancient model. But the present differs from former ages in its tendencies; were such an order now to be issued, the spirit of the Samurai would deteriorate. These proposals should not be accepted.

Makano Chomei.—The sacred vital energy of our divine country depends upon this weapon. While the words "soldier" and "samurai" exist, its use should not be abolished.

The reform in the Government has removed the distinction between civil and military officers; consequently the Kuges should be obliged constantly to wear two swords.

Sonoda Tamatsu.—It is a good maxim for the soldier "in peaceful times never to forget war." What shall we say of a measure that asks us, even in the midst of civil disorder, to forget the existence of civil disorder? What, I ask, is the character of the times in which we live?

The object of the soldier caste wearing two swords is that they may suppress war by war, but as the chief glory of the sword consists in its resting quietly in its sheath, it follows that a natural stimulus is given to letters, and, this being the case, how is it possible to abolish this practice were even more swords worn than there are?

If civilization and enlightenment become widely diffused, what fear is there of ruffianly violence? If, on the other hand, they should not become widely diffused, there will be ruffians, though even pocket-knives should not be carried.

Keuke Chogen.—Customs should not be lightly changed. The advantages offered by the two measures under consideration are scanty, and the mischief they are calculated to cause is great; no change should be made.

Sakada Shigai.—I. It is at present imperative on all classes of Samurai to wear two swords, but to wear one is already—to use the language of the original proposal—"optional" to peasants, artizans, and merchants, who are neither compelled nor forbidden to wear one.

This law is well suited to the character of our constitution, and should not be repealed for countless ages.

The expression in the original proposal, "Every one except Government officials and soldiers" seems to include, among Samurai, only the students of letters and the military art. Now these students are really preparing themselves to become Government officials and soldiers. Why should it be optional for them to dispense with the use of swords?

II. Formerly, the short sword was never worn by the Kuges, nor on State occasions was it openly carried by members of the soldier caste. The manufacture and use of the short sword are, however, of very old date, and would be difficult to prevent. If the use of the short sword is dispensed with, some substitute, such as a pistol, will certainly be introduced. The best plan is to let matters remain as they are.

Sasai Gorobachi agreed generally with the last speaker.

Yoda Yemonjiro.—This proposal is repugnant to the feelings of this nation, and I shall not waste time in proving its absurdity, but propose the following new regulations on this subject:—

I. As soon as the law for assimilating the civil (Kuges) and military official castes has been passed, it should be made compulsory for members of the former to wear two swords.

II. Every person actually in attendance on his superior should be obliged to wear two swords.

Mori Osame.—If it be made optional to dispense with wearing swords, it will become impossible to distinguish between Samurai and merchant.

Even the lower animals have claws and tusks for their defence; why should man give up the sword provided for his protection?

I understand that our ancient custom was to wear only one sword, and to make an attendant carry the long sword, and that the present practice of wearing both the long and short sword sprung up later, during times of civil disturbance. Possibly we ought to revert to the ancient practice.

Nakazawa Kensaku.—Swords are worn as a necessary article of dress. The morals of the empire will be injured and effeminate, literary habits spring up if their use is dispensed with. If we suddenly change our old-established custom, we shall expose ourselves to the ridicule of foreigners for our fickleness. I think we ought to revert to the old custom of wearing one sword.

If there were any urgent necessity for giving up their use, that would be another question, but the original proposal does not seem to point to such a state of things. This proposal has been wantonly brought forward; it has no solid foundation in principle.

Akimoto Yoske.—A conscientious examination of our ancient records has led to form

on opinion strongly in favour of the practice of wearing two swords. The inheritors of the ancient custom of wearing swords should wear at least one. Capricious ornaments should be prohibited, the old fashion adhered to, and our swords broadly distinguished from those of foreign make. Swords are necessary for the defence of the person, and one at least ought to be worn.

Nuyáke Kotaro.—The argument for abolishing the use of two swords shows great intelligence. Still, these measures for the support of the Imperial power should be brought forward somewhat later. It will be time enough to discuss the wearing of two swords when the fortunes of the empire are in a flourishing state, and violence is unknown.

These propositions were unanimously rejected by a house of 213 members.

No. 29.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received November* 30.)

My Lord, *Yedo, October* 8, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 2nd instant, reporting that His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh had visited Hiogo, Osaka, and Nagasaki, I have now the honour to forward copies of two despatches which I have since received from Mr. Consul Gower, and Mr. Consul Flowers, giving full particulars of the manner in which His Royal Highness was received at those places.

I shall acknowledge to the Japanese Government the attentions which were paid to His Royal Highness by the local Japanese officers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 29.

Consul Gower to the Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Osaka, October* 1, 1869.

UNCERTAIN as I was of the intended movements of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, I remained at Osaka, that there might be some Consular officer to receive him at whichever port he called first; and I now have the honour to report that at about noon on the 18th ultimo, Her Majesty's ships "Galatea" and "Salamis" anchored in Kobé Harbour with the Royal visitor, accompanied by Admiral Sir Henry Keppel.

The acting Vice-Consul of course immediately went on board to offer his services, and was soon followed by the Hiogo Chigi-Mutzu Yonoske, who was exceedingly kind in his offers and insisted upon giving a royal salute to the Prince.

I may here mention that, on leaving the "Galalea," the Chigi received the number of guns due to him, but as no response was made to him from the shore, this neglect may account for the fact reported to me by Mr. Enslie that our ships did not return the royal salute subsequently fired by the Japanese.

There was a guard of honour at the Eastern Custom-house where His Royal Highness landed at 4 o'clock P.M.; and detached men at intervals of from 200 or 300 yards were placed on the road all the way to the Waterfall, where another guard of honour was stationed, and refreshments prepared for the Royal Duke. He was unable to receive a Deputation of the Hiogo community to present an address, but it was accepted through the acting Vice-Consul, and I now have the honour to forward a copy of it with the correspondence referring to it.

Very early on the 19th I proceeded with Inowé, the Acting Governor for Foreign Affairs, to meet His Royal Highness at the anchorage, called on board a few minutes after his arrival at 8 o'clock in Her Majesty's ship "Salamis," and a royal salute was fired from Temposan as the Prince approached the shore in his steam-launch. This, however, could not then get over the bar, and we had to take advantage of the Governor's small sea-boats to join the Mikado's state barge (something like a floating house towed by sixteen boats full of men) in which the Duke and all of us were taken up the river to the Foreign Settlement, where the principal guard of honour was ranged all the way from the landing-place to the Consulate.

The Prince then received the visit of the Town Governor Yoszu Zugi—a Kugé—and

after breakfast we proceeded to see the Mint, (which is to mark a new era in the history of this country) and thence to the castle, never dismounting from our horses at any of the gates, which is a sign of respect on the part of the Japanese officials worthy of notice and record.

After some Japanese refreshments on our way back to the Consulate, His Royal Highness left Osaka about 5 o'clock the same day to return with the "Salamis" to the "Galatea" at Kobé, where he had invited the Hiogo Governor, Mr. Enslie and other guests to dinner.

At half-past 8 next morning (the 20th) the Royal Duke with the Admiral left in their respective ships for Nagasaki.

Before I close this report I think it due to the local authorities at both ports, and especially to Messrs. Mutsz and Inouyé, to bring to your notice their kind attention and readiness to carry into effect anything I proposed to make the Prince's visit as agreeable as possible; and at very short notice an Interpreter was placed at his service to remove the possibility of difficulties should His Royal Highness feel inclined to land and shoot a few deer on the numerous small Islands of the inland sea.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ABEL A. J. GOWER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 29.

Mr. Browne to Acting Vice-Consul Enslie.

Sir, *Hiogo, September* 19, 1869.

I BEG leave to hand to you, for transmission to His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, an address from the British residents at this port, which we are given to understand His Royal Highness has kindly consented to receive through you—waiving the etiquette usual on such occasions.

I shall feel obliged, therefore, if you will forward the accompanying address, and convey to His Royal Highness our expressions of regret that the shortness of his stay should have deprived us of the honour of presenting it in person.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. ST. J. BROWNE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 29.

Address of British Residents at Hiogo to His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh.

To Captain His Royal Highness Alfred Ernest Albert, Duke of Edinburgh, R.N., K.G.

May it please your Royal Highness,

WE, the undersigned British residents at the port of Hiogo, beg leave to offer to your Royal Highness a hearty welcome.

We feel it not only our duty, but our privilege, to assure your Royal Highness that, although distant from our native land, we still cherish those feelings of attachment to its Constitution and Sovereign which it is the pride of our countrymen to preserve; and we feel gratified that this opportunity should have been afforded us to renew our expressions of loyalty and devotion to our Most Gracious Queen and the Royal family.

We are assured that your visit to the East will not only be productive of satisfaction to your countrymen, as affording them an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with your Royal Highness, but that it will also assist in cementing still more closely that intimate union between these far distant communities and Great Britain, by means of which alone we can hope for success in our enterprise and a speedy return to the beloved country of our birth.

Trusting that safety and prosperity may attend your Royal Highness and the good ship you command throughout your voyage,

We beg leave to subscribe ourselves your Royal Highness' most humble servants.

(Signed by fifty-one British residents at Hiogo.)

Inclosure 4 in No. 29.

Acting Vice-Consul Enslie to Mr. Browne.

Sir, *Hiogo, September* 20, 1869.

I BEG to inform you that I have had the honour of presenting to His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh the document you forwarded to me yesterday.

His Royal Highness has commanded me to express to you his regret that his short stay here prevented him from following the customary form of presentation.

In reply to the expressions of regret on the part of the British residents that circumstances unfortunately precluded them from offering another and a better welcome, I am directed to convey to them the satisfaction felt by His Royal Highness at the sentiments contained in the address.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAMES J. ENSLIE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 29.

Consul Flowers to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Nagasaki, September* 27, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to report that His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh arrived in this port on the morning of the 24th instant, in Her Majesty's ship "Galatea," accompanied by Admiral the Honourable Sir Henry Keppel in Her Majesty's ship "Salamis."

The following day His Royal Highness hoisted the Royal Standard, which was immediately saluted from the Japanese fort with twenty-one guns. During the day His Royal Highness gave audience to the Governor, the Consular corps, and to a deputation from the British community, who presented him with an address, a copy of which I beg to inclose, together with His Royal Highness' reply.

His Royal Highness met with a most hearty reception from all members of the community. He was cheered on his landing, and a grand illumination was in preparation to welcome him, after which he repaired to the British Consulate to partake of luncheon.

The illumination was a great success. The whole front of the Bund was lit up and the private bungalows on the hill, which had a charming effect. Every one appeared to vie with each other in rendering homage to the Prince; there was no distinction of nationalities. The Dutch at Decima were as hearty in contributing to his welcome as the British at Ora. It was a pleasing spectacle to witness a Prince of Great Britain received so cordially.

The Japanese authorities were most anxious to show the Prince every respect; they placed a guard at his disposal, and invited him to partake of a Japanese dinner, which His Royal Highness had to decline, as his stay was so short. The natives appeared much impressed with the dignity of the Prince, and no doubt his visit will leave a favourable impression on the minds of the people.

His Royal Highness expressed himself much pleased with his reception. He quitted the harbour of Nagasaki for Che-foo yesterday morning, accompanied by Admiral Keppel, in Her Majesty's ship "Salamis."

The "Galatea" remains behind for a few days, but will join His Royal Highness at Che-foo on his return from Peking.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MARCUS FLOWERS.

Inclosure 6 in No. 29.

Address of British Residents at Nagasaki to His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh.

May it please your Royal Highness,

WE, the undersigned British subjects resident at Nagasaki, rejoice on this occasion to have the privilege of testifying our loyalty to the Throne, and our appreciation of the honour now conferred upon us by the presence of your Royal Highness.

Although comparatively exiled in this remote part of the globe, the attachment to our country remains unaltered, and we cherish the hope that, amid the more brilliant recollec-

tions of foreign travel, your Royal Highness will retain the knowledge that, even in no part of Her Majesty's dominions does there exist a stronger feeling of loyalty, or a higher respect for the Queen and Royal family, than in the small community of British subjects in Nagasaki.

(Signed by fifty-one British residents.)

Nagasaki, September 24, 1869.

Inclosure 7 in No. 29.

Reply of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to Address presented by British Residents in Nagasaki.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you sincerely for the address you have presented to me.

In the Queen's name I thank you for the expressions of loyalty to her Throne and family which it contains, and I rejoice to find that neither sojourn in a distant land, nor separation from your native home, have in any way diminished the allegiance which as good and faithful subjects you owe your Sovereign.

(Signed) ALFRED.

No. 30.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 30.)

My Lord, *Yedo, October* 8, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 30th ultimo, respecting the reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, in which I forwarded a copy of the despatch I addressed to the Japanese Government, acknowledging the courtesy and personal exertions of the high personages and Ministers therein named, I have now the honour to inclose a translation of the reply I have received to that communication.

As the Foreign Minister is so good as to speak in this letter of the assistance which he considers I rendered to the Japanese Government on the above occasion, I beg to be allowed to take this opportunity of observing that the success of the visit of His Royal Highness to Japan, and the good impression which it has created, are in a great measure attributable to His Royal Highness' ready appreciation of the political position of foreigners in this country, and to the consideration he showed for the feelings of those by whom he was received.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 30.

Sawa Jusammi to Sir H. Parkes.

(Translation.)

Sir, *October* 2, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 25th ultimo, in which you refer in the kindest terms to the arrangements made by this Government for the reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh. Its perusal has afforded us all no ordinary pleasure.

If we have been in any degree successful in relieving the monotony of His Royal Highness' visit, it must be attributed to your constant kind offices between us, which have enabled the arrangements made by our Government to be successfully carried out. My colleagues unite with me in returning you our thanks for your kindness, which His Majesty the Tenno has not failed to appreciate.

I shall communicate to His Majesty the contents of your letter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) SAWA JUSAMMI KIJOWARA NORIYASHI.

No. 31.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 2, 1869.

WITH reference to my preceding despatch of this day's date, I have to express my entire approval of your conduct, and of the arrangements made on the occasion of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to the Mikado, as reported in your despatch of the 30th of September; and I have to instruct you to convey my approval ord.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 32.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 2, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 8th of October, and its inclosures, reporting the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to Hiogo, Osaka, and Nagasaki; and I have to instruct you to convey to the Japanese Government the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the manner in which His Royal Highness has been received at those ports.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 33.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 13.)

My Lord, *Yeddo, October* 20, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to forward a translation of a letter which Mr. Mitford has received from the Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, expressing, by direction of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the thanks of the Government for the services rendered them by Mr. Mitford on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, and requesting his acceptance of the present of a lacquer box.

I trust your Lordship will approve of my having authorized Mr. Mitford to accept this testimonial, and it affords me pleasure to bring this acknowledgment of his services to your Lordship's notice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 33.

The Under-Secretaries of the Japanese Foreign Office to Mr. Mitford.

(Translation.)

Sir, *October* 9, 1869.

WE have been instructed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to express to you the profound obligations of the Japanese Government for the trouble which you took in assisting them in the preparations made for the reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, and for your valuable co-operation during his stay at the Summer Palace. We have also been instructed to request you to accept a lacquer box which we send you in token of the acknowledgment of the Japanese Government of the services rendered them by you on the occasion in question.

We have, &c.
(Signed) MACHIDA GWAIMUTAIJO.
MUMAWATARI GWAIMUSHOJO.
MIYAMOTO GWAIMUGONSHOJO.

No. 34.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 13.)

My Lord, *Yeddo, October* 22, 1869.

THE inclosed friendly notes have been exchanged between the Foreign Minister and myself relative to the attentions paid to His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh by the local Japanese authorities at Hiogo, Osaka, and Nagasaki, when he visited those ports as reported in my despatch of the 2nd instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 34.

Sir H. Parkes to Sawa Gwaimukijo.

Yedo, October 15, 1869.

HER Majesty's Consul at Osaka and Nagasaki have reported to the Undersigned that on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to Hiogo, Osaka, and Nagasaki, the local Japanese authorities at each of those places spared no exertion to receive His Royal Highness with every mark of friendship and respect.

The Undersigned sees in this circumstance a fresh proof of the care taken by the Emperor's Government to extend to the provinces the same cordial feeling which marked His Majesty's reception of the Prince at Yeddo. He feels, therefore, that he should express to his Excellency his appreciation of these exertions of the local authorities, and that he should request his Excellency to bring their conduct to the favourable notice of His Majesty as being in accordance with His Majesty's high object of promoting durable friendship between the two nations.

The Undersigned, &e. (Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 34.

Sawa Jusammi and Terashima Jushii to Sir H. Parkes.

(Translation.)

Sir, *October* 21, 1869.

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 15th instant, in which you courteously express your acknowledgments of the exertions of the authorities at Hiogo, Osaka, and Nagasaki, to receive His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh with every mark of friendship and respect on the occasion of his visit to these places.

We shall lose no time in bringing your letter to the notice of His Majesty the Tenno.

We have, &c.
(Signed) SAWA JUSINA KIJOWARA NORIYASHI,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.
TERASHIMA JUSHII FUJIWARA MUNENORI,
Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 35.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 13.)

My Lord, *Yedo, October* 28, 1869.

MR. STUDENT INTERPRETER HALL has translated a Japanese pamphlet in three parts, called the "Fuku-ko-Ron" (A Return to the Ancient Régime). In the first part the writer reviews the causes of the recent revolution and the legitimacy of the position which the Mikado has resumed. He maintains that the movement is essentially national, and that instead of being the work of a few Daimios, it had its origin among the lower classes and spread from them to the upper. The restoration of power to the Mikado was the natural consequence of a general demand for reformation consequent on the

inefficient condition into which the administration of the Shôgun had fallen. The time had arrived for the application of a wholly different system to that which had hitherto retained absolute and exclusive power in the hands of the subject ruling as the deputy of the Mikado. According to the axiom of the Shôgunate quoted by the writer, the Daimios were required to look only to the maintenance of their respective forces, "and to abstain entirely from meddling with Imperial questions." Now they, and men of ability, are to be called to the council of the nation, and the Mikado is to govern through their aid.

In the two other parts the writer touches discursively on several of the topics of the day which were under discussion at the time he wrote. Among these are the reception of foreign Ministers by the Mikado, the Suppression of Buddhism, the Constitution of the new Government, and the punishment to be awarded to the ex-Shôgun and Aidzus. He considers that the foreign policy of the Mikado's Government is calculated to secure for Japan the respect of foreign nations; but he at the same time repeats, without remark, and apparently without disapproval, another Japanese axiom, which says, "When the two words 'Jô I' (expulsion of barbarians) cease to be inscribed on our hearts and vitals, the Constitution of Great Nipon ceases to exist." Further on he notices approvingly the study of navigation and foreign tactics, and the adoption of English drill, but discountenances unreasonable admiration of foreign customs.

The essay is instructive, I think, as an instance of the unsettled and unformed state of feeling which still prevails in Japan in regard to foreign questions, and also as an example of Japanese political thought, and the freedom and force with which it is expressed.

I beg to commend to your Lordship's notice the diligence which Mr. Hall has shown in preparing this translation, as well as that of the interesting debate on the Constitution which I forwarded in my despatch of the 1st instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 35.

Japanese Pamphlet entitled "Fuku Ko Ron" (A Return to the Ancient Régime).

A Discussion.

1. IT is popularly argued "that the Empire cannot be governed by the Emperor for any length of time." This language, held only by men who, unable to read the signs of the times, imagine that the spirit of every age is the same, betrays an utter absence of observation and thought. I shall briefly set forth the historical aspect of the question.

In the first place, then, passing over the age of the gods, from the commencement of the human epoch till the present day, about 2,500 years have elapsed. For about 680 years of that period the Government has been carried on by the military class. During the rest of the time, that is to say, for nearly 2,000 years, the Mikado, without the intervention of the military class, has had the entire conduct of the administration. Yet, in the face of this fact, we are told, forsooth, that the Mikado cannot govern the Empire! In support of this assertion, the events of (the era of) Genko—(A.D. 1331 to 1336) are adduced. At that period, the Government having reverted to the hands of the Mikado, was, after a very short interval (about three years), again wrested from him by Ashikaga.* But, in truth, this argument is a most unfortunate one; for on that occasion the return to the old system originated in the will of the Mikado himself, and was in no degree brought about by the opinion of his subjects. Hence, when His Majesty faltered for a moment in his resolution, the government was at once resumed by the military class. Whereas the present return to the ancient rule is, both in its origin and issue, the very reverse of the former. This time it is the people themselves who have originated the proposal of undivided allegiance to the Mikado. They read aright the lesson of the failure of Genko. Started in the first instance by the ronins, the movement gradually spread among the kerais, from the kerais it reached the karos, from the karos it was communicated to the Daimios; thus, initiated by the people, and thus energetically propagated, it grew and spread daily, until at length it resulted almost, as it were, spontaneously, in a return to the old form of government. Hence, even if the Mikado were now to change his policy, since the opinion of the people would not concur in the change, it is impossible that the government should again revert to the military class.

Look, again, at the recent condition of the country. Has it, or has it not, enjoyed

* Ashikaga. One of the Shôguns.

good government? Has it not been daily falling into confusion worse confounded? In truth, the restoration by the Shôgunate of the authority which it had all but destroyed by its misgovernment, can only be compared to the conduct of the manager of a mercantile house, who through his carelessness and incapacity has deeply involved the concern in debt, and has at last no alternative but to throw up the business to his employers, after having brought them to the verge of bankruptcy. The resolute action of the Daimios is as if the shopmen and clerks of the establishment had reported the misconduct of the manager to the head of the firm.

2. Again, it is said that, "though, ostensibly, the present movement is a return to the system of government by the Sovereign, in reality the aim of the Daimios is to get the government of the country into their own hands." This is a fundamental misunderstanding of the facts. For as it was by the people that the movement was from the first initiated and throughout promoted, so it is perfectly certain that, whatever opinion may be held as to the motives of the Daimios, they cannot control the issue of it at their own convenience.

3. It is a painful fact that there are men who openly assert "that the existing estates of the Daimios are direct grants from, or are held on the condition of allegiance to the Shôgunate." When these men talk so, they convict both the Shôgun and their own lords of treason. It is asked how? "There is not a single foot of land that is not the territory of the Sovereign; not a single individual who is not the subject of the Sovereign." Further, this realm of the Mikado was never handed over by any Sovereign to the Shôgunate. Therefore, for any one (Daimio) to consider his Sovereign's territory as his own private property, and then make a covenant of allegiance with a subject of the Sovereign (the Shôgun) is flat treason. The truth of the matter is, that after Yoritomo had been invested by the Sovereign with the office of punishing the national enemies,* his successors diverted their authority to their own private ends; then, after the time of Ashikaga, the office was held by his posterity in hereditary succession, and thus, in the course of a few generations, the fact of its being a private appropriation was lost sight of.

Now let us suppose that, through the agency of the Shôgunate, the existing estates were distributed in trust to the various Daimios, and the subjects of the Sovereign in like manner placed under their respective jurisdictions: how splendid does the work of the Shôgunate appear! Whereas, if we suppose that the estates were granted by, or are held on the terms of allegiance to, the Shôgunate, we bring as well upon our own lords as upon the Shôgunate itself, the foul stigma of treason.

Furthermore, rank and office can be conferred upon subjects by the Sovereign alone. When, therefore, we find that all the Daimios are invested with titles of rank and office, can there remain the vestige of a doubt as to their being subjects of the Sovereign?

4. Another popular argument, that "we ought not to forget the benefits we have received from the Shôgunate," it must be allowed, is unimpeachable. But, then, what about the benefits we have received from the Mikados for more than 2,000 years? Even if we had received no benefits from the Mikados during those 600 and odd years, what shall we say of the immense benefits we received from them during the 2,000 years preceding? Had there been no human being in existence before the Shôgunate, and if the ancestors of the whole people had been born under its rule, it might be all very well to talk so about "the benefits of about 600 years." But if we are to look at everything in the same narrow-minded spirit, we must in consistency admit that our benefactor is (not our lord, but) the officer who distributes to us our rations of rice.

5. If we look closely into the method of working of the new Government, we find that in all matters, even to the least important, the Daimios are first consulted, and the decision of the Mikado given afterwards. That this is the very ideal of national and impartial government requires no words of mine to demonstrate. The promoters of this administration (revolution?) were undoubtedly Satsuma, Choshiu, and Tosa, in the first instance; afterwards they received the energetic assistance and support of the other Daimios. And certain it is that, if any attempt were now to be made to upset this equitable arrangement, it would be resisted by the united forces of the Empire.

6. How came it to pass that this movement was originated by the lower ranks of the people? Ever since the time of Mitsukuni, Prince of Mito (who, about 200 years ago, published a work advocating the resumption of the Government by the Mikado), the question of allegiance to the Sovereign has come to be widely discussed throughout the Empire. Moreover, it has been computed that, of late years, the crimes of the Shôgunate amount to about 200 counts. Thus, on the occasion of the Treaties with the outer barbarians, the pent-up indignation of the people was slightly manifested in the occurrences

* As Sei Tai Shôgun, *lit.*, Barbarian-exterminating Generalissimo.

at Sakurada,* at Sakashita,† and at Tozenji.‡ Next came the outbreaks in Yamato and in Tajima.§ Then followed the still more serious engagements at Ohirayama and Tsukubayama.‖ After that came the affair of the three karos of Choshiu ;¶ consequent on which followed the war of the two provinces Boshiu and Choshiu. Now, it is a matter of the Daimios of all the western provinces. On these occasions the conduct of the Shôgunate was characterized by extreme severity. At first it was only a few men (of the Mito clan) it put to death ; on account of the affair at Sakurada, it was a few tens ; then at Ohirayama and Tsukubayama, some hundreds ; after that some thousands ; in Boshiu, Choshiu, and other places, some tens of thousands. Now, not the whole weight of its authority and power can avail to put down the movement. Even if the Daimios of the Western Provinces were on this occasion to fail in bringing about a return to the old order of things, the Eastern, Southern, and Northern Provinces would rise and accomplish it. If it is asked from what cause this state of affairs arose, I reply simply from the Shôgunate being in the dark, while the people were enlightened as to the question of allegiance. Hence, even even if the Shôgunate could make its power felt (to check the movement) two or three times, still it is certain that in two or three years a return to the ancient system would inevitably take place.

7. "The Eastern and Northern Provinces are not animated by the same spirit of courageous loyalty to the Mikado as the Western Provinces," it is said. This assertion also is made in disregard of facts. Are not Mito and Shimodzuke among the Eastern Provinces? In short, at no very distant date, those same Northern and Eastern Provinces will bestir themselves and strike such a blow as will open the eyes of those who bring this charge against them.

Such, then, being the true state of the case, it is obvious, whether we view it in the light of the past, or in that of the events and tendencies of the present, that if we do not espouse the cause of allegiance to the Mikado, we shall subject ourselves to vicissitudes both from within and from without. That is to say, it rests with ourselves whether we shall voluntarily adopt this course, or have it forced upon us both by the populace of our own provinces and by the forces of the province which adhere to the Mikado.

8. Again, it is argued that "if we wish to make our provinces flourishing and our forces strong, we must abstain from meddling with Imperial questions." This is the very reverse of the truth. Men like Satsuma, Choshiu, and Tosa have laboured heart and soul in behalf of the Empire, and the immense expenditure they have thereby ungrudgingly incurred is a matter of notoriety. Yet the provinces of these three Daimios are increasing in prosperity every day, their forces growing more powerful; while, on the contrary, the majority of the Daimios on the other side are in straitened circumstances. Whence arises the difference? Simply from the fact that in these three provinces lord and retainer, seeing eye to eye, have made loyalty to the Mikado the basis of their policy, and have thence been able to devote their united energies to the development of their financial and other resources. From one cause or another, it is a positive fact that unless loyalty to the Mikado be accepted as a fundamental principle, lord and retainer cannot agree together.

Be it observed, that to revere the Sovereign who is entitled to our reverence, this is the only true loyalty.

The foregoing principle was early recognized by the Princes of Mito. They communicated it to the Shôgunate, but their advice was not attended to. On the contrary, they were punished for having given it.

The Princes of Mito, however, are not the only persons who have remonstrated with the Shôgunate. Chosiu, and many other Daimios of less note, have likewise done so; but in every case, so far from listening to their counsel, the Shôgunate only regarded

* Sakurada. The wide street adjoining the inner moat of the Shôgun's Castle near the Nishi-Maru. Here the Gotairo (Prince Regent) Ii Kamon no Kami was murdered by a band of about twenty Mito retainers on the 24th of March, 1860.

† Sakashita. The locality immediately adjoining Sakurada. Here Ando Tsushima no Kami, Second Minister for Foreign Affairs, was attacked and severely wounded by eight Mito men on the 14th February, 1862.

‡ Tozenji, the large temple in Takanawa, where the British Legation was first located in Yeddo. It was attacked, first on the 5th July, 1861, and a second time, exactly a year afterwards.

§ Yamato and Tajima. In these two provinces a force of about 600 ronins assembled and raised the standard of revolt against the Shôgun's Government in 1865. They were routed by the Shôgun's forces, and several Kugés who had joined in the movement took refuge with the Prince of Choshiu.

‖ Ohirayama and Tsukubayama. These two neighbouring mountains, on the boundary of Hitashi and Shimodzuke, were the scenes of several engagements between the divided vassals of the Prince of Mito. The larger portion of the clan determined to restore the executive power of the Mikado; the remainder, headed by their Prince, adhered to the Shôgun, and, assisted by the troops of the latter, routed their fellow clansmen.

¶ The Prince of Choshiu having been declared a national enemy by the Shôgun, his three principal officers (Karos) proceeded to Kioto to implore the Mikado's forgiveness. They were prevented from entering Kioto by the Shôgun's forces, and one of them was murdered.

them as enemies. It should be noted that this infatuation was the true cause of its collapse.

Doubtless the members of the Gorigio imagined that, in punishing the Princes of Mito and the others, they were acting in the interests of the House of Tokugawa; but by posterity their conduct will be viewed in a far different light. They will be numbered with Chôkô and Riohi,* not with the faithful vassals of Tokugawa. In our own annals there are but two parallels to their misguided policy. The first is that of Atobe and Nagasaka of Khoshiu. These two Karos ruined the House of Tokeda. Yet so far were they from recognizing the true character and consequences of their administration, that their ambition was to share proportionately in the splendour and influence to which they thought they were raising their master's house. Misled by the vulgar view of glory, they misled their Lord Katsuyori also, and their names have descended to after generations a by-word and a reproach. The other instance is that of Ono, of the House of Hideyoshi, at Osaka, and is known to every one.

In presuming, in the foregoing pages, to examine into and estimate the significance of the events of the time, I have gone far beyond the province of so worthless an individual as myself. My object was to set forth in a true light the changes which have hitherto occurred.

"Fuku Ko Ron," No. II.

It is frequently said that, "whether the step of summoning the Foreign Ministers to the Emperor's presence last spring, and entering into close relations with them, will or will not hereafter prove disastrous to the country, is quite uncertain." In reply I beg to suggest as my own private opinion, that, in entering into relations with the Western countries, the Emperor's idea was that, as he had now himself the supreme control of the army, and the right of levying forces from the Damios, he would raise the military and naval forces to an effective footing; and as the Constitution had now been firmly established on its ancient basis, he would, in his domestic policy, give peace and happiness to his subjects, and in his foreign policy take his place amongst the first-class Powers, and make known his authority and might to lands beyond the seas. For promoting the prosperity of the millions and tens of millions of the people, can any plan be compared to this? In such a policy, there is not a single point which is liable to be attended with injurious consequences. Beyond this, if the Treaty powers should be guilty of any unprincipled conduct, that the Emperor will send an army to chastise them is a matter of course. A certain man has said, "When the two words "Jo-i" (expulsion of barbarians) cease to be inscribed on our hearts and vitals, the constitution of great Nipon ceases to exist." Again it is said: "At the time when the Emperor's Government has entered on a new career, when the ability and talent of the country is employed in the public service, when all measures are submitted to fair and open discussion, it was to be expected that the rest would follow as naturally as the branches and leaves come forth when the trunk is planted, or as all the meshes open when the frame-rope of a net is stretched: yet in the distant provinces and out-of-the-way districts it would seem as if the sentiments of the populace had not yet quite risen to the same elevation as those of the upper class."

I reply: "When a beneficent central Government has been established, is there any such distinction in the empire as that of distant and near? The sixty odd provinces are just like an object grasped in the hand. The opinions of the upper class pass to the people, and the feelings of the people rise in sympathy with their superiors."

The modern petition-boxes, being of the same character as the ancient complaint-boards, are a device for eliciting the sentiments of the lower orders of the people.

Again it is said: "Among the many crimes of the Shôgun, his treason in seizing the Miyasama as a hostage; in designating Yedo the Eastern Capital; and more than all, in procuring in marriage the Princess Jôkan: is notorious to every household in the empire. Under these circumstances, the infliction of any punishment short of death would now be a questionable proceeding."

I say, in reply: "That since the Government was entrusted to the family of Tokugawa, nearly two centuries and a half ago, the Imperial House has enjoyed tranquil security, and the people have celebrated a long peace, during which no sound of warfare grated on their ears; and although it may be said that this is to be ascribed to the wisdom of the Emperors in remaining inactive, the Tokugawa family, by reason of its kind assistance,

* Chôkô and Riohi were successively Ministers of the Chinese Emperor Shikwotei (B.C. 221—206). Their administration was characterized by cruel oppression of the people, and the execution of such of the leading statesmen as became obnoxious to them.

is not without a share in the merit. Moreover, in admiring remembrance of the loyal services of its ancient founder, Yoshi Sada Sa chiu-sho, and his companions, the Emperor has refrained from ordering an inquisition into its past offences. These are the reasons for the clement administration of the law."

Again it is said: "Upon the first genuine token of submission, the Prince of Aidzu will be restored to the Imperial favour and his lands and revenues given back to him undiminished."

I reply: "That is mere street rumour, utterly without foundation. As soon as Aidzu was declared a national enemy, imperial troops and the forces of several clans were sent eastward. Thereupon, he enlisted in several places, runaway vassals of the Shôgun and opposed the Imperial standard in several engagements. If after having gone so far, the imperial clemency were, on his submission, to restore him his lands and revenues intact, it would be like giving wings to a tiger and letting him loose again, a perpetual source of trouble hereafter. Consequently, the rumour is altogether unwarranted. Seeing that our main design is now to effect the solidarity of the empire, the proper plan is to cut into the roots of such robber gangs and miscreant hordes, and leave the leaves to wither of themselves."

Again it is said: "Aidzu has circulated manifestos along the various roads, and in many instances Daimios have complied with them."

I reply: "There are two ways of compliance. A man may comply through fear of violence, or he may heartily and truly comply from a sense of obligation and duty. In the present instance, are those Daimios under any debt of gratitude to Aidzu? Wherefore I consider it unlikely that any of them will join him. If, however, any do join him, they will be the petty Daimios in his own immediate vicinity, who, fearing his power, appear for the present to act in concert with him, but are in their hearts loyal to the Mikado. Hence if the Emperor raises a large army and, proclaiming Aidzu's crimes, proceeds to chastise him, the latter will be as effectually crushed in a single encounter as an egg would be by a mountain falling on it."

Again it is said: "The troops of K'wantô, Oshiu and Dewa, if compared with those of the Western Provinces, have always been more valiant and successful."

I reply: "The statement cannot for a moment be entertained. When it comes to actual fighting, it will always be found that if the troops are devoted to their Daimio and have confidence in their general, one soldier is a match for 10,000; while in so far as they are not animated by those feelings they are proportionately worthless."

We frequently hear it said, "That Western countries are not stupid like the ancient Moko; on the contrary their ability distances all comparison with the Japanese. To recognize this you have to only look at their splendid skill in the manufacture of great guns and men-of-war, and the ingenuity and perfection of their machinery."

I reply: "That the national characteristic of the Western barbarians is, progress in the pursuit of gain; that of the Japanese, a regard for right before everything else, a distinction known to every child in the nursery. As every country excels in some arts and is deficient in others, it is inevitable that there should be mutual advantages and disadvantages. They have the art of making large guns and men-of-war, we, the art of making first-rate swords and spears. Why should we suppose that they are in any degree superior to us?"

Again it is said: "There are people who talk of putting down Buddhism; but since that system was introduced in the 13th year of the Emperor Kim-mei, its doctrines have been handed down from generation to generation uninterruptedly for about 1,300 years, and it will not be easy to put it down in a day."

I reply: "From antiquity to the present day there have been from time to time men who advocated the suppression of Buddhism; but as they merely talked of it and never attempted to put the measure into execution, it eventually fell through. Now for putting down error there is nothing, on the whole, like disseminating the truth. By 'the truth' I mean the great system of the sages (Confucianism). Hence the Emperor will presently found a university and appoint professors to give instructions in the courses of humanity, morality, etiquette, wisdom, obedience, humility, fidelity, and sincerity. When this is done, the people all throughout the country will abandon error, and embrace the truth, and Buddhism will die out of itself. Unless the true system be widely taught and propagated, not only Buddhism, but also the two great evil sects of Catholicism and Protestantism will become difficult to suppress."

Again it is said: "If paper money be issued, it will embarrass the circulation of the gold, silver, and copper coinage of the country."

I say, "No. In this matter the Imperial Government have acted with profound forethought. Do you ask how? They have strictly limited the period of its circulation from

this Dragon year to next Dragon year (*i.e.*, to 13 years) and they probably consider it a desirable achievement to reform, in the interval, the entire gold, silver, and copper currency of the empire."

It is said: "From the earliest times it has been found that, when a generation has once been thrown into confusion, it is by no means easy for society to readjust itself; and in the present instance fifty or sixty, perhaps 'seventy or eighty years must elapse before the order can be again restored.'"

I reply: "This argument is not worthy of much attention. I have heard somewhere that even when order prevails in a country, if its military affairs are neglected, it is still unsettled; that even when a country is disturbed, if its self-reliance be kept up, it is a settled country after all. I have also heard that when a disturbed age had to all appearances settled down, it has again been thrown into commotion; that when a tranquil age had to all appearances been put out of joint, it has again subsided into tranquillity. So that blear-eyed onlookers are not all-competent to pronounce off-hand on the tranquillity or disturbance of the times, or on the stability of weakness of institutions. Seeing, however, that the country has been thrown into its present disturbed state after the enjoyment of an interval of two and a-half centuries of profound peace, it can hardly be expected that genuine tranquillity will be speedily or easily restored. Still the foundation has been laid by the extension of education, and the reorganization of the Army, and it is to be hoped that in no long time we shall see peace and order permanently established.

The condition and tendency of the times is not a subject for the consideration of such as myself; but in order to complete the discussion of some topics broached in my first volume. I have ventured to publish a few of my worthless ideas.

"Fuku Ko Ron," No. III.

It is frequently said:—"I am inclined to believe that, after all, the guilt of Aidzu is not so very great, and for this reason. Years ago he went to Kioto, and for a long time was guardian of the Palace. His thorough fidelity and his services to the Emperor during this period were in themselves no small merits. Yet on account of the single engagement at Fushimi this spring, without any careful scrutiny into his real sentiments, a large force has been raised and sent to crush him." The Daimios who have furnished these troops will, of course, be put to great expense, and so also will the clans along the line of march. To meet this outlay, the 'Daimios will exact contributions from the people, and thus the Imperial army will become detested. Is it not so?'"

I reply: "As a rule, in the conduct of affairs it is all but impossible to shape a course that answers perfectly in every particular. Hence, if a measure possesses seven or eight points of advantage, with only two or three drawbacks, it ought to be adopted; but if the proportion be two or three advantages to seven or eight drawbacks, it ought not to be adopted. Now the course taken by the Emperor in raising an army to crush Aidzu is not merely one that ought, on the whole, to be adopted—it is an admirable policy, perfect in every particular. Is it asked how so? If Aidzu were let alone, and his disloyalty passed over with impunity, the Daimios, having no adequate impression of the illustrious power of the Emperor, would be misled into obeying Aidzu's beck and nod; and, in fine, the whole country within the limit of the four seas might be thrown into a ferment of commotion. Consequently, in enforcing the supreme principle of allegiance, and punishing the rebellion of Aidzu, the Emperor's design is to save his subjects from severe sufferings and secure them a lasting and prosperous peace. Although, therefore, this measure may seem for the present to inflict hardship on the people, it is, in reality, an effectual preventive of incalculable miseries. Suppose, for instance, a man has got the cancer. If, before the corruption has yet reached his vitals, he takes it in hand at once and freely uses the wholesome knife, afterwards applying soothing ointment,—in the short space of twenty or thirty days suppuration takes place; the diseased spot heals completely; and, in the end, the man becomes stouter and healthier than he was before. If, however, he shirks the knife, and puts off from day to day, the cancer eats into his vitals, dangerous symptoms break out and he dies. In like manner, unless we freely use healing sword and spear, and excise the inveterate plague spot Aidzu, it is hard to say whether the entire body, Great Nipon, may not be prostrated. It is on this account that the speedy and utter destruction of Aidzu is a consummation to be desired. I lately invited separately an 'argument for the smiting of Aidzu'; and a minute treatment of the subject is, consequently unnecessary here."

Again, it is said, "Since the monarchical Government has been restored to its ancient form, petty vassals of small income—mere nobodies, in fact—have been raised to office,

have been admitted into the Ministry (Daijôkan) and exercise the larger share of the Government authority. Is not this, as compared even with the audacious traditional policy of the Shôguns in reducing the Lord of Ten Thousand Chariots (*i.e.*, the Emperor) to the position of a superfluous ornament, by keeping him almost a prisoner, an advanced stride in the path of extreme and wanton folly?"

To this I reply as follows: "That men of pre-eminent merit should occupy the position of superiors, and issue rules to the inferior people, and that the inferior people should yield obedience to these rules, is at once in strict accordance with natural principles, and productive of order; on the other hand, that men of the highest abilities and versed in the conduct of affairs should not occupy the position of superiors, while men who are utterly unequal to its duties do, is at once in contravention of natural principles, and productive of confusion. Now, the small band of men at present in office, who have been chosen from Satsuma, Choshiu, and elsewhere, are the ablest men of this age, who, by reason of the assistance they can render to the Emperor, and their intimate knowledge of the affairs of the people, are really of the calibre required for official posts in the Government of the country. They are of an altogether different class from the venal retainers and incompetent officials of the old Shôgunate, who, while in the receipt of hereditary salaries, by their inordinate greed of bribes and their disregard of the distinction of right and wrong—of dishonesty and integrity—relaxed the bands and destroyed the efficiency of Government. Moreover, if for the time to come, the distinctions of high and low rank—of honourable and humble family—be gradually done away with in the selection of men for office, the Daijôkan will never, down to the remotest posterity, be at a loss for eminent and able men; and if these men labour with united hearts and energies in the service of the Sovereign, the empire will of a surety enjoy a tranquillity surpassing the serene repose of Tai Mountain. Although but a few months have elapsed since the general Government reverted to the hands of the Emperor, the rules regarding dresses of ceremony, and the postal arrangements of the country, even to the most minute details, have already been satisfactorily settled. At this rate we are likely, in the course of a very few years, to reach such an age of enlightened order as has never hitherto been known, and realize in truth that state of things when doors need not be closed at night, and when, if an article of property were lost on the highway, no one would pick it up to keep it."

Again, it is said: "The leading object of the Imperial policy is to effect a change from the feudal system (Ho-ken) to pure monarchy (Gun-ken), and accordingly the Shôgun, with his income of 8,000,000 kokus, has already been overthrown, and at present cities and towns (Fu and Ken) are being constituted in various places."

I reply: "In so dealing with the Shôgun, it was by no means a case of condemning innocence or inflicting undeserved punishment. For, as has been explained in a previous volume, the crimes of the Shôgunate were not a few. Indeed, its normal characteristics may be briefly described thus:—The Shôgun was a powerful hereditary feudal lord, who exhausted on his mansions the resources of luxury and splendour, who lived in unrestrained indulgence of voluptuous music and the pleasures of the palate, who floated along from day to day in careless unconcern, regardless of the misery of the people. The followers of his standard were all without exception unprincipled vassals or corrupt officials, who knew not how to make good the shortcomings of their lord. Hence it is not the overthrow of the Shôgun, but the rout of his whole bureau of venal functionaries that has been effected. This was a measure absolutely indispensable to the fulfilment of the [Emperor's] desire to relieve the sufferings of the people. But beyond this to abolish the class of barons (Daimios) great and small, and establish a monarchical administrative system throughout, is certainly not what is contemplated. In case the Government should after a while allow the national strength to decline, it will lose the confidence of the Barons and the calamities of faction and discord will inevitably ensue. By far the best plan is to maintain both the feudal and the monarchical elements, and even the Imperial Council will surely not come to a different conclusion. The further step of abolishing the [privileges of the] high and honourable families [*i.e.*, among the retainers] is also seriously talked of, but this is an exaggerated statement of the matter. The high families are not to be rashly and unreasonably set aside. Both men of high family and also able men of low family will be appointed to office. So that in fact it is very hard for the rotten eyes of reactionary prejudice to pry out at present the deep designs of the Imperial Council."

Again, it is said: "It is a truly fortunate thing for the country that the old native tactics and drill which have been in use since antiquity, are to be abandoned, and those of Europe acquired instead."

"Granted. Still it is a maxim applicable to every art, that without long practice

thorough proficiency cannot be acquired; with long practice a wonderful, not to say incalculable degree of skill can be attained. For example, a rustic from a distant province comes to the capital and determines all at once to learn the dialect spoken there. For a while he finds it a very difficult task, but after a long residence of months and years, he gradually and without effort drops his provincialisms and speaks the idiom of the capital. It is the same in the matter of warfare. Unless the troops are so thoroughly drilled as to fight with confidence and steadiness, even though their numbers be reckoned by hundreds of thousands, they are not to be depended on. At present our country is learning the principles of European navigation, naval tactics, and gunnery, as a matter of course; and as fast as a knowledge of its rules can be acquired, the European system of military drill is coming into fashion every day. Indeed, only a short time ago the Dutch drill was discarded as antiquated and far inferior to the free and simple English system, and the style changed accordingly. The fact is that, in the present state of the public mind, you have only to say that a thing is European, and whatever it may be that is said or done, then everybody is lost in admiration. It requires men of judgment and experience to know what to select and what to reject. Accordingly, it is especially incumbent on our military instructors, in proportion as they introduce changes, to guard against the vice of superficiality."

On the night of the 1st of the 8th month, at an inn in Kioto, Shôshu, a retired Samurai, indited this rambling work. At the time, the autumn rains were not yet over and the light of his lamp was burning dim, and his spirits—for he was a solitary traveller—were disturbed. He fears that in its pages are many errors and imperfections, which he entreats the indulgent reader to overlook.

No. 36.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 16, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 20th of October, inclosing a translation of a letter which Mr. Mitford has received from the Japanese Government, conveying to him their thanks for the services he rendered on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, and requesting his acceptance of the present of a lacquer box.

In reply, I have to acquaint you that I am glad to receive this acknowledgment of Mr. Mitford's services on the occasion referred to; and, under the special circumstances of the case, I hereby sanction his acceptance of the box presented to him by the Japanese Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 37.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 16, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 28th of October, inclosing a translation, by Mr. Student Interpreter Hall, of a Japanese pamphlet in three parts, called "Fuku ko Ron," or, "A Return to the Ancient Régime;" and I have to instruct you to convey to Mr. Hall my approval of the diligence he has shown in preparing this translation, as well as that of the debate in the Constitution which was forwarded in your despatch of the 1st of October.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 38.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 24, 1870.)

My Lord, *Yeddo, December* 4, 1869.

WHEN the Mikado returned to Yedo in April last it was thought unadvisable that he should be accompanied by the Empress. His own departure from Kioto was viewed

with much disfavour by the population of that capital, and was even opposed by those members of his Court and by that section of his adherents who are hostile to all innovations and to foreign intercourse. The Empress accordingly remained there in deference to this feeling.

After a delay of six months, however, the journey was considered practicable, and the Empress left Kioto on the 8th ultimo, and arrived safely at Yedo on the 27th. Some anxiety was evinced by the Government lest the people in Her Majesty's train should give trouble to foreigners either on the road or at Yedo, as on the occasion of His Majesty's visit in May last, and they accordingly republished their previous notices requiring their people to treat foreigners with respect.

By request of the Government, foreigners were also desired by their respective authorities to avoid the tokaido on the two days previous to Her Majesty's arrival at Yeddo.

I have now the satisfaction of reporting that, beyond a little excitement at Kioto on the occasion of the Empress's departure, I have heard of no untoward occurrence in connection with this event.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 38.

Sir H. Parkes to Sawa Jusammi.

Yeddo, November 28, 1869.

THE Undersigned has had the honour to receive His Excellency's two notes of the 22nd instant, informing him that Her Majesty the Empress left Kioto on the 8th instant, and would arrive in Yedo on the 27th instant.

The Undersigned took measures to prevent British subjects from inconveniencing Her Majesty by frequenting the Tokaido on the day named in his Excellency's letter; and on passing Kanagawa, royal honours were paid to Her Majesty by the British ships of war stationed at Yokohama.

The Undersigned has since heard that the Empress entered Yedo safely yesterday. He begs that his Excellency will present to His Majesty the Tenno his respectful congratulations on this auspicious event; and he trusts that such measures will be taken by His Majesty's Government, in connection therewith, as shall secure its being productive of increased stability to the Governments, and of closer unity between the several parts of the empire.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

No. 39.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 26, 1870.

IN reply to your despatch of the 4th ultimo, I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve the note you addressed to the Japanese Government on the occasion of the arrival at Yedo of Her Majesty the Empress of Japan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 40.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon—(*Received March* 21.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, January* 29, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to forward six copies of a translation by Mr. Student Interpreter Hall, of a political pamphlet entitled "Han Ron," or, "A Discussion on the Clans." It adds another instance to those already furnished by the diligence of Mr. Hall, of the growth among the Japanese of liberal ideas and of the freedom with which these are expressed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 40.

Japanese Pamphlet entitled "Han Ron." ("The Clans." A Discussion.)

PART I.—*Treating of the Revolution generally.*

DRAWING their inspiration from (*lit.*, drawing from the stream of) the Government of the Emperor, the clans in the east, as well as in the west, have for some time past been vying with each other in reforming the constitution of their respective Governments. But, as a rule, in their general mode of procedure, either their adoption of what is novel is carried too far, to the dismay of those who have no heart in the cause, or their abandonment of what is antiquated stops short of thoroughness, to the disappointment of those whose hopes were centered in it. Unable, towards their superiors, to follow up the leading policy of the Imperial Government, they fail, towards their inferiors, to command the approval of the people, insomuch that both the Ministers who counsel and the officials who execute their measures are chafing in secret vexation of soul. One party, incapable of discerning the deep signification of the "Renovation," and drifting aimlessly with the fashion of the hour, glance hurriedly into Japanese translations of European works, or question those who have crossed the seas as to social institutions of the West, hoping to manage everything satisfactorily, by simply introducing into this country the customs of those lands. The other party, misapprehending the inner meaning of the "return to antiquity,"* and hopelessly biassed by the crotchets of literary doctrinaires, are guided exclusively by historical writings, and appeal to the past for the regulation of the present, trusting to rule the multitute by simply exchanging modern manners for those of bygone times. Such is, alas, only too truly the position of the ordinary Chiefs. Does it not seem as if their wits had put out to sea, and, having lost their compass, knew not what tack to go upon? Thus it is that inexperienced lords, who know not that the prosperity and decline of institutions, the establishment and dissolution of systems are regulated antecedently by natural laws, and incapable vassals, who never suspect the success or failure of a policy, the gain or injury of a measure, depends on the spirit of the age, have together unwittingly entered, as it were, on the perusal of the opening chapter of a work, the drift of which, in the sequel, methinks they will find it hard to follow.

As a general rule, in founding this institution, or carrying out that policy, if the object be incompatible with the laws of nature, or the execution unsuited to the temper of the times, failure is inevitable. The laws of nature may be complied with, or they may be transgressed; the spirit of the age may be consulted, or it may be disregarded. But few, indeed, are they who, from the consideration of the laws of nature, can form even an approximate estimate as to the stability or weakness of an institution, though a considerable number can, after seeing it flourish or decay, perceive its conformity or opposition to those laws. And similarly few are they who, appreciating the spirit of the age, can foresee that a movement will succeed or fail, though many, after witnessing its success or failure, recognize its accordance or discrepancy with that spirit. As possessing in a pre-eminent degree this rare statesmanlike sagacity, two men have achieved for themselves a name which the subsequent events vindicated. One, in ancient times, was Masashige, who, perceiving that in his generation the government of the country by the Sovereign was no longer possible, died by his own hand in Minatogawa; soon after, the executive power fell into the hands of the military Houses. The other, in modern times, is the Shôgun, who, foreseeing the impossibility of his longer retaining the reins of power, resigned of his own accord; immediately after, the authority of the Sovereign, with all its prerogatives restored, was established in one symmetrically-organized constitution. Now, if the good government of the Empire be secured thereby, it is just and right that the control should be vested even in the people; if the affairs of the nation be thrown into confusion it is unjust and wrong, though it be done by the highest dignity (*i.e.*, the Mikado). The principle is that the exercise of the national authority is subject to the approval or otherwise of public opinion. And the rule which applies to the government of the empire is surely not less applicable to the government of the feudal territories.

The great majority of the feudal lords are generally persons who have been born and nurtured in the seclusion of the women's apartments; who have been cherished as tenderly as if they were delicate ornaments of jewels or pearls; who, even when they have grown up to man's estate, still exhibit all the traits of childhood, having never mastered the details of business, they feel no sense of responsibility in approaching affairs of State. Leading a life of leisure they succeed to the inheritance of their ancestors. With their

* Referring to the Pamphlet of which translation has already been given:—"The Return to the Ancient Régime."

bodies clad in gorgeous apparel, they feel not the winter's blast, and know not that men pine of starvation and cold. With the beauty of their wives and concubines arrayed before them, and the sounds of music and revelry ringing in their ears, they leave no desire of the heart ungratified. Even now that the symptoms of their decline have unmistakeably set in they are intent only on the pleasures that yet remain to be exhausted. As wisely might they pray to the gods for perpetual youth, or seek from the fairies the boon of immortality. And in the same category are those who, though designated vassals, are born of good family on the great estates. Not only are the lords, but vassals also such as are here described. Hence the offices are constantly filled by unqualified men, and corruption is so rife as to defy all attempts to suppress it. How, pray, while things remain in this condition, can any scheme for promoting the prosperity or power of the nation be concerted or carried out? It is really worth noticing how many of the Daimios who have now been summoned to the conduct of affairs are discharging the duties of their appointments in a manner at all satisfactory. In truth, the case is deplorable in the extreme. Ah! now that they have fallen upon an enlightened age and have been as subjects apprised of the Sovereign's wishes, how can our feudal lords continue on in the indulgence of sloth and luxury?

Heaven, in dispensing its gifts to man, endows some with more, others with less, ability; some with depth, others with shallowness of intellect. Doubtless in doing so, it has a purpose to fulfil. However, the number of those who are gifted with great abilities is small; a shallow understanding is the portion of the vast majority of men. Hence the lower orders of the people are for the most part stupid, and have an instinctive dread of any trifling strait that disturbs their comfort for the moment. They are easily disheartened and in their despondency cannot discern a prospective advantage however great. Thus, it is unpleasant to take medicine, and to have an ulcer cut gives pain. But if, because of that unpleasantness or pain a man refuses to swallow the medicine or to have the ulcer lanced, his ailments cannot be cured and he will die. And it is the same in matters of government. It is, accordingly, when some temporary unpleasantness has to be endured, that a specially favourable opportunity is presented for the display of merit. Hence, it is the part of such retainers who have a reputation for wisdom or ability to take advantage of the tendency of the time, and, disregarding the trifling and temporary loss for the sake of securing the great and lasting gain, to reform the pernicious customs of the past and sweep away its effete and rotten institutions. It seems, however, to be hardly in ordinary human nature to persevere long in the endurance of even a minor evil for the sake of working out a great if distant good. Thus, from time to time, there have emerged, from amongst the retainers, agitators who loudly proclaimed their dissatiafaction with the existing order of things, and fearlessly criticized the conduct of the administration. Great things were expected of them, but as soon as ever they got admitted into the official ranks, they completely changed their course, and now-a-days dare not open their mouths again. Yet, glaring as is the consistency between these professions and their conduct, their sole uneasiness is lest they should lose the jewel they hold in their grasp, (*i.e.*, their office). Are they perchance, in their secret hearts, still accessible to some touch of shame? When retainers who have been chosen for their abilities or promoted for their wisdom are summoned to the council table (*lit.*, council mat) of the Government of the clan, what is required is that they should never for a moment lose sight of the master aim (reform) but, unshaken by the clamour of the ignorant, or the obloquy of the base, carry out unswervingly to the end the line of action they have determined on. The establishment of the Sovereign Power, while nominally only a natural evolution, is virtually an adoption of the system which obtains amongst other nations; and now is the time to take the further step of effecting, on the ground of unavoidable necessity, a thorough purgation of the abuses which pervade the feudal clans. The adage, "If you miss the season once, it is hard to get two springs in a year," applies even to the great empire. How much more, then, to the petty principalities?

Recently, in a certain clan, the reform of the social economy was set on foot in the following way:—

In the first place the Daimios issued a mandate in that sense; then, from amongst the retainers a few names of the highest promise were selected, and to them was entrusted the work of carrying out the change. Thereupon, they met in a body in the Government Hall and set vigorously to work. The great end which they proposed to themselves was the equalization of the allowances of all the retainers without distinction of high or low. They proceeded to clear away almost all the subsidiary abuses, and soon the whole structure of hereditary ranks and offices seemed tottering to its fall. The victory of reform was half declared already. But at this stage the principle, that it is hard from human nature to cease to be human nature, came into play, and they slightly modified their

programme. The consequence of this false step at starting was, that matters threatened to return in the end to the old condition. Whereupon, of this chosen band who had been called to be the founders of reform, some, who in secret observed the indications, concluded that the successful completion of their enterprise was utterly beyond the pale of hope, and resigned. Others procured a different office, and, with the change of duties, never afterwards bestowed a thought on their first employment. The rest, through fear of the paltry trouble that menaced them at the moment, unblushingly explained away the opinions which they had at first professed. The end of it was that things fell into the old groove again; and at the present moment the difference in the number and designations of the offices constitutes the sole remaining distinction between the former and the existing economy. Is this what comes of not complying with the laws of nature, of not co-operating with the movement of the age? This is the question we are forced to ask, if we would learn the causes of the failure.

About the end of last spring a Memorial was presented by a certain retainer of my acquaintance to his lord. As the document is of considerable length, and contains more than one passage with which I am very far from agreeing, it would be superfluous to give it at full length here. One paragraph, however, which will serve as as the basis of discussion in another volume is so closely pertinent that I append it below.

[Extract from the memorial of a certain retainer to his lord.]

"Your worthless retainer ——— ventures with fear and profound respect to offer a few foolish but well-meant words of counsel to your Lordship, with the petition that you may vouchsafe to give them your intelligent consideration.

* * * * *

"To-day, as a noble and a bulwark of the land, able, with no exertion on your part, to live in ease and affluence, your position, my lord, is doubtless a happy one. But to-morrow,—you know not whether it will bring joy or sorrow. If hereafter, you were to encounter a revolution, I greatly fear your ancestral power and all that belongs thereto would come to a speedy and disastrous end. If you do not take heed at once and make some wise provision for the future a more unhappy destiny than you imagine is in store for your posterity."

Part II.—*Unfolding the Basis on which Reforms should be Initiated.*

On a cursory view of the organization and customs of the various clans, there is apparent—notwithstanding a general likeness in the main—an absence of uniformity in the arrangement of the official departments and in the relative numbers of the official body. There is, however, one usage which, without exception, is observed in all the clans; to wit, in all there obtains a distinction of social position into respectable and mean, a division of office into important and petty, a distribution of income into large and small.

In laying the foundations of reform in the administration of the clans, the measures which first of all require to be attended to are the three following:—

1. The head of the clan should in the first instance issue an instruction to the clansmen to the effect that the old customs are to be abolished and an entirely new system to be inaugurated; and, in order to preclude diversity of opinion or change of purpose regarding this step, he should require the whole clan to enter into a special covenant, and to ratify it by going through the ceremony of an oath.

In round numbers, the retainers of feudatories amount, in the case of the larger clans, to some tens of thousands of families, and even in the smaller clans they never come so low as a hundred households. The proverb says, "If ten men come together, they are actuated by ten different views." How much greater, then, the diversity of views when, as in the smaller clans, the number exceeds a hundred, or as in the larger, reaches some tens of thousands? Now, in the next place, the connection of the retainers with their respective chiefs is not founded on any original tie of kinship; they are simply bound to the chief by a definite compact, in virtue of which they cannot refuse to receive his orders nor venture to act contrary to his commands. And, on the other hand, the connection of the Chief with his retainers is of a corresponding kind. Consequently, in the event of his unfairly introducing any changes, great or small, in his engagement, he cannot thereafter maintain control over his vassals nor enforce his authority as lord. How much less could he maintain his authority in the case in question, where the changes to be made are radical, and where, apart altogether from either the Emperor or the Shôgun, arrangements are to be so altered as to set the present at variance with the past? It is for this reason that it becomes indispensable to conclude a fresh compact, and, in order to remove the possibility of any intention of non-fulfilment, to duly perform the right of confirming it by plighted oath.

2. The chief of the clan, having first bound the clansmen by a worn covenant in the manner aforesaid, should in the next place do away with the observance of distinctions of family, put an end to the custom of hereditary incomes, dismiss at one stroke the entire body of officers, recalling all degrees of precedence: thus blending the whole clan together and reducing them to a common level, so as to constitute an entirely homogeneous community, like as in an ordinary public assemblage. This effected, the next step should be to fix beforehand on a certain definite number of vacancies in proportion to the size of the clan and the number of vassals, and to let each one put forward the individual of his choice; that is to say, by means of the vulgar institution of the ballot, there should be an election made of the distinguished men who command the majority of supporters.

There is a proverb which says, "If the mother find favour (in the father's eyes) the child is fondled; if the mother be disliked, the child is spurned." Hence it is that those who are born and bred of high family, even when they are stupid and idle, lead for the most part pleasant lives; that though at times there are within the straw-thatched cottage (minds of) the beauty of the peach-blossom and the plum-blossom, they rarely attain to a place amongst the sights of the garden. In high and honourable houses men are not necessarily born clever and virtuous; nevertheless, they are always placed in high positions, and enjoy hereditarily abundant incomes. How extremely fortunate! In mean and lowly families men are not necessarily born devoid of intellect and ability; nevertheless, they themselves have always to toil like cattle, and their means are so impoverished that their children cry for hunger. How extremely the reverse of fortunate! "A mountain is not valued on account of its height; it is because it bears timber that it is prized." A man should be honoured or contemned according as he is essentially intelligent or ignorant; it is on the possession or the want of ability that the distinction of honourable and mean should be based. In most instances, again, those who enjoy the high dignities receive likewise an affluent income; those who are employed in the petty offices a corresponding scanty dole. Now, on the ground of what merit, in virtue of what principle, does the idle, careless man become, without an effort, the possessor of exalted rank? By reason of what fault, in virtue of what principle does the energetic, attentive man remain to the end of his days a menial? As the punishment of the father ought not to be extended to his children, so neither ought the rewards of the father to be entailed on his children. It is for this reason that distinctions of family and hereditary incomes must be done away with.

If a man of ordinary station, rising superior to the crowd, aspires to propagate an opinion or carry into effect a measure, he is certain to bring upon himself the scowl of the crowd; however reasonable his opinion may be, it is not listened to, however advantageous his measure, it meets with no support. Such as ever been the attitude of the common herd, the propensity inseparable from the narrow-minded. And how much more strongly is it manifested when some individual from the bottom of the clan-roll suddenly shoots ahead of the high and honourable, and promulgates an opinion or assumes the conduct of a measure. The difficulty of such a position is known full well. If he once blunders in his statements, or if his measure miscarries, it is not merely that he fails in his object, his body is fastened to Shô-ô's chariots (to be dismembered), and he consigns his parents, his offspring, and his brothers to misery. It is for this reason that the offices must be simultaneously abolished and degrees of rank recalled.

3. When this operation of public election has been once gone through, the eligible candidates will be thereby discriminated from those who are ineligible. This done, the chief of the clan should then take this batch, who have been drafted in the preliminary poll, and, having once more prescribed the number required, should instruct them to return, by a second and decisive election, their ablest men; the residue of gentlemen who fail of being elected should be told to wait further orders.

Generally speaking, the practice of selecting gifted men by popular suffrage prevails widely in all the enlightened countries of the West, but there, being an institution of long standing, it is familiar even to children. Yet our own clans have not yet heard of the existence of this custom. Hence, although it is an eminently ingenious device, there are always sure to be dolts within a clan, although it is an essentially enlightened custom, a clan is never altogether wanting in clod-hoppers, and for an intelligent man to explain the device to blockheads, or for an enlightened Chief to work out the custom with senseless retainers is just about as much use as asking a blind man whether he preferred a subdued tint or a bright one, or consulting a deaf man as to whether a note should be sharp or flat. Thus it is that the common mass generally never thoroughly comprehend the matter; and when at times they do receive orders to hold an election, either they vote according to their own personal likings or grudges, without either looking for qualifications or objecting to the want of them; or they choose from among their immediate acquaintances, according to the strength of their intimacy, neither singling out the men of talent, nor sifting out the

incapables; or, again, they support an influential man through fear of his power, or, it may be, reject a humble man from dislike of his low rank, thus acting the part of the child in the vulgar adage, who does not know its parent's mind. From this it follows, that simply to appoint those who had most votes in a single polling would not necessarily be to secure the most suitable men. This is the reason for the provision that a second poll must be taken, and in committing to the candidates returned in the first instance, instead of to the whole clan, the duty of making the second and final election,—still adhering to the original principle of the highest number of votes, the idea of course is that any blunders committed in the preparatory selection will be eliminated in the repetition of the process.

This supposed, and the final election completely over within the clan, the names of the elected should be once more specifically certified. This done, the people of the jurisdiction (*i.e.*, the serfs or villeins, not Samurai) should next proceed to an election.

The conduct of the foregoing measures, from the sworn compact of lord and vassal to the preliminary and final election of capable men, the chief of the clan should take upon himself alone, not daring to assign it to the heretofore honourable families or officers, and he should thenceforth maintain the same reservation in regard to his legislative and executive authority.

In the practical application of the above system of election by ballot there would be points of difference in every clan, dependent on its size and the number of vassals, but there is not now time to specify them in this volume. This topic, consequently, is reserved for a subsequent volume, in which it will be combined with the treatment of the question of election by the territorial subjects.

No. 41.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received March* 21.)

My Lord, *Yokohama, January* 29, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to forward six copies of a review of occurrences in Japan, during 1869, which has been published in a local paper, and which I can recommend to your Lordship's notice as a reliable and succinct summary of the events of a year, which has materially contributed to the establishment of a new administrative system in this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HARRY S PARKES.

Inclosure in No. 41.

Summary of Events in Japan during the Year 1869.

THE year 1869 has been for the future of Japan, if we read the signs aright, quite as eventful as its immediate predecessors. 1868 pulled down and destroyed; in 1869 peace has been re-established, the work of re-construction has been fairly commenced, and there are good hopes of the gradual consolidation of the empire into one strong Central Government, with the Mikado as the one visible head. In the slight and necessarily imperfect sketch which we here present to our readers we have endeavoured to bring out the more salient points of interest in the past year, and to show the progress that has been made towards the establishment of a new and permanent order of things.

On the 1st of January the city of Yedo and the port of Neegata were formally opened to foreign trade.

In the beginning of the same month all the foreign representatives, accompanied by the Secretaries of Legation, and by naval and military officers, were received by the Emperor in the Castle which had been the abode of the last dynasty of Shôguns.

It was a happy thought, so soon after His Majesty's arrival in his eastern capital, to invite the representatives to visit him, for the purpose of drawing closer the friendly relations already existing with the Treaty Powers. Here was clear evidence not only that the Mikado's authority was fully restored to him, but that he was willing to conduct intercourse on the footing observed by Western nations. Thenceforward, indeed, no one could doubt that there was but one Sovereign in Japan, and all dreams of the return of the Shôgun to his proud position were finally dissipated.

There was no longer war in the empire. After the fall of Wakamatsu, Aidzu's stronghold, hardly any Princes remained in the north to raise aloft the standard of of rebellion. Yonezawa had left the coalition, Sendai had submitted, and Nambu was, as

always, a waverer; Shonai alone gave signs of continued resistance, but the Imperial troops were poured so rapidly into his territory, that he too had been forced to lay down his arms and sue for mercy.

The cases of the rebellious Princes were submitted to a House of Assembly formed of Daimio's representatives, who declared with almost unanimous consent, that the whole number deserved capital punishment, that the crime of Katamori (Aidzu) in particular was offensive to both heaven and earth, and that death was insufficient to expiate his guilt.

The Mikado, however, with that clemency which has been a leading characteristic of his recent advisers, determined to spare the lives of all the Daimios. The two Princes of Aidzu were condemned to forfeit their lands, and to be delivered each into the perpetual custody of a Daimio. The sentences of the remaining twenty-three varied in severity. Partial confiscation of lands, seclusion in Yedo, retirement from public life, were among the punishments awarded.

On the 10th January the Mikado embarked at Ha-ma-go-ten in a small screw-steamer, and went on board his ship-of-war "Fujiyama," and also on board another Imperial steamer lying off Shinagawa. This was one more step—and an important one, out of the old absolute retirement. At Osaka, when His Majesty inspected his fleet, he remained on land.

Ten days later the Mikado left Yedo to return for a season to Kiôto. The objects of this journey were openly stated to be: first, the solemnization of his marriage with a Princess of the House of Ichijô; and secondly, the performance of certain ceremonies connected with His Majesty's mourning for his father. Another reason doubtless was that the people of Kiôto would have been sorely dissatisfied, if the Emperor had greatly protracted his first visit to the eastern capital. His Majesty, however, it was announced, would return in the spring, when an assembly of Daimios would be summoned to deliberate upon measures affecting the welfare of the whole empire.

We have said that there was no longer war in Japan. Insurrection was, however, still rampant in the Isle of Yezo. Enomoto Kamajiro, who had fled away from Yedo with a portion of the ex-Shôgun's former fleet, and finding matters desperate in Sendai, had made a descent on the northern island and captured Hakodate, was still triumphant, and as time wore on, and the Imperialists showed no signs of action, the hopes of himself and of his companions were raised to an exorbitant pitch. These men were, as is well-known, assisted by the presence and counsel of M. Brunet, late of the French "Mission Militaire," whose former pupils the Tokugawa soldiers had naturally been. M. Brunet had with him several Frenchmen, amongst whom were now to be counted two midshipmen who had deserted at Yokohama from the "Minerve."

On the 27th January the ex-Tokugawa rebels proclaimed a republic in Yezo. A salute of 101 guns was fired from the fort, and was answered by one of their ships from the harbour. But the hope of their fleet, the frigate "Hayo-maru," was lying, a helpless wreck, on the rocks near Esashi.

On that day a procession in every variety of nondescript uniform wended its way, with drums and fifes and flags, to Kamida, the seat of the would-be Government, there to celebrate the inauguration of the new-born State.

Fashioning themselves, as might have been expected, upon the model of Imperial France, these republicans declared universal suffrage to be the basis of their constitution, but unlike their prototype, they denied a vote to any of the lower classes, to wit, merchants, artizans, and others below the rank of two-sworded men. The Mikado was to be petitioned to send Mimbu no Tayu, the young Prince of the Tokugawa clan who lived so long in Paris, to be their "President" for the nonce, and a charming vista of peace, happiness, and prosperity was opened for the future model republic.

Enomoto's adherents had always laid claim to be regarded as belligerents. But there was no foundation for such a claim. The expedition was composed originally of a number of inferior retainers of the Tokugawa clan, who acted in direct disobedience, not only to the orders of their own Chief, but to those of their Sovereign. They had subsequently been joined by a number of rônins, and disaffected men from Sendai, whose sole object was plunder. They were not countenanced by a single Daimio of note, and certainly their republican visions were utterly alien to native feeling. It was, in fact, a mere piratical raid. It could in no wise be connected with the original struggle of 1868, where many of the principal Daimios with their retainers were arrayed on either side, and where the contest was for the supremacy in Japan. These rebels, therefore, could only be recognized as a Government *de facto* in the Treaty port of Hakodate.

The foreign representatives, consequently, withdrew their notification of neutrality; and, on the 9th February, declared that the war had ceased. Soon after this, the iron

ram, "Stonewall," was handed over to the Mikado's Government by the American Minister.

The succeeding events are too fresh in men's minds to need much description here. Suffice it to say that, after many inexplicable delays, the Mikado's fleet, consisting of the "Stonewall" and six other steamers, left the Shinagawa anchorage on the 21st April, and arrived on the 29th in Miako Bay (Sendai) where they wasted more time, keeping no careful watch aboard their ships. It was there that, on the 6th May, a most gallant, and well nigh successful attempt was made by the rebel steamer "Eagle" to cut out the "Stonewall."

Subsequently, the fleet and troops were collected in Awomori Bay, and from there they proceeded to Yezo, to attack the rebels. They took in succession Esashi and Matsumai; and after much desperate fighting, in which the ex-Tokugawa men showed great gallantry and courage, Hakodate and Kamida surrendered, and Enomoto's ships were destroyed. The survivors gave up their arms on the 27th June, and shortly afterwards they were conveyed as prisoners to Yeddo.

It remains to add that M. Brunet and his French comrades, having had, as was alleged, a misunderstanding with Enomoto in respect of the plan of operations, left him before the final catastrophe, and were received on board the French gun-boat "Coëtlogon" and taken to Yokohama. The French Minister, very properly, did not allow them to land, and they were sent on to Saigon, and thence to France, under arrest.

Meanwhile, a peaceful revolution was taking place, which, if successfully carried through, will have the happiest effects on the country.

After Keiki, last of the Shôguns and Chief of the Executive, had returned his governing power into the hands of the Mikado, he still remained head of the great Tokugawa clan. Soon afterwards he became Inkio, and was succeeded in the Chieftainship of that clan by young Kaménosuké—of the Tayasu family—one of the principal subdivisions of the Gosanké.* The direction of state affairs had now devolved upon the Mikado's government; and, if that government was to be durable, it must be based upon a strong centralization. So long, however, as Japan continued to be divided into a number of territories, each under the sway of a powerful prince, who was well nigh an independent sovereign in his own country, a central government could not be formed with any prospect of stability, and a fresh civil war might be looked for at no distant day.

Now, it was chiefly by means of the powerful Western Daimios that the Shôgunate was overturned; and it, therefore, became their duty to take the initiative, and to give evidence of patriotism by yielding up their quasi-sovereign rights to the Mikado.

Accordingly, a memorial appeared in the official gazette of the 5th March, signed by the Princes of Choshiu, Satsuma, Hizen, and Toza, offering up the lists of their possessions and men to His Majesty.

In this remarkable document it is stated that Japan is the Emperor's; that there is no man who is not his servant; that in ancient times the Emperor governed the sea-girt land, and there was prosperity under heaven; that, in the middle ages, the ropes of the net were relaxed, and theft and rapine were the order of the day. Then, as it says, arose the Bakufu (military government of the Shôguns), which divided territories and men, as seemed good to it, among private individuals; it borrowed the name and authority of the Emperor to conceal the traces of thefts of land and men, being forced to use the Imperial name as a blind, "because the relations and duties of the vassal to his lord cannot be laid aside after 10,000 years." But now the great government had been really restored, and the Emperor himself had undertaken the direction of affairs.

The Imperial reply to the memorialists was to the effect that, after His Majesty had reached Yedo for the second time, the matter would be publicly debated in Council. Similar memorials from the Princes of Owari, Kaga, Kishiu, Tokugawa, and many others, came in by degrees, till the whole number reached 241. Except a few Daimios who were not competent to act, only 17 at last remained, who had not offered up their lists. This small minority was, of course, disregarded; and it was settled that the Daimios should go back to their territories,—that uniform laws should be established, of which the Mikado should be the fountain-head,—that new assessments of the lands should be drawn up and sent in,—and that, for the present, the lords of the soil should act as governors in their old domains.

And much of this radical change has been already effected. An edict was published on the 25th July abolishing the distinction between Kugés and Daimios. Further, it was

* Three of the sons of Iyeyasu (Gongen Sama), were invested with the Principalities of Owari, Mito, and Kishiu. These branches were called the Gosanké (Imperial three families); and, on failure of the direct line, it was ordained that the Shôgun should be chosen from among the cadets of one of them.

ordained that, for the future, these old names should be done away with, and that the individuals of both classes should be indiscriminately styled Kazoku, or nobles. Most of the ex-Daimios returned to their homes in August and September, and assumed the functions of governors of their clans; each provincial government received an uniform constitution; and it was decreed that, from the beginning of November, the revenues of the old Daimiates should be administered on one and the same system. A tenth of the whole amount is to be allotted for the private expenses of the governor's household; and the remainder, after payment of the salaries of officials, and of all the public expenses, is to go into the Imperial treasury. These public expenses, it should be noted, will include a provision for the support of the two-sworded retainers, whose claims for maintenance will, for some time to come, prove a hearty burden on the revenues of the country.

Such measures constitute a revolution in themselves; and, if successfully carried out, they will weld the old independent principalities of the country into one solid whole.

We must now go back somewhat in time, and shift the scene to Kiôto, where, on the 15th February, a tragic event had occurred, which, little known or remarked on by foreigners, was yet, in one sense, full of significance. It told of the continued existence of a party in that capital, bitterly obstructive to reform, and ready to pursue to the death any individual who had shown a decided leaning towards an enlightened and progressive policy.

Such a man was the Sanjo Yokoi Heishirô, originally belonging to the Hosokawa clan, but then a distinguished member of the Mikado's government. As he was returning home from court on the above day, a pistol was suddenly fired at his palanquin; and some half-dozen men rushed upon it with drawn swords. Yokoi Heishirô pushed open the door of his litter, and, drawing his dirk, tried to defend himself. But whilst he was parrying the thrusts of his assailants, one of them with a single blow cut off his head, and then carried it away. The head was subsequently recovered, but the murderers escaped, after a desperate scuffle.

Out of a list of five men, for whom, as participators in this foul deed, an active search was directed to be made, one was a former retainer of Tokugawa, who had turned priest, and had subsequently come back into the world, and two were Gôshi* of Totsugawa Both these classes, the *ci-devant* Priests and the Gôshi, are fanatically opposed to reform, and to those of their countrymen who are believed to be friendly to foreigners.

Thus perished Yokoi Heishirô, one of the most liberal-minded men in Japan. Savagely murdered in broad daylight, in a street of the old capital, he fell a victim to that ignorant enmity to progress and reform which, not long ago, was shared in by the very highest in the realm, and is still held as an article of faith by many a Japanese Samurai.

On the 18th April His Majesty left Kiôto once more for Yedo. Here, again, a section of the obstructive party showed itself. A number of the Shimpei† threw themselves in the Mikado's path, and implored him not to leave the sacred city, nor pollute himself by intercourse with foreigners; and, when His Majesty was deaf to their entreaties, they said that there was nothing left for them but to accompany him, and protect his sacred person. And they were some 2,000 strong, ready enough with their trenchant blades. So they were allowed their way; and they guarded the Mikado, and came trooping into the eastern capital.

His Majesty arrived in Yedo on the 9th of May. For many days previously, the Tôkaidô was thronged with trains journeying from Kiôto. On the 2nd, as Mr. Robertson, Acting British Vice-Consul at Yedo, and his wife, and Mr. Loureiro, Portuguese Consul, were returning along the great road to Yokohama, they were threatened, and forced to descend from their carriage, by a man belonging to one of the processions. On the 4th, a similar insult was offered to Captain Stanhope, of the "Ocean," and three other Englishmen. Sir Harry Parkes lost no time in demanding redress from the Government. It turned out, upon subsequent inquiry, that the same man had been in fault in each case. The train was that of the ladies of the Court; and the reason of their being three days on

* The Gôshi are a species of two-sworded gentry, living on their own land from generation to generation, owning no allegiance to any feudal lord, and holding rank between the ordinary Samurai and the peasantry. A great number of them hail from Totsugawa, a district not far from Kiôto, and many are enrolled in the Shimpei, or body-guard of the Emperor.

† The Shimpei are a body of men composed of various elements. They are recruited, not only from the gôshi, but from masterless men with no particular occupation, as well as from individuals who have left the priesthood, finding the profession of arms more congenial to their feelings. They consider themselves to be especially imbued with the ancient spirit of Japan; and their creed is, devotion to the Mikado, and death to the foreign barbarians. Both the men who attacked the British Minister's party at Kiôto in March, 1868, belonged to the Shimpei; and one of them had twice been a priest. The first occasion of the reception of a foreign Representative by the Mikado was, doubtless, a sacrilege in their eyes.

the road between Kanagawa and Yedo, was, that they had been detained by the deluge of rain which fell on the 3rd. There was some delay in obtaining the desired information from the Government, who were, perhaps, loath to implicate any one belonging to this particular train; but, ultimately, satisfactory evidence was produced, and a suitable apology was made. Notifications were then posted up along the Tôkaidô, warning Kugés and Daimios that foreigners were not to be forced to descend from their carriages, nor to dismount from their horses; and since that time no similar insults have been offered on the road.

Somewhat before these occurrences, several Frenchmen had been mysteriously attacked in Yokohama, and foreign guards were, consequently, again stationed in the Settlement, but only for a short period.

Before His Majesty's arrival in Yedo, the House of Representatives had been formally opened. More than 200 out of the 276 members were present, as well as a number of high dignitaries. Prince Akidzuki Ukiô no Suké, Lord of the Mikado's Castle at Kôfu, presided, and read out the Imperial message. This was on the 18th of April.

It must be remembered that, not only was the assembly composed of nothing but two-sworded men, who, in order to render them eligible, were declared to rank as Karô or Counsellors, but that the members were there as representatives of the Clans or Daimaites, alone. In this first attempt at a Parliament there were no members from cities or towns but only from clans; the merchants and the people at large had no voice in the deliberations; they could neither elect nor be elected. The House could not, therefore, lay claim to the appellation of a National Assembly; but, as a first endeavour to introduce a liberal element into the new Constitution, and to form a channel for the expression of public opinion, it is entitled at least to our indulgence. It should, in fact, be looked upon as a species of debating society, where opinions could be broached and subjects discussed; but it could pass no laws. The questions for debate were to be presented either by the Government, by one of the members, or by any Japanese who did not belong to the House.

The majority of the members who were chosen showed a conservative tendency; but there was a fair sprinkling of reformers, among whom may be counted some of the ablest men. They appear to have thought that there was an obligation on the part of the Government to carry out the suggestions made by them from time to time; but, in that respect, they mistook the extent of their powers, and this nearly put an end to their existence: the constitution of the Assembly has, however, since been modified, and the session is not yet closed.

There have been some curious debates, but our space is too limited to go into them. A proposition to abolish the practice of harakiri was almost unanimously rejected, and not a single Member recorded his vote in favour of proposals that all persons, except Government officials and soldiers, should give up wearing sword and dirk, and that the former should no longer carry their dirks. There have been debates adverse to the toleration of Christianity among natives; and questions relating to commerce have not been treated with liberality. But consummate wisdom is not to be expected from this crude attempt at a Parliament; nor can we wonder that this body of men are, as yet, unprepared to support propositions for the abolition of their time-honoured institutions. Such an innovation as a popular assembly cannot be brought to maturity in a few months.

It should be remarked that the Mikado visited the House on the 31st October, and drank a loving cup with the Members there present.

In the month of September—for the first time in the history of Japan—a foreign Prince became the guest of the Mikado. On the 1st the Duke of Edinburgh arrived in Yedo, and took up his residence at Hama-go-ten, the old summer recreation-ground of the Shôguns, close to the water's edge. This delightful spot, dotted over with summer-houses on a little piece of brackish water communicating with the bay, contains a building which had been transformed into a comfortable European house for His Royal Highness' reception. The name Ham-a-go-ten was changed to Yen-Riyô-Kwan, which may be freely translated as a place set apart for the reception of foreigners of distinction.

During his sojourn here, His Royal Highness was most hospitably entertained. In the course of his visit of a week, jugglers and acrobats performed their choicest feats, cunning fencers crossed sword and lance, the champion wrestlers displayed their prowess; and besides other national representations, the ancient dramatic performance of Nô was given in the first Yashiki of the Prince of Kishiu. The nobles of the Court and the chief officers of State vied with each other in showing every civility and courtesy to the Royal guest; and on the day that the Duke of Edinburgh was to be received by the Mikado, as his procession moved along, it was remarked that the upper windows of all the houses on the line of route were sealed with slips of paper, so that no one could look down upon him

whom the Mikado delighted to honour. Such a distinction is reserved in Japan for the highest in the land.

After His Royal Highness had been received in public audience by the Mikado, he was invited to a private interview in the summer-house in the grounds. There the only foreigners present besides the English Duke were Sir Harry Parkes, Admiral Sir Henry Keppel, and Mr. Mitford, as Interpreter; the rest of the suite remaining outside. Of this private visit it is not for us to speak; we can only say that it was conducted on equal terms between the two principal personages, who both sat down after the first formal courtesies had been interchanged, the high dignitaries and officials all standing around. A marked contrast to the lack of reception which greeted our Prince when he visited Peking, after his departure from Japan!

The Duke of Edinburgh returned to Yokohama by sea on the 8th, and took with him on board the "Galatea," besides other high Japanese dignitaries, Hiyôbu Kiyô no Miya, a Prince of the Blood, who a few evenings later (novel sight for His Imperial Highness) was present at a ball given at the British Legation. The Royal Duke remained at Yokohama till the 16th, and that he was thoroughly impressed with the unaffected cordiality which had greeted him in the settlement was evident from his parting words, when he declared that no where had he found stronger feelings of loyalty and affection to the Queen and to the Royal Family than among his countrymen in this remote spot.

With the "Galatea," the "Ocean" and the "Salamis" left our harbour, the latter bearing away, amidst the universal regret of all nationalities, Admiral Sir Henry Keppel. Two days previously this gallant officer had received a most hearty ovation from the British mercantile community, at a farewell dinner given in his honour. He is now gone home, and though his welcome face will no longer be seen among us, his memory is stored up in our hearts, and we regret the loss of the brave old sailor and genial English gentleman.

Following our narrative, we must now revert to Japanese affairs. The roll of victims to a progressive policy was not yet full. The Government had fortunately been strong enough to keep the body-guard in order whilst in Yedo, and to prevent a tumult or any attempt to murder foreigners. Gradually these mighty men of valour were cleared out of the eastern capital, a number of them being sent back to Kiôto under the charge of Omura Masujiro, a Vice-Minister of the War Department. On the 8th October some of these patriots broke into Omura's house, hacked him about to such extent that he has lately died, and also killed or wounded several of those about him.

In the folds of the dress of one of the attacking party, who was cut down and beheaded, the usual paper was found, recording the owner's profession of faith. It stated that Omura had steadily conformed himself to foreign customs, and had disgraced the national character of divine Japan; that he had arbitrarily introduced customs of the barbarians, and had remembered foreigners but forgotten his Emperor; that therefore he was to be executed, and his head exposed as an example to posterity.

But let us turn to a pleasanter and more encouraging subject. On the 2nd October two Austrian ships of war arrived at Yokohama on their way round the world in the interests of commerce. Admiral Baron von Petz, the head of the expedition, accompanied by the other members of the Austro-Hungarian Mission, proceeded to Yedo on the 7th; nine days subsequently they were received by the Mikado, and on the 18th, the anniversary of the day of their departure from home, the Treaty of peace and amity was signed.

This expeditious work was a striking proof of the readiness of the new Government to comply with the usages of Western nations, and to meet the wishes of a foreign Envoy. It is in strong contrast to the slow obstructiveness of the Shôgun's Government in their earlier intercourse with foreign Representatives, when years would elapse before an Envoy was admitted into the presence of him who was wrongly styled His Majesty; and even then the advance over every mat had to be persistently contested. A contrast too to the difficulties the Mission had met with in Peking, where the negotiations were needlessly protracted over a period of many weeks, and were almost broken off on the question of giving equal titles to the respective Sovereigns of the Contracting Parties.

And a proof that this was no solitary instance of an increasing willingness to conform to the customs of other nations is to be found in the fact that, when in the end of October Mr. De Long, the new American Minister, arrived, a fortnight did not elapse before he had his formal audience of the Emperor.

It should also not be forgotten that, on the conclusion of the Austro-Hungarian Treaty, the Mikado of Japan wrote an autograph letter to his brother, the Emperor of Austria. This was indeed a concession to European usages, no Potentate but an Emperor of China having been thus previously addressed by a Mikado.

The crowning act of clemency was issued by the Government on the 1st of November,

The ex-Shôgun, the Prince of Aidzu, and all their adherents received a full and gracious pardon, peace being restored in the dominions of the Mikado, and a settled state of things being established throughout the empire.

On the 27th of November the young Empress arrived in Yedo after a long journey by land from Kiôto. At the period of her leaving some disturbances took place, and an attempt was made to prevent her from starting. For several days previous to her arrival there was an uneasy feeling in the air, and along the Tôkaidô the notifications of last summer, against insults to foreigners, were again conspicuously displayed. But nothing happened; Her Majesty passed quietly and unostentatiously along, and reached the Castle without any hindrance. No foreigner was insulted, and we may fairly hope that with a Government increasing in strength, the power to bridle the unruly spirit of miscalled patriotism will be attained at no distant date, and will thenceforward be rigorously exercised.

For the nucleus of a central Government has been formed and is slowly, but still surely, developing in the eastern capital. That Government consists not only of former retainers and some chiefs of clans, but of many nobles of the Mikado's Court, who, till within two or three years ago, passed their lives in retirement at Kiôto. It is an honour to them that they have been able to throw off their old skin so quickly, to give up so much of their prejudices, and to come out into the light, determined that their country shall enter upon a new course. It redounds to their credit that they have seen that the continued presence of foreigners in Japan is inevitable, that they have frankly accepted the position, and are ready to turn it to the best account. That there is still much prejudice against us cannot be denied, nor can we conceal the fact that friendly overtures are made, not out of love for us, but from the conviction of the necessity of a change in policy. Still we must not look too closely into the motives of the men in power, nor should we repel their advances; if they do not love us now, they at least acquiesce in our presence, and by degrees, as the Goverment becomes consolidated, and as trade steadily increases, a more kindly feeling towards us will surely spring up, and the bonds of amity will be gradually strengthened.

Then, as the appliances of modern civilization are introduced and take root, the country will be more and more opened up. Already the telegraph-posts are erected between Yedo and Yokohama, and we may hope that the readiness of the Japanese to profit by foreign inventions may soon be further exemplified in enterprises of a more extensive nature. There has been a period of great upturning and convulsion, trade has consequently languished, and the country has been drained of its coin to pay for excessive importations of arms and munitions of war. A short rice crop, and the necessity of importing large supplies of food must also temporarily diminish the power of the country to purchase foreign manufactures. We trust, however, that we are not too sanguine in saying that the worst is past, and in hoping that, as Japan gradually relieves herself of the burden of maintaining a large proportion of her population in arms, she will put forth increased industrial efforts, and that, consequently, coming years will show a sure development of her resources at home, and of the commerce of her people with the other nations of the world.

No. 42.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Parkes.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 26, 1870.

I HAVE to instruct you to convey to Mr. Hall my approval of the diligence shown by him in furnishing the translation of the Japanese pamphlet inclosed in your despatch of the 29th January.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 43.

Sir H. Parkes to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 6.)

My Lord, *Yedo, April 21, 1870.*

I HAVE had frequent opportunities of discussing with the Mikado's Government the desirability of introducing railways and telegraphs into Japan. It is essential to the establishment of a vigorous and compact administration under the new constitutional system, and of equal importance to the interests of commerce and the industry of the people that improved means of communication should be provided. Japan, unlike China, does not possess navigable rivers; the rate of travelling averages only twenty miles a-day, and provinces that are separated by 400 or 500 miles are at nearly a month's distance from each other. The two capitals of Yedo and Kioto, though connected by the best line of road in the country, are a fortnight's distance apart, and the difficulty of transporting rice often exposes one part of the country to scarcity and distress, while another district may be wanting an outlet for its produce.

At the close of last year I was informed by the Government that they had resolved to construct a railway between Yedo and Kioto. Their difficulty in making a commencement lay in the want of funds, and this was met by an offer on the part of Mr. H. N. Lay, formerly of China, and who was then visiting Japan, to lend the Government 1,000,000*l.* sterling, on the security of the projected line of railway and the Customs revenues. They accepted this offer, and Mr. Lay returned to England to raise the above sum and to engage the necessary engineers for the work. These are to be employed by the Japanese Government under the direction of Mr. Lay, who has the right of superintending the construction of the railway, though all the plans and details have to be approved by the Japanese Government.

It is not surprising that such a measure should have been strenuously contested by the party opposed to progress, and also by those who were unable to appreciate the advantages of the innovation. The Government have, therefore, had to labour hard in order to secure a majority of opinion, and have had to contend both with factional opposition and also with difficulties not dissimilar in character to those which so long obstructed the introduction of railways into our own country. Many discussions have been held in Council, and the Government have had to support their plans both by debate and written argument. I beg to inclose translations of two Minutes which were handed in by Members of the Government, and also of a petition which was presented by an old Court Noble of Kioto, a quarter in which support of the scheme was scarcely looked for. These papers show that the question is fairly understood by its advocates, and that they are able to suggest ways and means for carrying it into effect.

I believe the Government now feel assured that the execution of the scheme may be proceeded with; and as the chief engineer, Mr. Morel, has reached Japan, they intend that he shall at once commence to survey the line between Yedo and Yokohama.

I may mention in this connection that an experimental line of telegraph, constructed by Mr. Brunton, is already working between Yedo and Yokohama. Many Japanese foretold failure in this matter; also, it was believed that the wires would be constantly cut, and in the popular mind it was connected with necromancy and Christian propagandism. The only injury done, however, has been some hacking of the posts by two-sworded roughs; and the single wire is now found scarcely sufficient to meet the demand for the transmission of Japanese messages between Yedo and Yokohama. Mr. Brunton is now engaged in putting up a similar line between Hiogo and Osaka.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY S. PARKES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 43.

An Essay on the Introduction of Railways and Telegraphs into Japan.

(Translation.)

A Proposition for the Creation of a Source of Wealth for the Promotion of the Imperial Felicity, and the Establishment of an Unlimited and Everlasting Benefit to the Nation.

OUR country is situated between the 30th and 50th degrees of north latitude, and it extends over 21 degrees of longitude. The extent of Japan in length is about 600 ri, in breadth it is 100 ri, and its inhabitants number above 50,000,000.

The quality of our land and sea produce in some articles is equal or even superior to that of Europe. The national capacity of our people whether manifested in politics or in literature is such as we need not be ashamed of. But the energy of our people is on the decline; the national debt is on the increase; the voice of the poor in their misery fills the streets. Why is this?

Our communications by land and sea are not free, our eastern and western provinces are distant from each other, and their language and manners are different, so that they are to each other almost like foreign countries. Hence, the prices of commodities and the value of the circulating medium are far from being on a proper level. Our wealth goes into the pockets of the foreign merchants instead of promoting the good of our country and the happiness of our people. How painful is this! We now approach to our subject, the introduction of telegraphs and railways. We advocate it not from the love of unnecessary trouble. But our opponents argue in return that the national means have become scanty from the sufferings to which our country has been exposed, and that, therefore, we should dispense with the merit of successful public works and machinery. Let us, they say, establish no new regulations, but maintain our old laws, and by them again bring the country to a prosperous state. Another party objecting argues:—Railways and telegraphs are no doubt very useful inventions, but in the career of a nation there are periods of rise and fall; there are rich countries and there are poor. We should try to improve our own by our old methods, and gradually bring it to the same state of greatness and civilization as the others rather than introduce into it inventions which will only astonish our people's eyes and frighten their ears.

The two foregoing arguments are no doubt not entirely without some reason, and they evidently proceed from minds labouring under a consciousness of our present misfortunes combined with feelings of great benevolence towards the people. But these are narrow views; these minds are small; they look at heaven, as it were, through a hole in a small bamboo. I maintain that the future of a country lies in its people, and the way to enrich the people is to encourage the productions of industrial labour. In these efforts the economy of human labour is of paramount importance. This is only possible by the introduction of telegraphs and railways. If a proof for this assertion is wanted we need only look to the condition of those nations which we now call great and highly civilized, say England or France, and a hundred years ago, when they had not been able to overcome the disadvantages of an exclusive employment of human forces for labour of all kind. Since the introduction of railways and telegraphs into those countries a hundred other useful and profitable discoveries have been added, and distances of thousands of miles are now traversed by horses and waggons or boats in a moment. Government dispatches its orders in all directions with celerity and promptness. Thus have the present wealth and power of those countries been created.

These are the lasting and incalculable advantages of telegraphs and railways. If we calculate the expenses of our present postal system connected with the Tokaido, we find that, in addition to the forced labour performed by the peasantry, there is an additional annual subsidy required, amounting to 2,000,000 rios. The people of the towns through which the high road runs are, therefore, extremely poor, and suffering in their unmitigated misery. Their old parents are neglected; mothers cannot marry their daughters. Indeed, painful is the contemplation of these facts. They cannot be left without assistance: they must soon receive relief.

The present annual subsidy of 2,000,000*l.* per annum for ten years would form a capital of 20,000,000 rios; whereas the expense of introducing railways and telegraphs on that road would amount to not more than half that sum.

The present subsidy for five years would thus alleviate the sufferings of millions, and would open up sources of profit which would endure for millions of generations. Let us not listen to the arguments of those who object to the introduction of railways and telegraphs. The consideration of other advantages, such as the connection of the two centres of our political system—the capitals of Tokei and Kioto—need scarcely be added in support of our views. The government of the whole country emanates from these two towns; the voice from the one ought to be day by day heard in the other. Any impediment on delay in their communication would be detrimental. This may serve as a conclusive proof of our argument that the introduction of railways and telegraphs would promote the establishment of an unlimited and everlasting benefit to the nation.

Let us hope that these objects may be obtained, and that they may become the source of our national prosperity, and promote the Imperial felicity. We may then say in truth that the basis of our independence and liberty, as a free nation, was the introduction of telegraphs and railways.

The above is a short *résumé* of my opinions on this subject.

March 1870.

Inclosure 2 in No. 43.

Memorandum on the Advantages to be gained from the Construction of Railways.

(Translation.)

I HAVE been informed that locomotive engines are extensively in use of late years among Western nations, and that they have proved of essential value for interior communication in regions where there are no navigable rivers, and on occasions where a moment's delay in travelling can ill be endured.

In our country we have as yet neither these engines nor the roads for them to move on, and their construction is a very serious undertaking. It is, however, exceedingly desirable that lines of railway should be made from Yedo to Kioto and Osaka, and from Yedo to Oshiu and Dewa. By this means it will be possible in the short space of twenty-four hours to perform long journeys, the distress occasioned by the exhaustion or rise in price of grain, pulse, or other articles will be relieved, and prices become uniform. This will not be the sole advantage, for they will make it profitable to reclaim waste and uncultivated tracts of moors and plain, and still more important advantage will be that, in cases of sudden emergency, it will be possible to dispatch troops quickly to put down disturbances. Railways are in this way, I am informed, of the first importance, both for the prosperity and the military strength of a country; and it is desirable that they should be introduced into Japan without delay. However, as this is an entirely new project, the great size of the engines and the expense which will be incurred in cutting the railways may cause alarm, and it may not be acceptable to the popular mind, which will prevent its being carried out at once. As a specimen, which might afterwards be extended to distant provinces, a line might be made from Yedo to Yokohama.

This line would present few difficulties, as the country is level and there are few rises, circumstances favourable for a first attempt. Besides the land which would have to be given up in the construction of the straight road would be comparatively little, probably not amounting to 1,000 kokus. The total cost, including locomotive engines, trucks, with the expense of constructing the road, would amount to 500,000 rios or upwards.

In regard to the mode of raising the money, it may be observed that the Yokohama merchants have now subscribed 200,000 rios to fill in the sea at Yokohama and Kanagawa. If a Proclamation were issued about a railway they would subscribe still more readily in the hope of future profit, and I have even heard that some of them have petitioned to be allowed to make a railroad. I am thus of opinion that it might be completed without any expense on the part of the Government. The receipts of the railway will be amply sufficient to indemnify the holders of the land which will be taken up.

Between Yokohama and Yedo there is a convenient means of communication by sea, and this may be brought as an argument that the construction of railway is unnecessary; but Yokohama is prospering more and more. It is also close to the eastern capital; trading transactions follow one another with rapidity, and the shortest periods of time are eagerly employed.

If a railway were constructed, the places would become neighbours, and, as it were, one continuous street. Aged men, women, and children would travel with ease, and trade would become more and more flourishing. In future chairbearers, horseboys, boatmen, and innkeepers will reap the benefit of the increasing prosperity, and they will be able to find some means of gaining a livelihood.

For the present the execution of this great undertaking will afford employment to large numbers of the lower class in Yedo and the vicinity, and give them the means of supporting themselves. This will naturally accustom them to the idea of a railroad, and thus the way will be prepared for its future extension as above proposed to the other provinces.

I am desirous, in the meantime, that a decision should be come to on the above point, and a Proclamation issued at once.

Inclosure 3 in No. 43.

Petition advocating the Introduction of Railways.

(Translation.)

THE progress of a country in civilization is a part of the order of the universe, and depends on natural laws. It is independent of human action. The men of remote antiquity made themselves dwellings in hollow trees or caves, because the art of architec-

ture had not been invented: for food they used wood and grass, because the art of agriculture had not yet been introduced; and because letters had not been invented they made use of knotted cords. In the Togu dynasty they learned to protect themselves from the inclemency of the weather by houses; to cultivate grain, and to use it for food; to use letters for communication among one another; to lighten their burdens by the use of horses and cattle; and to cross the seas in ships. The arts of life made daily progress, and seem to have reached a high degree of perfection in the days of the Sandai. Chiuji said, however, "fear after ages," his meaning doubtless being that the work of progress was still incomplete.

When your servant surveys the condition of the various countries of the world, none of the six continents seem comparable to Europe for extension of enlightenment and wealth in mechanical appliances. Indeed, the continent of Europe alone excels all the other five continents together. What is the reason for this state of things? The sole reason is, that Europe is more enlightened and better provided with machinery. The men of the West have a saying that if you wish to learn whether a nation is rich or poor, strong or weak, you must first ascertain how it is provided with machinery. The invention of the steam-engine, and the introduction of more efficient modes of locomotion have enabled those countries to provide every facility for transport both by land and sea. It is, therefore, not surprising to find them so wealthy and so powerful.

Japan stands apart by itself in the far East, and ever since the middle ages it has invited no intercourse with other countries. Hence we were universally ignorant of foreign things, and for transport we were content to have our goods carried on men's backs. If we had horses or bullocks we were more than satisfied. A passage by sea of 10 ri often caused a delay of several days. We never dreamt, however, of being dissatisfied. It is no wonder, therefore, that the eyes and ears of the people have not been opened.

From a Japanese point of view, it would appear as if the countries of Europe had already made sufficient progress, but they themselves are far from being satisfied. Every day greater skill is attained; every month art advances, every year these countries increase in wealth, power, and useful appliances. If we were ignorant of all this we should be obliged to remain as we are, but, now that we know it, have we not reason to be ashamed?

It seems unnecessary to prove the advantages that will accrue to Japan from railways. Unenlightened and ignorant men, however, do not know the immense advantages which they will procure, and are afraid of the temporary injury which will be done to porters and innkeepers. They accordingly use every effort to prevent their introduction, and it is not strange that they should do so. There was in ancient times a wise ruler who passed without notice a street brawl, but made inquiries about a cow which he saw panting. In a matter which concerns the good of the whole empire, why should one advocate the interests of a few coolies and innkeepers? Besides, the coolies will have no difficulty in finding another occupation. There is nothing to prevent them doing whatever they please. There are also large tracts of waste land where persons of this class, even in ordinary times, might be made to settle, and thus converted into useful subjects of the empire. Much more will it be desirable to do so when this scheme, rich in benefits for Japan, is finally carried into execution. The inns, at intervals of 2 or 3 ri, might be converted into railway stations, and the great numbers of passengers will give them plenty of custom. There is no reason why the introduction of railways should injure their business.

Now that the Imperial Government has been re-established, it is no time for concealing the distressing condition of the country. Your servant has already represented his humble views respecting the removal from circulation of the debased currency, and he now adds his opinions about railways. Those who do not know how stupidly honest he is, say that he is carried away by a love of what is new and strange. This is far from the truth. He has occupied his private leisure in studying the Constitutions of foreign countries; and here, too, he is profoundly ashamed. Your servant is willing to undergo beheading or boiling alive for his opinions. It is his humble opinion that the old exclusive spirit is still alive, and that the vicious habit of taking superficial views is not yet eradicated. Narrow views, such as might be held by a frog that lives in a well, are daily becoming more and more rife, and they not only find a vent in everyday conversation, but are boldly proclaimed in high official quarters. These persons are an obstacle to the progress of civilization, and injure the wealth and power of our country. They do not know that, in order to defend ourselves against the foreign barbarians, whom they so much detest, the wealth and power of Japan must be the chief means. Their efforts only tend to weaken our country, and thus strengthen the hands of the enemy. Is not this an error? They always argue that what their opponents term an unnecessary expense is really a fund for the support of the coolies engaged in the transport service;

what is described by their opponents as a needless loss of human labour, they assert to be the means of subsistence for the labouring classes. Their reasoning goes to prove that horses and bullocks are injurious to baggage porters; that ships and carts are injurious to the country which uses them; that ingenious inventions interfere with the policy of letting well enough alone; and that civilization is injurious to the development of talent. Such persons are really anxious to return to the old state of things, when men lived in hollow trees and caves like beasts. This policy might succeed if Japan were the only inhabited country in the world, and no human beings lived beyond the seas. Under present circumstances it is utterly impossible to maintain it. It is the prayer of your servant that the great principles of the Constitution may be maintained, that attention be not drawn off to petty advantages or shallow sentimentalities, but that, regardless of the remonstrances of such men, a decisive order for the introduction of railways be given. Then the people of Japan will have placed before their eyes the advantage of this invention, and the proverb that "to see once is better than to hear one hundred times," will be exemplified.

When the railway has been constructed machinery of all kinds can be introduced, commencing with appliances for the cultivation of the mulberry-tree, the silk culture, weaving, and for cleaning rice.

Thus will a great stimulus be given to production, and foreign gold and silver made to flow towards Japan.

If no scheme for recalling the paper money of the Empire is introduced, foreign coin will gradually rise in value, to the detriment of this divine country. It requires no learned man to prove this

If, under present circumstances, the railway project should fall to the ground, from a dislike to the trouble of carrying it into execution, your servant fears that the results to the Empire will be calamitous.

Your servant, Marasada, prays that this, his second petition, may receive favourable consideration, and bows his head one hundred times with profound respect.

(Signed) TANISHOKEI MENAMOTO NO MARASADA.

March 1870.

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